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**R E P O R T**  
OF  
**THE COMMITTEE**  
APPOINTED BY  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA  
TO INQUIRE INTO  
**THE RULES, REGULATIONS, AND PRACTICE**  
IN THE  
**INDIAN CANTONMENTS**  
AND  
**ELSEWHERE IN INDIA,**  
WITH REGARD TO  
**PROSTITUTION**  
AND TO  
THE TREATMENT OF VENEREAL DISEASE;  
TOGETHER WITH  
**MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.**

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Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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*To the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., Secretary of State for India.*

My Lord,

IN compliance with your Lordship's instructions of the 7th of April last, we beg leave to submit a Report signed by three Members of the Departmental Committee.

A minority Report is also submitted.

We are, My Lord,

Your obedient servants,

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

D. M. STEWART.

J. B. PEILE.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.



*Note of Explanation of References in this Report to the various Documents and Papers  
comprised in the Appendix hereto.*

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“**Min.**” means Minutes of Evidence taken before this Committee. The numerals following refer to the Numbers of questions and answers.

“**Rep. S.C.**” means the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the paragraph or lines thereof as stated.

“**Ev.S.C.**” means the Statement and Notes forming the Appendix to the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the lines thereof.

“**M.R.**” means the Military Reports, &c., constituting Enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in Despatch No. 148 of 1893.

“**Suppl. M.R.**” means further Military Reports received with the same Despatch.

*Other references are sufficiently explained in loco.*

# REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE



APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE RULES, REGULATIONS, AND PRACTICE IN THE INDIAN CANTONMENTS, AND ELSEWHERE IN INDIA, WITH REGARD TO PROSTITUTES AND THE TREATMENT OF VENEREAL DISEASES, IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN AND REPORT HOW FAR THEY ACCORD WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE 5TH JUNE 1888, VIZ. :—

“That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating Prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises or permits such measures ought to be repealed.”

1. The Committee was appointed on the 7th April 1893 by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to inquire into the Rules, Regulations and practice in the Indian Cantonments, and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888 above quoted.

2. The Committee so appointed consisted of Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., Under Secretary of State for India (Chairman); the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.; General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart., G.C.B.; Sir James B. Peile, K.C.S.I.; and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., with Major-General O. R. Newmarch, C.S.I., as Secretary.

3. The Committee has held twelve sittings, and has examined seven witnesses, official and non-official. The sittings comprised two groups, viz., five days between the 11th April and 21st April 1893 (both inclusive), when the evidence of the non-official witnesses tendered was taken; and five other days between the 4th August and the 15th August 1893 (both inclusive), when the official witnesses were examined, and a large quantity of documentary evidence sent from India was considered. The interim between the two groups of sittings (practically about eleven weeks) was occupied in the transmission of the printed minutes of the first-mentioned evidence to India, the collection there of evidence, by a Special Commission appointed for that purpose and by means of Official Reports, and the journey to this country of two of the Commissioners so appointed. The Committee have not taken any evidence as to the practices, in respect of the matters in question, in any Indian Cantonments other than those hereinafter specifically mentioned; nor have they made any investigations as to such practices elsewhere in India. The principal reason for this limitation in the execution of their commission is the want of time for more extensive researches, arising from the urgent desire on all sides that the Committee should complete their inquiries, and present their Report, before the conclusion of the present sitting of Parliament.

4. The non-official witnesses examined by us in the first instance were: (1) Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, (2) Dr. Kate Bushnell, two American ladies associated in Christian Mission work and who were delegated by the “British Committee for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice in India and throughout the British Dominions,” in the beginning of the year 1892, to visit Military Cantonments in India for the express purpose of making inquiries upon the subject matter in question; (3) Mr. John Hyslop-Bell, J.P., of Darlington (England), a journalist, who also on behalf of the British Committee, in December 1892, visited two of the same Cantonments, and two other Cantonments.

5. The official witnesses who have given testimony before us are: (4) General Lord Roberts, V.C., late Commander-in-Chief in India, who having recently returned to this country had been voluntarily interviewed upon the subject of this investigation by certain journalists. Accounts of these interviews were published, and therefore his Lordship was invited to attend the Committee for the purpose of affording to them directly a statement of his information and views upon the matters in question. At the commencement of his examination our Chairman asked Lord Roberts whether we could take his answers to the interviewer of the “Christian Commonwealth” as being his evidence, or whether he did not wish to commit himself to them, and Lord Roberts answered that he did not wish to

be so committed, and that he had prefaced his remarks to his interviewer by saying that he preferred to wait for the Report of the Government of India; (5) Lieut.-General E. F. Chapman, C.B., now Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office, and late Quartermaster-General in India, who held that office during a portion of the command of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, and who vacated it on the 22nd February 1889; (6) Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, I.C.S.; and (7) Surgeon-Colonel J. Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab, the two Commissioners before referred to.

6. As all the evidence, both oral and documentary, taken and received by us has to be considered in regard to the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, it seems expedient at the outset to determine the meaning and intention of that Resolution, and especially its interpretation by the Government of India, and the officials, both military and civil, charged with the duty of carrying that Resolution into effect. On this point, therefore, we are glad to record the ready avowal of General Lord Roberts as to his concurrence in the view that the intention of the House of Commons was that the system formerly established as to the recognition and regulation of prostitution, for the benefit of British soldiers in India, should be entirely abolished, and not merely modified; and his assertion that the determination of the Government of India, as well as of himself, with respect to that Resolution, was from the outset to carry it into effect implicitly, in spirit as well as in letter.

7. It may consequently be useful to indicate briefly, in passing, the principal features of that pre-existing system, which it was the undoubted intention of the House of Commons to abolish and not merely to modify. Principal features of that system were the following, viz. :—

- (1.) The provision in the regimental bazars, or other appointed places within the Cantonments, of dwellings (Chaklas) for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers distinctively from native men: the registration of such women by the Cantonment Magistrate; and the issue of tickets to the registered women.
- (2.) The inspection or examination at prescribed periods or times, at the Lock Hospital, and with penalties for non-attendance, of those registered women, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were individually healthy or diseased; in the former case they were allowed to return to the practice of prostitution at the Chaklas; in the latter they were detained in hospital for treatment.
- (3.) The provision within each Cantonment of a Lock Hospital for (a) the periodical examination of the registered women, and (b) the treatment therein of such as proved on inspection to be diseased.
- (4.) The application of compulsion by fine and imprisonment under the Rules, as well as the general power of expulsion which appears to be vested in the Cantonment Magistrate.

8. The cardinal point of that pre-existing system was, therefore, the periodical examination of the registered women: the other features being accessory and incidental to that purpose; and the whole system being devised and administered with the main object of ensuring, if possible, that all the women to whom British soldiers in each Cantonment were known to resort should be "fit" or "healthy," in a specific sense, at the time of resorting; and in order to prevent immediate contagion and the consequent spread of venereal disease. The antecedent steps of registration, and formal licensing (by tickets), the application of compulsion, and the subsequent treatment of unfit or diseased women, were subordinate to that main object.

9. That pre-existing system was sanctioned by, and administered under, certain Acts and Statutory Rules scheduled to the then existing Cantonment Acts, and numerous Official Orders and Regulations, which may be said to have culminated in a Circular Memorandum issued from the Army Head Quarters at Simla, bearing date 17th June 1886, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, and with the signature (by order) of Major-General Chapman, as Quartermaster-General in India. That circular, and certain recommendations therein contained, became, in the following year (July 1887) the subject of questions in the House of Lords, and of action by the India Office; and subsequently formed an important element in the discussion in the House of Commons on 5th June 1888, upon the Resolution above quoted, which was then moved by Mr. McLaren, M.P., and passed *nem. con.*

Min. 1903-1915.

Demi-official letter, 10th March 1892, quoted in Despatch, No. 148 of 1893.

Min. 1812-1854.

Min. 1838.

Min. 1887 et seq.

App. II. telegram to Viceroy, 9th July 1888.



10. That Circular Memorandum was expressly condemned by the India Office as being "perfectly inconsistent" with a subsequent Report from the Quartermaster-General, dated 2nd August 1887, and "absolutely indefensible," and strict inquiry was ordered; but of any such inquiry there is no evidence, and Lord Roberts, while admitting before us his official responsibility for all orders issued in his name, as Commander-in-Chief for the time being, was not clear as to having actually seen the draft circular, some parts of which he strongly reprobated. We deemed it therefore right and proper, in order to ascertain who was really accountable in the matter, to examine Lieut.-General Chapman, who is now in England, as to the circumstances under which that Circular Memorandum was prepared and issued. There appeared to us to be a discrepancy between his evidence and that of Lord Roberts which we were unable to reconcile.

App. II, telegram to Viceroy, 8th May, 1888, Min. 1888, Min. 1895, Min. 2291-4.

Min. 1876-77.

Min. 2305-2307.

11. In consequence of that condemnation of the Circular Memorandum of 17th June 1886, by the Secretary of State, and before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, the Government of India had prohibited the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, and their accompanying troops to camp or on the march, and directed the cancellation of all circulars relating to that subject; and immediately upon receipt of the despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State conveying that Resolution, the Government of India informed the Commander-in-Chief and all the Local Governments and Heads of Departments, that it was the intention of the Government of India to consider the Rules framed under the Cantonment Acts then existing, and that "pending the issue of revised Rules, the existing Rules should, in view of the Resolution of the House of Commons, be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution."

App. II, Despatch, 15th Oct. 1888, par. 2.

Despatch, 11th July, 1893, par. 5.

App.

12. Accordingly, in Despatch No. 193, dated 15th October 1888, the Indian Government reported that "The Indian Contagious Diseases Act and Acts or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps, or on the line of march has been forbidden; also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while, pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women and granting of licenses to practise prostitution have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions."

13. In October, 1889, the new measure, viz., "The Cantonments Act, 1889," was passed, and on the 21st day of December, the following draft Rules (which had been settled, after considerable correspondence, between the Secretary of State and Government of India) were published "for the information of persons likely to be affected thereby," with an intimation that they would be "taken into consideration on the expiry of three months."

App. II, Despatches and telegrams, 14th June, 1889, to 9th July, 1890.

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the Cantonment as the Cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the Cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the Cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the Cantonment authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the Cantonment Fund such subsistence allowance not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure as the Cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the Cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or re-enters the Cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

14. The publication of the draft Rules immediately aroused the attention of various newspapers and religious organisations, both in India and Great Britain, and divers public protests against the proposed Rules were expressed. Amongst others, the Rev. Allen Rees, Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee, wrote to Lord Salisbury and Lord Cross (then Secretary of State for India) on behalf of that body, complaining of the absence of recognition in the new Act of the Resolution of the House of Commons, to which Lord Cross's Private Secretary replied to the effect that the Government of India had received distinct instructions upon the subject, to which his Lordship was confident they would conform.

15. On the 14th February, 1890, Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., addressed to Lord Cross a letter upon the subject, which was in the following terms, viz. :—

*February 14th, 1890.*

Dear Lord Cross,

WE have had the advantage of receiving from the Rev. Allen Rees a copy of your Private Secretary's letter to him of January 8th on the subject of the Acts and Regulations regarding Contagious Diseases in Cantonments in India.

We note with great satisfaction your statement that the Government of India are fully aware of the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and that they have received from yourself, as Secretary of State in Council, distinct instructions to the effect that these Resolutions must be recognised as governing their conduct in dealing with the matter; and that you are confident that the Government of India will conform to your instructions.

Your Lordship adds that it would not be right, in the absence of any distinct proof to the contrary, to receive deputations on the subject, as such action might be interpreted as implying that you had reason to feel doubtful as to the good faith of the Government of India.

Permit us, my Lord, without in the least meaning or desiring to impugn the good faith of the Government of India, to point out in what respects the action of that Government has already, as it seems to us, failed to conform itself to your instructions and to the Resolutions of the House.

The Resolution of the House of Commons, of June 5th, 1888, ran thus :—

“Any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient; and the legislation which enjoins, authorises and permits such measures ought to be repealed.”

In accordance with this Resolution, the Cantonments Acts were repealed, and the Cantonment Act Regulations were understood to be suspended.

But a new Cantonments Act was thereupon brought in and passed, which was followed by draft regulations, published in the “*Gazette of India*” of December 21st, 1889, to be taken into consideration at the expiration of three months from that date.

We observe that, by Section 26, Sub-section 21, of the new Act :—

“The Governor-General in Council may make rules, consistent with this Act, for the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and for the appointment and regulation of Hospitals and other places within or without a Cantonment for the reception and treatment of persons suffering from any disease.”

But we do not see any words in the Act limiting or deciding the method of the exercise of this power; and we submit, therefore, that the power which this section confers upon the Governor-General in Council is sufficient to enable him to frame Regulations, implying the compulsory examination of women and the licensing and regulating of prostitution in India in direct disregard of the Resolution of the House of Commons which declares that all such legislation ought to be repealed.

Your Lordship will also observe the bearing of the proviso in Section 2, Sub-section 2, of the Act, to the effect that all regulations, &c., published under the repealed Act shall be deemed to have been made under the repealing Act of 1889. So that it would appear that the old Regulations which have been condemned, and which have been understood to have been suspended, are set up again, as if they had been published under this Act.

Turning to the new Regulations in the “*Gazette*” of December 21st, we note (Section 4) that if the Medical Officer of a Hospital certifies in writing to the Commanding Officer that any person is *supposed by him* to be suffering from a contagious disorder, and any such person either refuses to go to the Hospital, or, having gone to the Hospital, leaves it before such Medical Officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may order such person's removal from the Cantonment, and prohibit their return without the written permission of the Medical Officer; disobedience to the order entailing fine or imprisonment at the discretion of the Magistrate, limiting the fine to 50 rupees, and the imprisonment to eight days for each breach.



It seems to us that under this Regulation a prostitute "supposed" to be diseased may be induced to enter the Hospital under the threat of expulsion from the Cantonment, and that, being once within its walls, she may be kept prisoner there for an indefinite time and submitted to personal examination under the same compulsions.

Whilst, if she only leaves after the Medical Officer has pronounced her free from disease, she may leave to resume her vocation within the Cantonment upon the certificate of health and with the licence of the authorities.

We submit to your Lordship that, if our interpretation of the new proposed Regulations is correct, they may be used to set up again a system of compulsory examination of prostitutes, and to regulate and licence, within the Cantonment, the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination; and to certify and licence those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

Placing, as we do, the fullest reliance on your Lordship's determination to enforce the Resolution of the House of Commons, we venture to request that your Lordship will be good enough to consider the arguments and views which we have thought it our duty to bring to your notice in this communication.

We are, &c.,

J. STANSFELD.  
JAMES STUART.

16. The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) on the 6th March 1890, replied to the foregoing letter of Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Stewart by a letter in the following terms.  
viz. :—

M. 2301.

INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL, S.W.  
6th March 1890.

GENTLEMEN,

I am desired by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, on the subject of the new Cantonment Act passed by the Government of India, and the draft rules published under sections 26 and 27 of that Act.

With regard to your complaint that there are no words in the Act limiting or directing the method of the exercise of the power given by the Act of making rules, it is right in the judgment of the Secretary of State that no such words should be embodied in the text of the Act. The effect of such words would have been to make the validity of every order issued under the Act a matter of controversy, dependent on the various interpretations of which its language might be held to admit. The Secretary of State prefers to rely upon the consideration that the Viceroy, for whose acts the Secretary of State is responsible, will not use the power in the manner you suggest as possible.

Sub-section (2) of section 2, to which you call attention, merely keeps alive, until alteration under the powers given by the Act, the existing Rules and Orders, &c. Of these there is a large number—very many of them having no relation whatever to the subject of contagious diseases; and but for the provisions referred to they would have no foundation to stand upon, inasmuch as the Act repeals the authorities on which they rested. A saving clause of this sort is inserted, almost as a matter of course, in every amending and repealing Act such as is this Cantonment law. But as to the particular Rules condemned by the House of Commons the Secretary of State was informed by the Government of India, in answer to an express inquiry in November last, that they were not and would not be continued in operation, and that new Rules, approved by the Secretary of State, would be brought into force as soon as possible after the Act came into operation.

With regard to your anticipation of the use which may be made of the new Regulations, the Secretary of State feels sure that you would consider that it is impossible for the Government to confer special privileges and exemptions upon persons who are suffering from the particular contagious disease to which your letter relates. The Rules treat all persons alike who are suffering from infectious or contagious disorders of whatever kind, and subject them to such restraint only of their individual liberty as is essential for the general health of the Cantonment.

With regard to the suggestion in your letter that a system of compulsory examination may be again set up, and that certificates of health will be given, or licenses to prostitutes to resume their vocation, the Secretary of State can see nothing in the Rules to lend any colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling to attribute to the Government of India an intention to evade, or to allow any of its officers to evade, the explicit instructions which he has issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded for such an accusation.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,  
JOHN E. GORST.

On the 2nd June 1890, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State for India protesting against the new Cantonments Act, and pointing out that the Indian Government had disregarded the Resolution of Parliament and Lord Cross's own instructions in despatch of May 17th 1888.

Notwithstanding these various protests these Rules were finally ratified on the 4th July 1890, and came into force accordingly in all Cantonments in India, and were subsequently republished in the following form :—

"Government General Order, No. 617, Judicial.

"In continuance of the notification of the Government of India in the Military Department, No. 1,066, dated the 20th December 1889, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following Rules under Section 26, clause (21), and Section 27, sub-sections (2) and (4) of the Cantonments Act, 1889, and to direct that they be put in force in all Cantonments in British India."

17. In the latter part of the year 1891 a memorial was received by Her Majesty's Viceroy of India from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, together with numerous other memorials from various Kirk Sessions connected with that body, protesting against the practices still continuing under the new Rules in respect of venereal diseases. The Commander-in-Chief was thereupon requested by letter, dated 21st October 1891, from the Government of India, to cause careful enquiry to be made "whether the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State; and whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the Rules (Nos. 4 and 5 "being quoted therein) is resorted to." On the 24th March 1892, the Quartermaster-General replied, enclosing various reports from commanding officers in different Cantonments to the general effect that there was no compulsion beyond what is authorised by Rules 4 and 5; and concluding with the expression that the Commander-in-Chief "desires to strongly repudiate what he considers to be most unfounded "allegations." Beyond formal acknowledgment of the memorials no replies were sent to the memorialists.

18. We understand that in February and March 1893, Mr. Stansfeld and other Members of Parliament made further representations to the Secretary of State, to the effect that they were in possession of trustworthy information that in certain Cantonments in India the Resolution of the House of Commons had been practically disregarded; and urging an immediate enquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons into the matter; and they subsequently, upon requisition, submitted a "Statement of Facts" as to the administration of the Cantonment Act and Rules since 1889, in respect of venereal diseases, within ten Military Cantonments, in the year 1892. This document (which is printed *in extenso* in the Appendix hereto) presented a summary of the principal facts stated to have been ascertained, in the following terms:—

"1. That within each Cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the sanction of the military authorities:

"(A.) For the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use "exclusively of British soldiers;

"(B.) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by "European or Native medical officers;

"(C.) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the "orders of the examining officers;

"(D.) With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrests, "fines, or imprisonment; or of expulsion from the Cantonment.

"2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts, and the Regulations made thereunder, are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an "established system of licensed prostitution, and the compulsory examination of "registered prostitutes, within the limits of the Cantonments."

19. After some negotiations and correspondence with the Government, in which the Government expressed a preference for a Departmental Committee over a Select Committee of the House of Commons, such Departmental Committee was appointed, as before-mentioned, and the evidence of the two American ladies and Mr. Bell was taken. The minutes thereof were subsequently transmitted to India as aforesaid, together with the Statement of Facts already referred to. The ten Cantonments referred to in the Statement, and as to which the evidence (principally that of the ladies) was given, were the following: Lucknow, Meerut, Meer Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Amritsar, Umballa, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares.

20. By a Resolution of the Military Department of the Government of India, dated 2nd June 1893, a Special Commission was appointed "to inquire into the correctness of "the allegations in the statement and in the evidence recorded in the accompanying

App. II. Despatch No. 134, dated 6th Sept. 1892.

Id., p. 9 (No. 4123 D).

Id., p. 28-9.

Despatch No. 11, 18th Jan. 1892.

App. II.

App. III. No. 2429. D, enclosure to Despatch No. 148 of 1893.



"minutes." The Commission was to consist of Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn (both before named as witnesses), and a native gentleman, Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan. These three Commissioners were directed to proceed to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow (three of the ten Cantonments above-mentioned), "to inquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement (before-mentioned) and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether, in their opinion, any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and of the Regulations published under that Act in G.G.O. No. 617, of the 4th July, 1890." The Commission was further empowered to call witnesses, and the Cantonment authorities were enjoined to give the Commissioners the fullest assistance, &c.

21. Upon comparing the terms of the Secretary of State's reference to this Committee with the language of the instructions to the Special Commission (in India), and before considering their Report, and the evidence on which it is based, it is apparent that the two references are not identical, for while the duty of the Special Commission has been limited to report whether the alleged practices are true, and if true whether they infringe the Rules of 1890, the duty of this Committee is to inquire and report how far the existing Rules themselves, as well as all practices (whether in accordance with those Rules, or being infringements thereof) accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons. In these circumstances, we consider the best course of proceeding is to determine in the first place what are the principal facts established by all the evidence on both sides, now before us, and to reserve that question for subsequent consideration. Accordingly, we proceed to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the Resolution of the House of Commons, in the three Cantonments, viz., Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, visited by the Special Commission, as proved by the evidence collected by them, as well as by the testimony of the non-official witnesses.

## THE THREE CANTONMENTS VISITED BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

### CHAKLAS.

22. At Umballa (or Ambala) there is now one general chakla used by British soldiers—it is in the Sadr bazar.\* Before 1888 (which, to signify the date of the Resolution of the House of Commons, may for the purpose of this part of the report be conveniently adopted in general) there were three regimental chaklas for the use of British troops, artillery, cavalry, and infantry. In 1888 these regimental chaklas were closed by order, and all the prostitutes were directed to reside in the Sadr bazar. Between 1890 and 1893 these regimental chaklas were practically re-established, but in May 1893, when official inquiry was impending, they were again closed.

While the regimental bazars existed, the women practically belonged to particular regiments.

In 1892 there were also two other chaklas in tents located near the camps of two Highland regiments.

There is no separate register of prostitutes now kept by the Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general register of cantonment residents and therein described as "prostitutes," in the same way as lawful traders are respectively designated by their various trades and occupations.

The rooms in the Sadr bazar chakla are numbered distinctively (with large numerals) in English character, in addition to the general Cantonment Number of the house. Originally this was intended to enable a soldier to identify a woman otherwise than by name, and so far as those rooms are still occupied by prostitutes it would still serve the same purpose.

The chaklas resorted to by British soldiers are included in the general inspection of the military police who patrol the bazar, but they receive this particular supervision that if the police find any native men in these quarters they turn them out; a fact which not only implies extraordinary vigilance, but may perhaps justify the women in stating that they are under guard.

There is a uniform minimum rate of pay in all these chaklas, ranging from four annas for a private, to one rupee for a sergeant.

\* Sadr (or Sadar or Sudder) bazar—the principal or general bazar in the Cantonment.

It appears to be a customary rate long established, and is said indeed to be co-eval with British rule.

If the soldier evades payment he is reported, and compelled to pay, either by the sergeant, or if necessary, some superior officer; in the same way in fact as for goods bought.

Apparently there was (in 1892) a Mahaldarni\* in each of the Highland regimental chaklas, who was paid by the women; and it is conclusively proved that there was also a Mahaldarni in the Cavalry bazar chakla (18th Hu-sars), up to 2nd August 1892.

The former practice of the women accompanying regiments to camp, or on the march, appears to have been continued in this Cantonment up to 1892, at least.

23. At Meerut in 1888, the regimental chaklas theretofore existing were closed, and the women sent into the Sadr bazar chakla and the adjoining Lal Kurti (Red coat, i.e., Infantry) bazar chakla.

This created a demand for accommodation which was met by a new chakla being built in the Sadr bazar as a private speculation by a prostitute (Hira) on Government land granted for the purpose.

In 1889 three regimental chaklas were re-opened. The Report of the Lock Hospital for that year has the following entry:—"In July 1889, with the sanction of the officers commanding corps, the old regimental chaklas were re-opened, and that a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and if found diseased to remain in hospital for treatment. . . . The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the three regimental bazars, viz., Cavalry, 10; Infantry, 10; Artillery, 14."

As copies of the Reports of the Hospitals are forwarded for the information of Superior Authorities, we are unable to see how this could have escaped the notice of those Authorities.

These three chaklas seem to have been open in February 1892, although the Special Commissioners were informed they were closed in April 1891. But in any case the regimental classification of the women was kept up in the register of examinations until April 1893.

Another chakla in tents at the camp of the West Kent Regiment existed in February 1892, and subsequently, but it is not clear up to what date.

No separate register of prostitutes is now kept by Cantonment Magistrates.

Natives are prohibited and practically prevented from consorting with the women in chaklas frequented by British soldiers.

The same customary rate of pay obtains here as at Umballa and elsewhere, and which the men were compelled, if necessary, to pay.

The Mahaldarni at the Sadr bazar was formerly a regimental Mahaldarni (for 10 years), and possesses official certificates. She is now paid by a proportion of the women's earnings.

Her duties are, however, the same as before 1888.

In March 1892, women accompanied the West Kent Regiment from this Cantonment to Chakrata.

24. At Lucknow.—In 1888 three regimental chaklas formerly existing were closed, and all the registered women were directed to reside in the Sadr bazar.

Since 1888 the Sadr bazar chakla is the only one; it is a large building with accommodation for a great number of women.

The rooms are numbered separately for distinction, as in Umballa.

Natives if found with women frequented by British soldiers are turned out.

The women have the uniform scale of pay as elsewhere.

Up to July 1888 there had been four Mahaldarnis at this Cantonment, paid from Cantonment funds.

One of these was continued as dhai at the Sadr bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be second matron to the Lock Hospital, and paid 10 rupees per month from the Cantonment funds, but she continued to live at the chakla, look after the women, and take them for inspection.

It is stated (and not contradicted) that regiments coming to this Cantonment "brought their women with them."

\* Mahaldarni—a forewoman of prostitutes, a procuress, or keeper of a brothel, sometimes erroneously called a "Dhai" (See foot-note page 14.)

## PERIODICAL EXAMINATION.

25. **At Umballa.**—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were discontinued after 1888, until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital in July 1890, when weekly examinations were begun of those prostitutes who were living in regimental chaklas—"and there can be little doubt that . . . attendance at examination was made "a condition of permission to reside within those [regimental] limits."

Report S. C., par 74.

Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to the departure of two Highland regiments in March 1892, and as to all the other regiments there up to 2nd August 1892.

Min. 641 and 2792-30.  
Min. 3428-35.

Since the last recorded periodical examination (2nd August 1892) a certain number or group of prostitutes appear to have been occasionally examined upon a report that they or some of them were diseased. The officials state that these examinations were voluntary.

Min. 2792-3.

And upon two occasions a number or group of women came (from the Sadr bazar) and requested examination for the purpose of disproving the "taunts" of other women that they (the applicants) were diseased.

Min. 2814-5.

26. **At Meerut.**—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were likewise discontinued after 1888 until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital here, 25th June 1889, and the contemporaneous re-opening of the regimental chaklas in which the women were "invited to reside . . . on the understanding that they would attend weekly at "the Lock Hospital for examination, and if diseased, should remain in the hospital until "cured."

Report S. C. par. 33.  
Min. 2843.  
Ev. S. C. 1235.

Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to May 1893; they appear to have been expressly continued after August 1892, by the direction of the Cantonment Magistrate, and to have been finally discontinued in May 1893, on the opinion expressed by the Commanding Officer that he thought they "had better be "stopped."

Min. 641.  
Min. 2816.  
Min. 2956-9.

Ev. S. C. 1466.

27. **At Lucknow.**—The periodical examination at this Cantonment was not discontinued in 1888, but was continued regularly until March 1892, with one alteration in February 1891, by making it a semi-weekly inspection instead of weekly as before.

Min. 641.  
Min. 2816.  
Ev. S. C. 2189.

Regular attendance at those examinations, at least by new comers, appears to have been secured by the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate in stipulating that each woman should be examined before granting her permission to reside in the Cantonment. He did not explain to her that the examination was to be periodical. The Cantonment Magistrate says:—"In March 1892 . . . notice was given to the women that "they were free to attend examination or not as they pleased, and the attendance "gradually decreased until it almost ceased."

Rep. S. C. lines 1747-50.  
1940-45.

Ev. S. C. lines 1897-8.

Ev. S. C. lines 1978-80.

In the ensuing summer he specially ordered ten women (who were indicated by soldiers) to leave the Cantonment or submit to examination. Since then up to May 1893, the weekly examinations appear to have been resumed, and it is said that the attendance has been absolutely voluntary. It is stated that the Cantonment Magistrate "ceased latterly" to send any women for examination on her application for permission to reside in Cantonments.

Id., 1880-86.

Ev. S. C. 1992.

## LOCK HOSPITALS.

28. **At Umballa.**—The old Lock Hospital is now used as a branch (section II.) of the General Cantonment Hospital.

Min. 1312-1353.

Min. 3090.

It is situated at some distance from the main building, and is used exclusively for women of a specific class, viz., prostitutes, whether their diseases be venereal or otherwise. It was formerly and is still publicly known as the Lock Hospital. The women attend here for periodical examination.

Min. 3092-5.

Ev. S. C. 266-9.

An "attendance register" of all the women periodically examined, and classified according to the six regiments mentioned therein was kept at the hospital, where Dr. Bushnell saw it; subsequently it was produced before the Committee. Such register shows the result of each examination under the general heading "State" and particular entries, e.g., "Fit," "M." (menses), and "Hospital."

Min. 1325.  
3098, 3428.

The final dates of examination were in 1892, with two in 1891, when particular regiments left.

Min. 3428-36.

The book is fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note.

Ev. S. C. lines 3190-3230.



The women indicated by "M." do not appear to have been detained in hospital during the period of menstruation.

Min. 3460-43.  
Min. 3461-53.  
Min. 3469-80.

In addition to that general register two Mahaldarnis kept separate and similar registers; one was seen by Dr. Bushnell, but has not been produced. The other (18th Hussars) has been produced before the Committee, and found to accord with the general register, and to be in the same handwriting, with the like entries and initials.

Rep. B. C. 1099

Other Mahaldarnis in other regimental chaklas kept similar books, and apparently all such books were kept for the information of commanding officers.

Min. 3454.

The register of women attending for periodical examination shows that over a period of the last six months of the stay of each regiment down to the final date of examination (except the two regiments which left in 1891), the percentages of results were as follows: 75.5 per cent. of the women attending were "fit" (healthy), 10.9 per cent. were diseased, 13.6 per cent. had "menses."

Min. 1331-3.

The correspondence book produced corroborated Dr. Kate Bushnell's evidence as to its contents.

Min. 1147-1217  
Min. 3108-7.

29. **At Meerut.**—The "contagious branch" of the Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital. The main building is not yet built. In this branch the "in-patients" are women only; there is no male ward. In 1892 all cases, viz., 172, except six (or seven) were venereal, and the patients prostitutes.

Id., 3108.  
Id., 3109.  
Id., 3416-17.

The examination is conducted by the *dhai*\* in the presence of the doctor, who makes a further examination if signs of disease are present.

Id., 3408-14.

The hospital records comprised a list (or register) of prostitutes attending periodical examination, classified according to regiments, including also Sadr bazar women; the final date of examination of all being 24th April 1893. They showed results of each examination as follows:—83.3 per cent. of women attending were "healthy," 4.7 per cent. of women attending were diseased, 12.0 per cent. of women attending had "menses."

Ev. S. C.  
3320, et seq.

It does not appear whether the last-mentioned cases were detained in hospital or not. There were other records in books, &c., as to the contents of which evidence was given and fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note, and which confirms Dr. Bushnell's original evidence in that respect.

Min. 1182-99.  
Min. 1063-1140.

30. **At Lucknow.**—The contagious branch of the General Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital—it is 200 yards away from the main building. For about 20 months (1891-2) it was used as a general hospital. The in-patients were always venereal cases, and only prostitutes admitted.

Min. 3113-9.  
Min. 3116-21.

Lists of prostitutes examined were formerly kept, but afterwards destroyed, and no information as to results of the examinations is now forthcoming.

Ev. S. C. 2185.  
Ev. S. C. 2288.  
Ev. S. C. 2265.

Women when menstruating were not examined, but were allowed to remain in the hospital during the period.

## THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATION AT THE THREE CANTONMENTS CONSIDERED.

Ev. S. C. 2796.

31. We have now briefly reviewed all the salient facts as to the practice in the three Cantonments named, as proved by the evidence both non-official and official. We consider the latter not only confirms the former in all essential particulars, but also explains and supplements it to a remarkable extent. But of the facts so proved, one practice stands out in a peculiarly prominent manner, *i.e.*, the periodical examination. It is now clearly demonstrated that this practice was carried on in the three particular Cantonments reported on by the Special Commission, viz., Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa during greater or lesser periods, extending between 1888 and 1893.

This examination was indeed identical both in purpose and method with that which prevailed before 1888, but differed from it as respects the nature and amount of compulsion, a point more fully discussed in the next paragraph.

It appears therefore expedient at this point to consider this identity in the light of the Report of the Special Commission before passing to the consideration of other Cantonments as to which the evidence is less complete.

We infer from the language of the Report (par. 73) the opinion that the only examination expressly sanctioned by the Rules of 1890, is the occasional examination of persons "supposed" to be diseased, and that view was supported by Mr. Ibbetson's testimony, and in such opinion we concur.

Min. 2928.

\* *Dhai*—a woman, usually an old prostitute, employed in the Lock Hospital to look after the prostitutes; sometimes called a matron, but in no way corresponding to that title as used in England; sometimes employed as a Mahaldarni, and sometimes erroneously called so. (See foot-note, page 12.)

We likewise agree in the opinion expressed in par. 87 (line 1,965) that "the 'supposition' of the Rules must be based upon reasonable grounds," *i.e.*, it must not be merely imaginative.

It is not pretended that the regular periodical examination of all the prostitutes whose names were recorded in the hospital lists or registers was an examination founded on any actual supposition that all or even the majority of those women, or any particular woman, were or was diseased. And any such supposition, even if suggested, would be obviously unreasonable, for the result shows that the average number of women found to be diseased out of the total number who came up for examination was at one of the three places (*i.e.*, Meerut), under 5 per cent., and at another (Umballa), under 11 per cent.

We are precluded from making any comparison of results at the third place (Lucknow), in consequence of the system which prevailed there of destroying the temporary records made at the hospital.

For the reasons above stated, therefore, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that the practice of periodical examination within those three Cantonments, as proved, was not sanctioned by the existing Act and Rules; and was therefore illegal.

32. We now approach the consideration of the crucial question whether the periodical examination was "voluntary" or "compulsory" at the three Cantonments in question.

As to (1) Meerut, it is admitted by the Report of the Special Commission upon the facts stated that "to say the least, the system approached dangerously near to compulsion," and, in our opinion, it amounted to compulsion.

Rep. S. C.  
par. 76 and 87.

At (2) Umballa, the attendance at examination was made the condition of permission to reside in Regimental bazars. To this case we apply the words cited above that the system approached "dangerously near to compulsion."

As to the other women (Sadr bazar), the fact that some of them desired to utilise the Government institution and its officers for the purpose of disproving the "taunts" of other women imputing disease to the applicants, does not appear to us to justify the maintenance of the practice of examination even as a purely voluntary system.

Finally as to (3) Lucknow, the facts stated in the report and evidence taken by the Special Commission as to the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate there, appear to us to show that, if not devised for the purpose of securing attendance at the periodical examinations, it had the effect of inducing the new comers at least to attend.

Older residents would be already habituated to the former compulsory system.

But the best evidence that the women did in fact consider their periodical attendance compulsory is, we think, furnished by the significant fact that when, in March 1892, the Cantonment Magistrate for the first time explained to the women that they were free to attend or not as they pleased, the attendance gradually decreased until it almost ceased. After that, it appears to us that any discussion as to whether the examination up to that time (at Lucknow) had been voluntary or compulsory is merely academic.

Rev. S. C. 1878-80.

33. The question as to whether a given obligation is voluntary or compulsory is, we consider, different according as to whether the obligation existed between persons equal in education, position and other circumstances, or between persons of whom the oblige stands in superior conditions to those of the obligor.

In the former case a specific obligation might be merely voluntary, which in the latter case would be practically compulsory.

This principle is applied in paragraph 83 of the report of the Special Commission with admirable lucidity to the two sets of persons concerned as parties in the present question, and we cannot conclude our observations on this topic more appropriately than by adopting and quoting their observations *in extenso*.

"The fact is, that the question whether any particular action can be said to be voluntary, presents two entirely different aspects according as it is looked at from the point of view of the official or from that of the woman. The action of the officer may be merely persuasive, and entirely free from any tinge of compulsion. But for countless generations the *marzi hâkim*, or pleasure of the governor, and the *hukm hâkim*, or order of the governor, have been equivalent terms in India. The idea that the local representatives of Government do not always possess authority to compel people to do all that they may wish them to do, and that there is a law which limits their power, is, at any rate as regards executive matters, an entirely novel conception, which may be said to have had its birth (in the Punjab at least) within

Rep. S. C.  
1873.



"the last 15 years, which is still filtering slowly down through the masses of the people and which is even now fully apprehended by but few. There is still a strong tendency to receive the expression of his wish by one in authority as equivalent to a command. Add to this the extraordinary tenacity with which observances, once established, survive in India; and it becomes impossible to say how far a given result is due to the personal influence of an official, how far to his position of authority, and how far to a mere continuation of a traditional observance."

34. To sum up therefore our conclusions as to the practice of periodical examination in these three particular Cantonments, Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, we are of opinion that such practice of periodical examination, accompanied by methods of securing attendance which so far as they were effective were practically compulsory, justifies the allegations of the non-official witnesses in that respect.

The consideration of the other facts proved as to matters incidental or subsidiary to that system of examination will be more conveniently considered in connection with correlative facts as to other Cantonments to which we now proceed.

### THE SEVEN OTHER CANTONMENTS NOT VISITED BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION

35. The evidence as to these consists of (1) the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell; (2) the reports from general officers commanding in the several districts mentioned and constituting the enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in the Military Despatch, No. 148 of 1893 (which are hereinafter referred to generally as the Military Reports, the references being more briefly denoted by the letters M.R., with the numbers of the lines indicated).

The fact that no official witness was called before us to give personal testimony as to any of these Cantonments, in the same manner as the three Cantonments before-mentioned, visited by the Special Commission, obliges us to deal with the materials before us in a different manner than with the evidence relating to those three Cantonments, viz., by stating in the first place the effect of the case set forth in the evidence of the non-official witnesses, and in the next place the effect of the official reports made in reply thereto.

It is, however, necessary for us to state that the *procès*, or summary forwarded with the Military Reports of the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission, is in our opinion, inexact and misleading.

It will be convenient to deal with this evidence in the order followed originally as to the Cantonments in question by the non-official witnesses, viz.: Mean Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritsar, Bareilly, Sitapur, Benares. And the practices at each of these places may also be conveniently dealt with under the three general heads hereinbefore adopted, viz.: (1.) The chaklas, &c.; (2.) The periodical examination; (3.) The Hospitals.

36 **Mean Meer.** (1) **The Chaklas.**—The principal allegations in the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell were (in short) that in February, 1892, they visited this Cantonment and there saw three chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar; (2) Regimental bazar (infantry); (3) Regimental bazar (artillery), and that the women paid rent.

The reports admit that prostitutes were allowed to reside in the two regimental bazar chaklas, infantry and artillery, which were used exclusively for British soldiers, and in the Sadr bazar, which chakla was open to natives, and that the women paid rent, but not to Government.

It was also alleged that the women were "registered," and a ticket (license) issued to one of them was produced, with a record of examinations endorsed. These facts are admitted absolutely. The tickets are stated to have been re-issued between March 1890, and May 1892, and then discontinued. But it was subsequently proved by the production of the book of forms seen in the hospital by Mrs. Andrew that further requisitions for 19 tickets were made by the Hospital Surgeon on the 15th June 1892. The Royal Artillery officers stated that no tickets for women in the Regimental bazars had been issued by them, but it appears from the book that 20 such tickets had been issued by the Staff Surgeon between February 1891 and June 1892.

It was also alleged that the women were under Mahaldarnis, one of whom said she was paid by Government. The Military Reports deny that any Mahaldarni was paid by Government, but admit that her "duties practically continue the same" (as before 1888).

It was at first admitted that the women accompanied some troops on the march to this Cantonment, but this was subsequently denied.

"in. 266-270.

M. R. 940-951.  
M. R. 3100-10.

M. R. 3130.

Min. 424-433.

M. R. 952-9.  
Id. 900-5.

Min. 3498.  
Lin. 421-430.

Id. 3491-8.  
M. R. Suppl. 97.

Min. 3500.

Min. 486-96.

M. R. 3120.

Suppl. M. R.  
p. 42, line 169.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the regimental prostitutes were subjected to a compulsory periodical examination bi-monthly by British Medical Officers, assisted by native assistant and dhai. It is admitted that “registered women” were required to present themselves for examination bi-monthly (meaning fortnightly) — “the examinations were not limited to women consorting with British soldiers only. The examination was made by a British Medical Officer. Each Medical Officer had, it appears, his own way of conducting the examination. Sometimes they were made in the presence of the Native Medical Officer, Mahaldarni or dhai, and sometimes only in the presence of the Mahaldarni.”

Min. 641.  
M.R. 3141-6;

It is also admitted that “if a woman failed to present herself for examination the Medical Officer reported the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who probably fined her for non-attendance, and ordered her to attend or leave the Cantonment.”

M.R. 3156-9.

And also that “a woman who had left the Cantonment could not practise prostitution in it again until she had been examined.”

M.R. 3159.

With respect to the alleged “compulsory” character of the examination, it is also stated, as to the re-established periodical examinations, that they “were so far voluntary that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examinations she was told she *must* either be examined or leave the station.”

Id., 996.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—No specific allegation was made as to the use of this particular hospital; but it is admitted (June 1893) that “the hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was formerly exclusively used under the name of the “Voluntary Venereal Hospital and Contagious Diseases Ward for the treatment of “venereal diseases contracted by regimental prostitutes.” That appears to have been the case, at least up to May 1892 (the non-official witnesses visited it in February 1892).

M.R. 3162-5.

M.R. 3170.

37. **Rawal Pindi.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged by the non-official witnesses that there were in February 1892 four chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar (as to which there is no question), and three others in the new Cantonment near the regimental bazars for (1) Highlanders, (2) Artillery and (3) Rifles.

Min. 282-3.

As to the regimental chaklas, it is admitted that the tenants of the several chaklas “other than those in the Sadr, are in the habit of speaking of themselves as belonging to “such and such a regiment.” It is also admitted that two of these chaklas were in the Church lines—which were part and parcel of the bazar—and that they were undistinguishable from other houses. The third regimental chakla was near the Royal Artillery bazar, and consisted of huts in the deserted grass cutters lines. The huts were at first denied, but afterwards admitted to be within the regimental limits and were “allocated by “authority for the use of prostitutes,” but were turned out in April 1893.

M.R. 2900.

M.R. 1951-53  
—1163-5.

M.R. 2910.  
M.R. 3365.  
M.R. 3432.

Women wishing to reside in the Cantonment for the purpose of prostitution made application by petition “evidently under the impression that the old Lock Hospital Rules “were still in force.” Notwithstanding explanations to the contrary, the number of such applications steadily increased, viz., in 1889, one; in 1890, two; in 1891, five; in 1892, six; in 1893, up to June, five.

Note to Tabular  
Statement—M.R.  
p. xxvii.

It was alleged that there was in each of the regimental chaklas a head woman (Mahaldarni) one of whom (the Highlanders) showed certificates of service up to November 1891. She also said that she received 15 rupees per month “from the “Government.” The others said they were paid by the women.

Min. 496-501.  
Id. 920-39.

It is admitted that there are Mahaldarnis, and that the description of the certificates is correct, but denied that any such woman is paid out of Cantonment funds.

M.R. 2938-50.  
M.R. 2985.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.** It was alleged that the women were examined weekly on Fridays, which is admitted.

Min. 641.  
Min. 1263.  
M.R. 1666.

In the Hospital Letter Book appears a copy letter dated 4th March, 1891, addressed to the commanding officer of each of five different regiments in the following terms:—

M.R. 2077-83.

[Surgeon] “Has the honour to request he will be good enough to make arrangements for the inspection of the prostitutes living in the bazar under his command at “the Cantonment Hospital on every Friday at 9 a.m., established for the purpose.”

The enquiries instituted respecting this letter produced no satisfactory results.

M.R. 2034-2120

It is asserted by the Military Authorities that the periodical examination is voluntary, and that no compulsion is used beyond the powers conferred by the Rules of 1890, and apparently the Cantonment Magistrate thinks that even the examination of a woman reported to be diseased and dealt with accordingly under the Rules (with penalties for

M.R. 2985-20.

M.R. 1880-92.



disobedience, of expulsion, or fine, or imprisonment) is a voluntary examination. It was admitted, however, that a woman simply absent from examination was required to go up for examination; they then always attended, or absconded; sometimes they were brought by the police.

It is also admitted that some of the women came (to examination) with the Mahaldarnis—that each Mahaldarni brought a list, on which were the names of the women; it was returned with the doctor's remarks. The lists generally referred to the women who consorted with European soldiers.

It is admitted by the Hospital Assistant that a list was kept there of all the prostitutes who came to be examined from the Sadr bazar, and that the Mahaldarnis brought lists of regimental women, which were returned to them; one of the lists was from the British infantry, the other one from the artillery. About 25 to 35 used to come (which confirms Dr. Bushnell's evidence), but he could not say whether they came voluntarily. The Mahaldarni at the Artillery bazar said if the women did not go they would be fined, and that she saw that they all went.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The fact that the books and records seen by Dr. Bushnell at this hospital and requisitioned have not been produced before the Committee precludes any comparison of evidence on this subject.

Dr. Bushnell's evidence as to the records for 1891, showing that none but venereal cases were treated there, consequently stands uncontradicted.

The statement in the Summary of the Military Reports, that "no woman was compulsorily detained" in hospital, is confirmed by some witnesses but conflicts with the evidence of the Hospital Assistant that the Medical Officer ordered their detention till cured; "the compound door was locked, and there was a chowdika (watchman) at the gate."

39. **Peshawar. (1.) The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged on the part of the non-official witnesses that on their visit (February 1892), they found that all the registered women had been turned out of the Regimental bazaar and congregated in the Sadr bazar, and that the houses inhabited by those women bore two numbers, the larger ones in English numerals, which signified the registered numbers of the women. There were said to be over 50 registered women. It is admitted that the women live in the Sadr bazar as described, and that the second set of numbers exists on some of the houses, but it is stated to have "no meaning in 1892." It is also admitted that a list was commenced in 1890, but stated that no register was kept or tickets issued since April, 1891. The women here said they accompanied regiments on the march. It is admitted women may follow regiments, but asserted there is no proof that they have accompanied them.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the women came up for periodical examination on two days in each week. Monday for the (original) Sadr bazar women, Tuesday for the women formerly in the Regimental bazar. This is practically admitted, and is confirmed by the hospital register (see *post*). It was alleged that the native doctor said that women would not come to the examination unless compelled. That official is reported to deny the statement attributed to him. The women themselves said they were compelled to attend the examinations.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The non-official witnesses alleged that at the Lock Hospital they saw the registration list of women periodically examined. It contained 56 names.

The hospital register of attendance at the periodical examination, now produced, shows that the periodical examinations were regularly maintained on Monday and Tuesday of each week, down to 29th February, 1892.

It was alleged that only one patient was seen in the hospital, a prostitute of the Sadr bazar.

That the native doctor said the hospital was for venereal cases of women only—and that the report showed none but venereal cases, except one case of small-pox, which was sent away. Also that the report seen showed that there were about 200 cases treated in the year 1891—no cases of secondary syphilis.

The hospital books now produced confirmed these statements.

N.B.—The official information afforded as to this Cantonment in general is manifestly incomplete in some material particulars.

39. **Amritsar. (1.) The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged that here there was one chakla frequented by British soldiers, with only five women and a Mahaldarni. This is not denied.



(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the periodical examination here was “bi-monthly.” Min. 641.

This is admitted. The examination is asserted by the officials to be entirely voluntary. M.R. 865.

But the women said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the Cantonment. Min. 747-8.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged that on the visit of the non-official witnesses there were no patients. Min. 1302-11.

This is admitted. The books were not seen. M.R. 876.

40. **Bareilly.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—The principal allegation of the non-official witnesses was that they saw here (March 1892) one chakla (Sadr bazar), with about 25 women; other women had left with regiments. It is admitted that the majority of the houses (in this chakla) belong to the Matron of the Cantonment Hospital. Her name is given as Mrs. Barrett, and she appears to be in some way associated with the clerk to the Cantonment Magistrate, a person named Hyland, and she is also known as Mrs. Hyland. Min. 371-6.  
M.R. 871-3.  
M.R. 716-20.  
Min. 1379.  
Min. 3553-5.

The women said that only Europeans were allowed to visit them. This is denied, but it is said that no doubt the bawdy-house keeper “tried to reserve her women for British soldiers, but she had no official assistance in so doing.” M.R. 710.  
M.R. 596.

The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied. Min. 513.  
M.R. 775-80.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and it is admitted that the medical officer prescribed the times of examination. Min. 639.  
M.R. 592.

The women said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the Cantonment. Min. 753.

The officials say there was absolutely no compulsion, but it was “noticed that a woman accompanied the others to examination.” M.R. 595.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The non-official witnesses testified that they saw various official books, &c. here which were afterwards produced before the Committee. Min. 1354-79.

In the visiting book the last entry of the medical officer holding the “voluntary inspection” was 14th January 1893, when 22 women were examined, none diseased. Min. 3532-6.

The admission book of patients showed the treatment of several non-venereal cases. Min. 1362.  
Min. 3538.

With respect to this Cantonment Major General Graham, commanding the Rohilkhand District, in his Report, states: “It would be a great boon to Cantonments if “Cantonment Hospitals (Lock Hospitals) were closed and Government charitable “dispensaries founded in their place. The Cantonment Hospital is a great burden on “the Cantonment Fund, while, owing to its previous history, it is not well received by “the classes whom it might be desirable to help.” M.R. 826-3.

41. **Sitapur.** (1.) **The Chaklas.**—The non-official witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was (5th March 1892) one chakla in the Sadr bazar. Min. 289-96.

This is admitted.

The women there said they paid no rent; “the house belongs to the Government.” M.R. 4594.

It is admitted that this chakla was on the given date “Government property,” and that the women were in occupation, paying no rent. Min. 396.  
M.R. 4616-20.

It is stated the house was afterwards sold, in May 1892. M.R. 4614.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the examination here was weekly. Min. 641.

It is admitted that periodical examinations were regularly held up to 12th July 1892. The women in the chakla here said that the examinations were voluntary, but that if they did not go they would be expelled from the Cantonment. It is admitted that “some of the women say the inspections were voluntary, others that they were “compulsory.” M.R. 4577-  
4705-29.  
Min. 754.  
M.R. 4571.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged that the only in patients treated here were venereal diseases of the women at the chakla. Min. 1396-1400.

The Annual Report for 1891 there seen showed only venereal cases.

This Report has not been produced before the Committee,

M.R. 4818,  
M.R. 4830,  
M.R. 4628-4640.

But it is admitted that only venereal cases were treated in 1892 in the hospital, and all these were prostitutes. It is also admitted that a list or register of women attending periodical examinations up to 12th July 1892 was kept in the hospital, but it has not been produced.

Min. 397-400.

42. **Benares.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged that in March 1892 there was only one chakla at this place, and that the women who lived there paid no rent.

M.R. 106,  
M.R. 127,  
M.R. 210.

It is admitted that during the first quarter of the year 1892 native women did occupy the chakla, and no denial is given as to the statement concerning the rent.

Min. 402,  
M.R. 175.

The women said they were restricted to British soldiers, and no official denial of this is given.

Min. 517-22.

The Mahaldarni said she acted also as "Dhai" at the Lock Hospital, and was paid 10 rupees per month.

M.R. 207.

The woman herself admits that she used the two titles, but says she "never did the "two works."

M.R. 245-50.

The payment is admitted as correct.

M.R. 176.

It is admitted that a register of the women was kept in the Cantonment Office up to 23rd October 1890.

Min. 641.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—The examinations were alleged to take place weekly.

M.R. 260.

It is admitted that periodical examinations were made, but it is suggested (although not affirmed) that the women ceased to attend before March 1892.

Min. 758.

The women said they would have to leave the Cantonment if they did not attend the examination.

M.R. 260.

It is officially stated that the examinations were of a "purely voluntary kind," but that the women regarded them as being in effect compulsory is not denied.

Min. 1422.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged there were no patients in the hospital on 12th March 1892, which is not denied.

Min. 1125-7.

A registration list of women attending examination was alleged to have been then seen, recording the names of 16 women. This has not been produced before the Committee, and the statement is not contradicted.

Min. 1428.

An admission book of indoor cases was also seen, and is now produced; it shows the cases were all venereal cases and all women.

Min. 352F-9.

It shows also that the women were here for "menses," 25 cases out of 34 in-patients, from 1st January to 12th March 1892.

M.R. 156-160.

It is officially stated that women in that condition "voluntarily remained in hospital," during which period they received the Government allowance for in-patients.

### MEAN MEER SPECIALLY CONSIDERED.

43. We have now recapitulated the principal allegations and admissions as to the practice in respect of prostitutes in the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission.

But before considering the facts which pertain in general to those several places, it seems expedient to notice in particular the exceptional circumstances at Mean Meer, which remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments.

It appears from the Reports from the officers commanding in that Cantonment and district already referred to that the old system, with all its essential features of registration, licensing (by tickets), and compulsory periodical examination, was not only in full operation there at the time of the visit (February 1892) of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, but that such practices had been deliberately revived in that Cantonment in March 1890, after a temporary cessation, dating apparently from 1888. Yet the official statements before us do not enable us to decide even that fact satisfactorily, for although the Report of the Officer Commanding states that the "registration of prostitutes was "stopped in August 1888," the Report of the Medical Officer of the Lock Hospital there, dated 1st February 1889, shows that the average number of prostitutes on the register in October 1888 was 54. Moreover, if the statement in the first-mentioned Report is intended to imply that periodical examination also ceased at the same time as registration (which in the absence of any statement seems a fair inference), that also is inconsistent with the Medical Officer's Report, which explicitly states that "inspections "for the examinations of all registered prostitutes were held regularly every week, but since the 10th December 1888 no examination has been made."

M.R. 991.  
  
Lock Hospital  
Reports (Punjab)  
for year 1888,  
Mean Meer, p. 4.

In addition to this there is the fact that in November 1891 the General Officer Commanding the Lahore district, in which this Cantonment is comprised, reported to the Quartermaster General that he "had made most careful enquiries . . ." and was "fully satisfied that the Military Authorities are keeping strictly within the Act and "Rules."

However, the admitted fact of the revival of the old system in March 1890 in attributed to some "extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonments "Magistrate." This misconception arose on receipt of Quartermaster General's No. 283B., dated 28th June 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment at Mean Meer Lock Hospital, to which we shall afterwards advert.

M.R. 898.

M.R. 994.  
Suppl. M.R. 180.

With regard to the fact, however, we are informed by the Commanding Officer that "it was brought to my notice, in May 1892, that tickets were being issued to prostitutes "at Mean Meer;" on which we have only to remark that at that very time one of those tickets was in the possession of the lady witnesses, instead of the woman to whom it had been issued.

Taken altogether, the circumstances as to this Cantonment disclosed by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, which was verified in the most essential particulars by their production of the ticket, as well as by the Official Reports, appear to us to have required special investigation, even in preference to any of the other Cantonments; and we therefore regret that it did not form the subject of exhaustive inquiry by Mr. Ibbetson and his coadjutors, in order that the whole truth about the matter might have been at once ascertained. As it is, we are still left very much in the dark, for even the late Commander in Chief was unable to explain the facts, and could only express his regret for the practices proven.

Min. 2007-2028.

## GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

44. Reverting now to general topics we will consider, in the next place, the **periodical examination in the seven Cantonment** not visited by the Special Commission. Upon this subject, likewise, as in the case of the three Cantonments to which the Report of that Commission is restricted, the effect of the official evidence as represented by the numerous Reports of the Military Authorities and others as to the practices in those other Cantonments, is upon the whole to demonstrate the correctness on all essential points of the testimony of the non-official witnesses, and more particularly as to the maintenance in all these Cantonments of the practice of periodical examination. It is therefore manifest that, in all the ten Cantonments which have been the subject of enquiry, that practice has been maintained with more or less continuity at different places from 1888 down to the present time.

45. **As to the Periodical Examination in general.**—The practice so maintained in all the ten Cantonments mentioned has, both in purpose and performance, been the same since 1888 as before that time. The examination of the women resorted to by British soldiers was, as we have seen, the cardinal point of the former system; it is still, to adopt the description of the present Commander-in-Chief, "the keystone of the whole "preventive system." That examination for the purpose intended must, in practice, take place at such prescribed times as may be convenient—i.e., it must be periodical; and to be effective, regular attendance must be ensured; which implies that in cases of reluctance or abstinence the attendance must be enforced, with the ultimate alternative of expulsion from the Cantonment. In practice this is exactly how the system of periodical examination has, we find, been worked.

App. III.  
Genl. White's  
Min. 1/7/93,  
par 10.

Id., par. 12.

Our conclusion as to the practice of periodical examinations so proved, therefore, is that a system of periodical examination, which in effect was a compulsory system, was maintained after 1888 in the several Indian Cantonments mentioned, and that such practice was contrary to the meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

46. **As to Registration and Licensing of Prostitutes.**—The practice of periodical examination is also proved to have been associated, in all the Cantonments as to which the evidence is complete, with two other important practices, viz. :—

(1.) The entry in the general register, kept by the Cantonment Magistrate, of the description of "prostitutes" of numerous women living in assigned quarters within the Cantonments, in the same way as other inhabitants carrying on lawful business in allocated positions are described by their occupations.



(2.) The keeping at the Lock Hospitals where the periodical examination takes place of a "register" or "list" of women attending the examination, in which the names and places of residence of such women are entered, and the results of each examination recorded.

In some cases also the Mahaldarnis associated with women designated after particular regiments possess similar registers or lists, with identical entries authenticated by the initials of the examining surgeon.

Upon these facts it appears to us that even although the former practice of formal "registration" and "licensing" (by tickets) may have been discontinued since 1888, in all the given Cantonments, except Mean Meer, yet that all materials for effective registration nevertheless still exist; inasmuch as a comparison of the hospital lists and books in the possession of Mahaldarnis with the general register would show which prostitutes were not attending the periodical examination, and which of those who were so attending were attributed to different regiments.

We regret, therefore, to find that even in the modified circumstances we have referred to, there is in effect a system of registration which, whilst it recognises prostitution in general as an occupation permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further afford to the prostitutes who attend the periodical examinations a special recognition by the authorities, which is unique both in its character and its object.

It appears to us inevitable that such recognition should be regarded at least by the women themselves as distinctive, and that they should cling to that opinion, notwithstanding repeated official efforts to constrain them to think differently.

With respect to the soldiers concerned, it appears to us to be an idle contention that the Government in no way recognise prostitution, in face of the fact that the system of periodical examination, with all its incidental circumstances, was expressly maintained for the benefit of those men engaged in its military service.

Besides, there remains the significant fact that the large majority (at Meerut over 83 per cent) of the women examined were found "fit" or "healthy" (in a specific sense), and passed forth from the examination room with perfect liberty to resume their usual occupation.

It is true that since 1888 (except at Mean Meer) they have not been individually furnished with any written proof of examination; but the exact time of such examination must be known to those concerned, and under such circumstances the liberty of the woman herself after examination is the best evidence of "fitness" for the purpose intended by herself and her customers.

Moreover, wherever the Mahaldarnis' lists exist there is an actual certificate by the constituted authority that each particular woman then at liberty is "fit" or "healthy" in the specific sense implied. And the fact that the certificate in this case is possessed by the Mahaldarni instead of by the woman, as formerly, places the latter more completely in the power of her keeper.

Upon all these facts therefore our conclusion is, that the actual practice constitutes in effect a system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes which is not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

**47. The Lock Hospitals in general.**—The general allegation of the non-official witnesses as to these hospitals, was that although they are now officially called "Sections" or "Wards" of General Cantonment Hospitals, in which all diseases and disorders are treated, and although such general Cantonment Hospitals are officially spoken of as if the old Lock Hospitals had been absolutely abolished, yet that in fact the original Lock Hospitals actually remained as separate buildings with a staff, and that they were used almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes for two principal purposes: (a) the periodical examination, and (b) the cure of those women found on examination to be diseased. It was also alleged that no infectious diseases are treated in those particular hospitals; that as a rule no patients other than prostitutes are admitted; and that the non-venereal cases treated in them are only few and occasional.

All these allegations have been substantially proved by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, the production of the hospital records seen by them on their several visits, and the evidence of Dr. Cleghorn (the present Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab) on behalf of the Government of India. The voluntary information afforded to us by the last-named witness describes very plainly the whole system, in reply to questions 3122-6: "With regard to those Cantonment 'general Hospitals, they have been drawn up on the same plans as military hospitals. In



"a military hospital there is a station hospital, and Sections 1 and 2. They wanted to assimilate, I suppose, these special hospitals in Cantonments to these military hospitals, and they built the Cantonment General Hospital with a general hospital, and then special sections 1 and 2 (1) for contagious diseases and cholera and small-pox, and (2) for venereal cases. But it was the same thing. So long as these periodical examinations were continued, there must be a hospital for venereal diseases, and they considered that these examinations were entirely voluntary, and they continued the old system of having a separate venereal hospital, and called it section No. 2; but it was the old Lock Hospital undoubtedly, in every way." "They are the old Lock Hospitals for prostitutes, and no other change has taken place, except that they have been made a section of the Cantonment General Hospital." "They are separate buildings." "Always used as Lock Hospitals." "And practically for the same purpose now."

We accept these statements as conclusive upon this point.

48. In view of all the facts before noticed, which appear to us to demonstrate a general failure to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons, and the avowed determination of the Government of India and the late Commander in Chief to give the fullest effect to that Resolution, in spirit as well as in letter, we think it advisable briefly to review the means employed for the intended purpose, which consisted of two principal agencies, viz. :—

- (1.) Official Rules and Regulations, both civil and military.
- (2.) The Statutory Rules of 1890.

49. **As to the Official Rules and Regulations.**—We have already reported (*see* paragraph 11 hereof) the steps taken by the Government of India consequent upon the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and more particularly their declared intention to consider the Rules under the then existing Acts; and their direction that, "pending the issue of revised rules, the existing Rules should be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution."

From time to time numberless other communications of various kinds, comprising Government General Orders, regimental Orders, reports, and letters, both official and demi-official, "confidential," and "strictly confidential," were issued and sent to various administrative officers, both civil and military. One of these was a demi-official letter, dated 10th March 1892, part of which is quoted in Despatch No. 148 of 1893, paragraph 11, and in which the following illustrative application of the principle laid down was stated: "If, . . . even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of Cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the Supreme Military Authorities, to carry out loyally the Resolution of the House of Commons, would be defeated." Whilst in the next paragraph the Government of India requests the Commander in Chief to instruct General Officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention and the Resolution of the House of Commons of June the 5th 1888.

App. III.

Assuming, for the moment, that all these directions, orders, &c., were sufficient in themselves to carry out the intention of the House of Commons Resolution, it seems manifest, in the first place, that effective measures should have been instituted to ascertain that the directions and orders were implicitly obeyed, and careful inquiries should have been instituted to see what changes in practice, and more particularly with regard to the periodical examinations, had been made in each Cantonment, and whether such changes were in themselves adequate to fulfil the intention.

But it does not appear that systematic measures or inquiries of the kind were instituted.

Had they been, it must, we think, have been discovered that in some of the ten Cantonments mentioned (*e.g.*, Mean Meer, Umballa, Meerut), regimental chaklas had been re-opened; that at one of these (*i.e.*, Mean Meer) even formal registration and licensing (by tickets) had been re-established; that in all of these stations the periodical examination had been either unceasingly continued or speedily resumed; that at Umballa women attended periodical examinations under pain of being turned out of the Regimental bazars; that at Meerut they attended examinations under pain of being turned out of the Cantonments, and that at Lucknow it appears to have been to some extent considered by the women as compulsory; and that, in short, the old system as represented

substantially by the periodical examination was still in active operation. With regard to this question of compulsion the statement of the Indian Government in the document above quoted, paragraph 12 is, "That there was no compulsion beyond that authorised in " Rules 4 and 5, G.G.O. 617, of 1890, relating to the exclusion from Cantonments of " persons suffering from infectious or contagious disease who refused to go to hospital, or " having gone to hospital left it before they were pronounced free from the disorder."

In some cases, indeed, it appears incidentally from the documentary evidence before us, that the Orders, &c., themselves failed to receive more than initial attention. For instance, at Umballa, the documents being marked "strictly confidential," after being read, were locked up in a "confidential box," and were not conveyed to the officers commanding two Highland regiments which subsequently arrived at Umballa.

At another Cantonment (Rawal Pindi) the Orders, instead of being locked up in a special box, were "filed," and escaped the attention of the officer commanding the Artillery at the station.

In numerous other cases the Orders, &c., were said to have been misinterpreted, of which result the most striking example, in all respects, is that of Meer Meer, where, upon the receipt, in January 1890, from the Quartermaster General, of an authority for an increase in the staff of the Lock Hospital "from some extraordinary misconception of " orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate, . . . women were registered, " tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspection made " for more than two years afterwards, before the practice was discontinued as before mentioned.

The explanation of the Cantonment Magistrate is too significant to be overlooked : "The construction placed upon the Quartermaster-General's letter was that sanction " having been obtained for the establishment of a first-class Lock Hospital, it would of " course be worked on the former lines." And he points out that when such sanction was given "no caution or warning whatever was given to be careful that the Rules as to " registration, &c., must be implicitly adhered to."

We think the point of this latter observation is indeed quite as applicable to other cases of disregard or misinterpretation of Rules and Orders, and more particularly the Rules of 1890, which we now proceed to consider specifically.

**50. The Statutory Rules of 1890.**—These Rules were projected in 1888, with a specific object, as declared by the Government of India, viz., "whereby venereal " diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious " diseases."

Now, as venereal disease is the only contagious disease for which any periodical examination ever has been made, it is manifest at the outset that there was no intention by means of those Rules to legalise the periodical examination, whether "voluntary" or "compulsory."

But there is nothing in the Rules, either in their original draft, or in their final form having statutory effect, or in the Act which gave them such effect, to prohibit such examination, or to preclude any interpretation that they were intended to be worked in connection with the practice of such examination.

In themselves those Rules were compatible either with the old system of compulsory examination, or the intended new system of voluntary examination.

They are, as Mr. Ibbetson admitted, merely "subsidiary legislation"; they "merely " authorise certain courses of action, and *do not prohibit any*." There is nothing in them which prohibits any system. Accordingly, the practice proved to be existing in different Cantonments, in respect of the chaklas, as already reported, do not in themselves infringe the Rules of the Act, although such practices may be in contravention of Government or Military Orders, &c.

The same is true as to the periodical examination. The Rules authorise a certain form of examination on certain occasions and in specific circumstances; they do not authorise any periodical form of examination whatever, but they do not forbid it. It is the same with regard to the use of the Lock Hospital. "They simply prescribe that " hospitals shall be maintained for the treatment of those disorders, and go no further."

It appears to us manifest, therefore, that having regard to the express terms in which those Rules were first mentioned in the official Orders, *i.e.*, that pending the issue of the new Rules, the existing Rules were to be so worked that registration, licensing and compulsory periodical examination were to cease, it was needful, in order to prevent misinterpretation and error, that one of two courses should have been followed. Either the publication of those Rules should have been accompanied by a republication of all such Orders, &c., both civil and military, as would have prevented the resuscitation of

Ev. S. C. 3613.

M.R. 3270-90.

M.R. 993.

M.R. 898-904.

Suppl. M.R.  
153-6.Suppl. M.R.  
158-160.Despatch No. 193,  
of 1888, dated  
15th Oct.

Min. 2704-6.

Min. 2920-26.

Min. 2927-8.

Min. 2930-1.

Despatch 148 of  
1893, par. 5.



the former system, and reversion to the former practice, in connection with the administration of the new Rules, or (which appears to be the better plan), the Act and Rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the Resolution of the House of Commons, both in letter and spirit.

The result of our inquiries as to the working of the new Rules, clearly is that those Rules have in fact been worked in the manner in which, in Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart's letter, quoted in paragraph 15 hereof, it was suggested that they might possibly be worked, and that they have in effect been used, if not to set up, at least to assist in maintaining, a system of periodical examination of prostitutes, which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

It appears to us that the only effective method of preventing those systematic practices which have thus been maintained in co-operation with those Rules, is by means of express legislation.

### CONCLUSIONS.

51. To sum up our conclusions, therefore, as to matters of fact, we find :—

(1.) That in all the ten Cantonments mentioned in the evidence, a system of periodical examination at the Lock Hospitals of women consorted with principally (if not exclusively) by British soldiers under conditions in effect compulsory was maintained during various periods extending altogether from 1888 to 1893.

(2.) That those women, in common with other known prostitutes, were permitted to live in certain assigned quarters in the Cantonments, but that distinctively from other prostitutes, the names and residences of the women attending the periodical examinations were entered in special registers or lists kept at the Lock Hospitals, and in some cases also in other books in the possession of the Mahaldarnis superintending the women, and in which registers or books respectively was recorded the "state" (in a specific sense) of those women individually on each examination.

(3.) That all the women found on examination to be free from disease, and who formed the large majority of the women so examined, were set free to resume their occupation.

(4.) That the Special Hospitals provided in each Cantonment for Contagious Diseases (now constituting sections of Cantonment General Hospitals, but formerly and still called Lock Hospitals) were used almost exclusively for the purpose of the periodical examination and of the treatment of the women then found diseased.

(5.) That the numerous official Orders and Regulations, speaking generally, failed to effect the intended abolition of the old system of regulated and licensed prostitution.

(6.) That the Rules of 1890 (under the Cantonment Act, 1889) were worked in connection with the continuous system of periodical examination and the practices incidental thereto carried on since 1888.

(7.) That this system and the incidental practices above described did not, and the Statutory Rules, so far as they authorise or permit the same, do not accord with the accepted meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

### THE ALLEGED INACCURACIES IN LADY WITNESSES' EVIDENCE.

52. In some of the Official Reports charges are incidentally made of perversions of truth and of some intention on the part of the non-official witnesses to mislead. Though Mr. Ibbetson, on reflection, elected to restrict these charges of inaccuracy to matters of hearsay, that is, statements to the witnesses made by natives, he nevertheless persevered in the demonstration of those alleged minor errors.

Min. 2972

After hearing the allegations, however, we did not think them of sufficient importance to require any further explanation.

## NOTE FROM GENERAL LORD ROBERTS.

Min. 179+18.

53. It behoves us to add that Lord Roberts, upon his examination before us, seemed inclined to participate in the views expressed in the Special Commission's Report, criticizing some parts of the evidence of the non-official witnesses; but subsequently he transmitted to us the following note upon the subject, with a request that it should be appended to our Report:—

Dunbar, Scotland, 11 August 1893.

Having read the report of Mr. Ibbetson's Committee, in regard to the working of the rules dealing with the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in Cantonments in India, and also the reports of the officers commanding the seven stations which the Committee did not visit, I frankly admit that the statements of the two American missionary ladies, who made a tour through Upper India in the cold weather of 1891-92, for the purposes of inquiry into the matter, are in the main correct.

I hoped and believed that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had been everywhere obeyed. In some stations the rules have been strictly enforced, but in others it now turns out this has not been completely the case.

I deeply regret this, and I feel that an apology is due from me to the ladies concerned. This apology I offer unreservedly.

In doing so, I would remark that I think it would have been better if the missionary ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India. We could have assisted them to carry out the work on which they were engaged; omissions and shortcomings would have been remedied at the time: a great deal of unpleasantness would have been avoided; the ladies themselves would have found their task considerably lightened; and there would have been less chance of their drawing wrong deductions from some of the circumstances which came under their notice, as in sundry instances they would seem from Mr. Ibbetson's Committee Report to have done. This was owing, no doubt, to a want of knowledge of the language, and of the habits and customs of the people of India.

ROBERTS.

54. We, the undersigned, submit the foregoing as our Report.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.

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SEPARATE REPORT BY GENERAL SIR *D. M. Stewart* AND SIR *J. B. Peile*.

1. As we are unable to agree in the conclusions of our colleagues on the evidence before the Committee, we beg leave to submit a Separate Report.

9. For the sake of brevity, we shall not repeat the prefatory narrative of events, for which we can refer, if needful, to the Report of the majority.

3. The instruction to this Committee was, "To inquire into the Rules, Regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere, with regard to prostitutes, and to the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June 1888." The Resolution enunciated that the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits

(1) The compulsory examination of women,

(2) The licensing and regulation of prostitution, in India, ought to be repealed.

4. The first, and on the face of it the only, requirement of this Resolution was the repeal of certain legislation. We find that the laws indicated, viz., the Cantonments Acts and the Contagious Diseases Acts in force at the date of the Resolution, were repealed before the end of 1888. It was, however, of course implied that any Cantonments Act substituted for those repealed should not enjoin, authorise, or permit (that is, as we understand it, legalize) compulsory examination, or the licensing and regulation of prostitution. The Acts repealed gave to the Government power to make rules for "inspecting and controlling brothels and preventing the spread of venereal disease." The rules so made directed that a register of public prostitutes should be prepared and kept in the office of the cantonment magistrate; that a woman wishing to practice prostitution was required to apply to have her name entered on the register; that no woman not so registered was allowed to practice prostitution; that on registration the woman had to assent to certain regulations, which were explained to her; that every registered prostitute had to pay a monthly subscription to the Lock Hospital Fund; that she was furnished with a printed ticket, to be renewed annually; that she was bound to present herself with her ticket for medical examination at the Lock Hospital not less than once a fortnight; that if found to be diseased she was detained in the Lock Hospital until discharged as cured; that if she wished to change her residence in the Cantonment she was bound to notify it; and that she was to observe rules made by the Cantonment Committee to maintain cleanliness in houses occupied by registered prostitutes; and any prostitute convicted of a breach of these rules was liable to a fine of 50 rupees, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for eight days. There were also rules for the registration of brothel keepers, who were required to keep a list of all prostitutes residing with them, to receive only registered prostitutes, and to do other things under like penalties. These rules were in force in all the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates, and in 60 other Cantonments in India.

5. The new Cantonments Act (xiii. of 1889) does not mention brothels or prostitutes, but gives the Government power to make rules for "the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and the appointment and regulation of hospitals." This Act came into force on 1 January 1890, and rules under the Section quoted were put in force on 4 July 1890. The rules also make no mention of prostitutes or brothels, they treat only of hospitals for infectious and contagious diseases. Rules 4 and 5 are as follows:—

"4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to

"remove from the Cantonment within twenty-four hours and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

"5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or re-enters the Cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition."

6. We presume that these are the only rules now having the force of law as regards infectious diseases in Cantonments, including venereal disease. At any rate, we find that the Government of India, about the middle of 1888, directed that no register of public prostitutes was to be kept, no tickets were to be issued, and no compulsory examinations of the women held, and that the Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution. Any officer applying the old stringent code would therefore do so without authority and at his own risk. Nevertheless we find that at Meeran Meer women were registered, tickets were issued, and examinations held fortnightly between March 1890 and May or June 1892. Fines or expulsion from Cantonments were the punishments. These proceedings were altogether illegal and indefensible, and no reasonable explanation is offered by the Cantonment Magistrate, who was primarily responsible. We agree with the majority of this Committee that the circumstances of Meeran Meer are exceptional, and "remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments." It is the only instance in evidence of a positive disregard of the law, and we put it aside as thus distinguished from irregular or doubtful practices in other places, to which we now proceed.

Report, para. 43.

7. Apart from the Cantonment law, and under executive circular orders issued from Army Headquarters, we find that there had existed in India for many years before 1888 what was known as the Regimental system, which provided for the residence in regimental bazaars of prostitutes who had registered themselves under the Act, and the care and supervision of whom was imposed on commanding officers both in Cantonments and in camp or on the march. The attention of the Government of India was called to this subject by the Secretary of State in March 1888, and in a despatch dated May 18, 1888, the Viceroy in Council wrote that "the instructions on this subject are not issued under the authority of the Government of India, but having them now before us in a complete form, we have no hesitation in saying that some of the rules are open to grave objection, and are, indeed, indefensible. The Commander-in-Chief has already issued orders prohibiting prostitutes from residing in regimental bazaars, and from accompanying regiments on the line of march or at camps of exercise, and we have now decided to direct the cancellation of the circulars." The order was conveyed to commanding officers in a Circular of the Quartermaster-General, dated May 12, 1888.

8. Nevertheless, in 1889 we find that at Umballa and Meerut prostitutes were again allowed to reside within regimental limits, and near camps. There is a similar case of minor importance at Rawal-Pindi. And the Indian Committee states that prostitutes frequently did accompany regiments in standing camp and on the line of march, and instances are in the evidence.

Indian Commission Report, para. 32.

The explanation offered, as regards Umballa and Meerut, is that the orders of 1888 prohibited the residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars, and as registration had been abolished since, the prohibition was no longer in force.

9. We attach no weight to this explanation, which is more ingenious than convincing. The inducement of residence in regimental limits (nearer the regiment than the Sadr, or main bazaar) is stated to have been offered to secure the consent of the women to weekly examination, and the excuse that the prohibition was no longer in force appears to have been too easily embraced. On the other hand, we think that the object of the orders of 1888 was to prohibit the care and supervision of prostitutes by commanding officers, rather than their residence in one part of Cantonments or another, which is not a point of primary importance. And it is not clear to us how commanding officers can prevent women from travelling in the vicinity of troops on the march. The subject is fully discussed in paras. 43-47 of the report of the Indian Committee. The women were ejected at Umballa in 1891 and 1893, and at Meerut in 1891 or 1892, on orders being re-issued.

10. We have next to consider the practice as to periodical examinations. We agree with the majority of this Committee that periodical examination is a "cardinal point." Without the vigorous grip of the old rules, and without periodic examination, there can be no effective control of the body of prostitutes living in a Cantonment when not diseased. We understand the view of our colleagues to be that no examination of the women as a body (healthy as well as diseased) is admissible, because women thus found healthy are virtually certificated as safe. We will not discuss that theory, because the Resolution of the House of Commons is aimed at compulsory examination. The question is, therefore, whether the periodical examinations held in most Cantonments after 1888 were voluntary or compulsory. Compulsory in the sense of the old rules, as enforced by fine and imprisonment, they were not. They professed to be voluntary, but they were promoted by inducements of various potency. We think that if there was anything amounting to intimidation, it was clearly illegal and at the risk of the person who used it, and that the submission to examination thus obtained was not voluntary. On the other hand, if it was the inducement of some personal advantage that secured submission to examination, it may be argued that such submission was voluntary. We can understand that medical and other officers responsible for the health of the troops in a Cantonment might look about them for some means of effecting examinations which should not be compulsory. In some Cantonments there is no evidence that inducements were offered. The women generally said that they would be ejected from Cantonments if they did not attend, but there is no evidence that they actually were ejected, or that they were told by authority that they would be. In Umballa the inducement offered was the advantage of residing in regimental limits as preferable to the main bazaar. As the women were free to take or reject this advantage with the condition of being examined, we do not think that the examination was compulsory. At Meerut the practice was that if a newcomer did not present herself at the periodical examination, or if a resident prostitute absented herself persistently without good cause, she was reported by the medical officer, "supposed to be diseased," and dealt with under Rule 4. We are told that as a fact "the supposition almost always turned out to be well founded." But the method of using non-attendance as an index of disease in our opinion deprived the examination of its voluntary character, and was indefensible. The practice at Lucknow where the Cantonment Magistrate invited prostitutes seeking permission to reside in Cantonments to be examined, and they "in all cases agreed," appears to be similar in quality to the practice at Umballa.

\*Report, paras. 8 and 21.

Indian Commission Report, para. 76.

ib. para. 86.

11. We think it unnecessary to examine this question at greater length, because the Government of India agreed with the majority of this Committee on the same facts, and, in consequence of their twice-repeated orders, periodical examinations ceased in six of the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates at various dates in 1892, and in two more in 1893. As to the disuse in the two others there is no direct statement, but we think it is reasonable to conclude that in those also the reiterated orders have been obeyed. In a letter dated 12th March 1892, in which commanding officers were warned "that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and the spirit, the intention of "the Resolution of the House of Commons," the case of "women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments" was indicated as one which would defeat the intention of the Government of India and the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally that Resolution. And in a letter dated 29th June 1892 (communicated to general officers commanding districts by the Quarter-master-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892) the Government of India interpreted the Statutory Rules of 1890 to mean that no special examination of prostitutes was to be permitted.

Despatch No. 148, 11 July 1892.

12. We think it of material importance in judicially estimating the present practice in Indian Cantonments (which is the task imposed on this Committee) that this "cardinal" agent in dealing with prostitutes has ceased to exist.

13. We next think it necessary to consider whether the position of prostitution in Cantonments under the new Act and Rules presents a substantial change from the position under the old Act and Rules, and whether the change is understood.

14. We are of opinion that the change is substantial. Under the old Act and Rules the women were, in all details of their traffic, within the iron grasp of a special penal code. That code is no longer operative. There is no evidence of any penal action since 1888 except in Meen Meer, where it is stated that "fines and expulsion from Cantonments" were the punishments, but not imprisonment.

See above, para. 4.



Expulsion, we note, appears to have no legal sanction. It was before 1890 enforced under the authority of prescription or custom. In the new Act the Government is empowered to make Rules for the exclusion from Cantonments of persons whom the Commanding Officer deems it expedient to exclude, but it is not in evidence that any such Rule has been made.

The registers kept under the old Rules are abolished, tickets are no longer issued, nor examinations enforced by fine and imprisonment.

15. On the question whether the charge is understood, we need not discuss it as regards the Government officials. On the question whether the prostitutes understood it and were made to understand it, the evidence is mixed.

16. We find the following statements of officials in the evidence :—

Meerut, 1888.—“The 16 patients in hospital were asked if they preferred to remain in hospital for further treatment, and they all declined to do so. They were then informed that they could leave the hospital.”

Meerut, 1893.—“I do not think that the examinations gave the women ground for thinking that they (the women) were in any way recognised by Government. In fact it was often explained to them that they were not.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“I then had notice given to the women that they were free to attend examinations or not as they pleased.”

Rawal Pindi, 1888-93.—“In each case which came under my notice I explained to the applicants that prostitution in India could not be recognised by the Government, and that since the abolition of the Lock Hospital rules there was no such thing as registration.”

Umballa, 1892.—“I then told the women who had come regularly to examination that I would not see them any more, and they never came again as a body.”

17. With regard to the impression on the minds of the women, we find the following statements of the women :—

Umballa, 1893.—“No one here has ever been punished for not going. But we used to be fined and imprisoned when examination was the rule. Since Government has released us from this we eat our bread in peace.”

Umballa, 1893.—“We are absolutely free to come or go, to leave the chakla or the Cantonment.”

Meerut, 1893.—“Two weeks ago we were asked whether we came of our own will, and we said ‘No’; so were told we need not come any longer.”

Meerut, 1893.—“If we want to leave hospital before cure we are allowed to go; but are told that in that case we must leave cantonments.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“She said that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up.”

Peshawar, 1892.—“They said this, that the Queen had forbidden the examinations,” but the officers continued them, and “It is the officers, not the Queen, who have done this.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“They all assured us, and insisted, that the mahaldarnis had all been discharged, and that doctors were not going to examine the women any more, because word had been sent from Simla that the Queen did not like it, and that it was all to be done away with.”

On the other hand, we find that the women generally stated their belief that if they did not submit to examination they would be turned out of cantonments. It is possible, as our colleagues seem to hold, that this belief arose from an imperfect comprehension of the Rules of 1890. It is intelligible that some confusion would subsist for a time in the minds of women of this class after the abolition of the system which had previously coerced them so rigidly.

18. We next consider whether errors of practice have actually been corrected by successive Orders of the Government, so that the object in view has been more fully

attained by degrees. We find that there is evidence that this was so. We have mentioned above the misconstruction of the order prohibiting prostitutes to reside in regimental lines. It was corrected in 1892. The rules of 1890 required interpretation to show that they prohibited any special examination. But even the Order of July 1892, which supplied that interpretation was not obeyed at Meerut, where weekly inspections were continued until April 1893, and then ceased on the order being repeated. However, it is in evidence that this order of July 1892 did take effect at once in several cantonments. We observe that the Government of India has very recently repeated its orders to commanding officers and cantonment magistrates. We agree with the majority of this committee that the rules of 1890 were not accompanied on issue by sufficient explanation, and that if a comprehensive notification, in the vernacular as well as in English, had been issued along with them, cancelling all superseded rules, and stating exactly what was to be done and not to be done, there would have been less room for mistakes and neglects, and practices which ran very close to the verge of the permissible.

Despatch No. 148  
of 11 July 1892.

19. It is very important to arrive at a true estimate of the feelings and sentiments of the Cantonment prostitutes. For if the examination at a hospital really filled them with shame and horror, the practice will naturally appear more odious than if the women are proved to treat it as a matter of business. The statements of the women reported by the American lady witnesses are at variance with the opinions of the Indian Committee. The women are reported everywhere to have spoken bitterly of the shame of the examinations and of their calling. The Indian Committee questions the genuineness of this feeling and explains that the Asiatic view of the profession of prostitution differs from the European view. Our own experience agrees with that of the Indian Committee; and we think the evidence supplies a test of the genuineness of the shame and horror about examinations. For if women are willing, as at Umballa, by consenting to examination to purchase the privilege of residing nearer to their customers, or to get the better of certain foreign prostitutes who were diseased and gave them a bad name, or as at Lucknow to gain admission to a Cantonment, or to consent because they prefer general examinations to being specially denounced by a soldier as the cause of his disease, and thus weigh their shame against a trifling advantage, and choose the latter, the wound to their modesty cannot be very severe.

Report, paras. 12,  
18,  
Min. 3011.

20. We add the following remark on the evidence of the American ladies. Their sincerity and intelligence are beyond question. But the plan they adopted was to avoid all officials in authority. On only one occasion was an exception made, when Dr. Kate Bushnell went before a Cantonment Magistrate with a woman whom she wished to reclaim, in order to obtain for her a permit to leave the Cantonment, which the police and others had declared to be necessary. The Cantonment Magistrate informed her that no permit was required. On this we only think it right to suggest that as their evidence forms the basis of an indictment against a number of Government officers who had no opportunity of explaining or cross-examining, it would not be fair to form a judgment on it by itself, and that it should be taken and carefully weighed with the Report of the Indian Committee and the evidence received with it from India.

21. The above is our estimate of the existing Rules, Regulations and practices in Indian Cantonments. We will now explain the grounds on which we dissent from the conclusions thereon of the majority of this Committee.

22. The report of the majority, after prefatory matter, proceeds (para. 21) to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the resolution of the House of Commons, and arrives at the conclusion that "the actual practice constitutes in effect a system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes," and demonstrates a "general failure to carry out" the resolution.

Para. 21.

Para. 46.

Para. 46.

23. The review of practices presents under the head of each Cantonment a formidable array of facts, including not only the transgressions, mistakes, and disputable acts which we have discussed above, but also facts which really have no significance as supports to the conclusion. This arrangement is calculated to convey an idea of connected system, which we do not think that the facts will bear.

24. We will give instances. At Umballa, and elsewhere, it is recorded as a practice under "Registration" that "there is no separate registry of prostitutes now kept by the Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general registry of Cantonment residents, and therein described as prostitutes." Again, "an attendance registry of all the women periodically examined was kept at the hospital." That is to say, the

Para. 22.

register kept by the Cantonment Magistrate has nothing to do with the register on which prostitutes had to enrol themselves under the old rules, but is simply a Cantonment Directory, which it is necessary to keep, that the authorities may know who are living in Cantonments and what their business there is. And the record kept in the hospital of women who are examined is the usual record which hospital doctors keep of their transactions. It was, as Mr. Ibbetson says, a list of women who did attend, not a list of women who had to attend, examinations. The evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, is to the same effect.

Min. 2801.

Min. 1528.

Para. 46.

25. Now the conclusion of the majority on this is (under the heading "Registration and Licensing of Prostitutes") that these two records are "important practices," and that "all materials for effective registration still exist," and finally that "there is in effect a system of registration which, while it recognises prostitution in general as an occupation permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further afford to the prostitutes who attend the periodical examination a special recognition by the authorities which is unique both in its character and its object."

26. We do not think that the facts stated justify this conclusion. We observe that while the Directory cannot reasonably be objected to, two other facts must be accepted and are not excluded by the Resolution of the House of Commons. These are:—

(1) That there will be prostitutes among the large mixed population of a Cantonment bazar. The Resolution objects to their coercion, not to their existence.

(2) That while venereal disease exists in Cantonments, means of treating it will be supplied in a hospital, and that such a hospital will necessarily be a separate building or ward.

27. The real objection to the venereal hospitals or wards in the minds of the majority of this Committee is that they were used for a time for the periodical examination of women, healthy as well as diseased. This may be a valid objection, but it has been met by the decision of the Government of India that such periodical examinations are not permissible.

Para. 41.

28. Again we find among the practices such items as this: "The non-official witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was (March 5th 1892) one chakla in the Sadar bazaar. This is admitted."

We would ask, why not? If there are prostitutes in the cantonment, they must live somewhere, and it is the custom in Indian towns that people of like occupation live together. It would be intolerable that prostitutes should live where they please. In the Indian Municipality Acts powers are given to eject them from residences where they annoy.

Para. 22.

29. Again, "There is a uniform minimum rate of pay. It appears to be a customary rule long established, and is said, indeed, to be co-eval with British rule. If the soldier evades payment, he is reported and compelled to pay, either by the sergeant or, if necessary, by some superior officer."

Report, para. 57.

It is natural that there should be a tariff, and it is said to rest on custom, not regulation. There is evidence that the soldiers were made to pay what they owed. The sergeant of Military Police (whose duty it is to look after the men of their regiment) would do this to prevent disturbance. The Indian Committee says: "We have been able to obtain no evidence as to complaints of non-payment reaching the Colonel of a regiment, except that the Provost-Sergeant of Umballa had known such cases."

Para. 24.

30. Again, it is stated generally that there were mahaldarnis, formerly official, and now performing duties "the same as before 1888."

The mahaldarni is "forewoman of prostitutes," and performs for them the duties which a foreman performs for workmen. That is a private matter between her and the women, who pay her, and it continues. Before 1888 the mahaldarni was a paid Government servant, enrolled on the lock hospital establishment. This has ceased. The matter is fully explained in the Indian Committee's Report, paragraph 38.

Para. 45.

31. We entirely agree with the majority of this Committee that the periodical examination was the "cardinal point" and key-stone of what was going on in 1892. We agree also that "it must be periodical, and to be effective regular attendance must be ensured," but in the words which follow we do not agree, viz., "which implies that in cases of reluctance or abstinence, the attendance must be enforced, with the ultimate



*"alternative of expulsion from cantonments. In practice this is exactly how the system of periodical examination has, we find, been worked."*

We think that the evidence does not support this statement. Is it proved by Ambala or Lucknow, or of any Cantonment, except Meerut and Meer? We have discussed the various cases above. And we refer as to expulsion to the evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, who, on the subject of the belief of women as to expulsion as a means of coercion, deposed that "no such case had occurred; no such case as expulsion from the Cantonment." Para. 10  
Min. 1734-5.

32. We do not concur in the statement that "the numerous official orders and regulations, speaking generally, failed to effect the intended abolition of the old system of regulated and licensed prostitution." Para. 51.

It seems to us established by evidence that the old system is substantially extinct. For instance, there is now no regimental system, thus described by the Indian Committee: "Under the old system prior to 1888 the officer commanding a regiment used, at any rate in some cases, to arrange for the provision of women for the use of his men." The same committee says that "the women are worse off now in the matter of attention to such grievances. . . . there is a tendency to tell them that they are no longer recognised by authority, and therefore no longer entitled to assistance by summary order." In short they are disestablished. Report, para. 39.  
Id. para. 58.

33. We have agreed that the periodical examinations after 1888 were an attempt to secure by various methods the same means of detecting disease without the old sanctions and with the substitution of motives for coercion. We have not argued that the practice was consistent with the spirit of the Resolution, though we do not think it was necessarily contrary to the letter, but it was not the old system. And when it is clearly understood that the Government of India has ruled that the practice is also inconsistent with the rules of 1890, and has prohibited it, and it has ceased, it is not apparent to us which portion of the old system has escaped abolition, or that any new system stands in its place.

34. We do not agree that the Rules of 1890 "have in effect been used, if not to set up, at least to assist in maintaining, a system of periodical examination of prostitutes which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit." Para. 50.

The Rules here seem to be blamed for what they do not forbid, for it is said:—

"The Act and Rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the resolution of the House of Commons both in letter and spirit."

35. We do not understand how the Rules of 1890 have assisted in maintaining (if they did not set up) compulsory examinations and the control of prostitutes. It should be remembered that the old Rules, now abolished, were a very comprehensive and stringent code, and that they empowered certain officials to do acts which, done without the sanction of the law, would expose them to prosecution. When a law and empowering Rules under it having the force of law, which put constraint enforced by penalties on the liberty of certain persons, are repealed, it does not seem necessary for the Legislature to enact that each of the things that might once be done under the empowering Rules is illegal. They have become illegal by the mere force of the repeal.

36. The peculiarity of the periodical examinations after 1888 was that they were supposed to put no constraint on the liberty of the women, and if so they were not illegal. The Government of India however directed in June 1892 that no other examination was to be held than that allowed by the Rules, viz.: the usual medical examination of a patient under treatment, and prohibited every other kind of examination, voluntary or otherwise.

37. In submitting these opinions we would not be understood to mean that the position in the early part of 1892 did not supply sufficient reasons for inviting thereto the attention of the Secretary of State, or of the Government of India, if that had been the course selected.

D. M. STEWART.  
JAMES B. PEILE.

2nd September 1893.



## I N D E X.

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Witness is a director of a limited liability company, which publishes the "South Durham and Cleveland Mercury" and the "Northern Echo," and resides at Darlington, 1464-1466.—He was strongly interested in favour of the movement for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act some years ago in this country, and took an active part in the movement, 1467-1472.

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Account of a visit made by witness, accompanied by the Rev. E. S. Bushy, to the Lock Hospital at Meerut; treatment of venereal and syphilitic cases

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Evidence to the effect that the rents of the rooms let to the prostitutes in the Meerut Cantonment are collected by Ali Bakhs, Hira's chaudikar, income tax on the rents being regularly paid to the cantonment authorities, 1565-1588.—Information respecting the Sudder Bazar at Meerut, which is a repulsive looking mud building, the rooms occupied by the women being merely flat-roofed mud-built apartments, with little more than a pallet inside, 1581-1585.—Hatred by the girls in the Sudder Bazar, Meerut, of the life they had to lead for a mere subsistence; statement hereon that only European soldiers were allowed to visit the girls, 1590-1607.

Corroboration of the particulars of the Lucknow Lock Hospital given in Dr. Kate Bushnell's journal; inmates visited twice daily by Dr. Mollah Buxh, the resident assistant doctor, the chief medical officer in charge being Dr. Hamilton, 1608-1637.—Evidence of the women at Lucknow that the inspections take place every Saturday, and that they must all attend or leave the cantonment, 1638-1645.—Reference to the Sudder Bazar at Lucknow, as owned by Selig Ram, who pays income tax to the Government on the amount received as rent from the women, 1643, 1644.

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Short history of the action of the legislative department of India in connection with the contagious diseases question since 1868; steps taken by witness to get at the facts of the case and the necessary documents, 1703 *et seq.*—Explanation by Dr. Rice that in consequence of the agitation that had arisen against the old system a change was made, so that now the entrance of females to the prostitutes' lock wards of the hospitals is free and voluntary, no coercion whatever being used to make them stay, 1714 *et seq.*—Impossibility of reconciling the statement of Dr. Rice, as to the change in the hospital regulations, with the evidence obtained by witness in the various cantonments, 1721-1723.—Special reference to the question of expulsion from the cantonments, 1728-1736.

BENARES. Particulars respecting chakla at Benares, said to be rented for the women by Government, *Mrs. Andrew* 397-401.

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BUSHNELL, DR. KATE. (Analysis of her Evidence): Summary of the circumstances under which witness, who is a graduate and M.D. of the Women's Medical College at Chicago, undertook a joint mission of inquiry into the system of prostitution in the cantonments in India; that is, on behalf of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 816-835.

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Particulars of witness' visits to the Cantonment Lock Hospital at Meerut, which has accommodation for twelve or fifteen patients, about 100 girls coming there every Monday for examination; information as to the registers kept, 1147 *et seq.*—Entry in the visitors' book at the Meerut Lock Hospital of a complaint that two or three women, not resident in the cantonment, had come into the cantonment to practise prostitution, 1183-1186.

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Account of the visits paid by witness and Mrs. Andrew, with a mahaldarni, to the Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases at Rawal Pindi, where forty-five women were regularly examined; information relative to the annual reports seen there, specimen of which is put in, 1238 *et seq.*—Necessity of women who consort with European soldiers being registered with the cantonment magistrate and regularly examined, 1261-1263.



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Statement that on visiting Anritsar on the 1st March the hospital was found to be closed, as there were no patients; examination of five girls there that morning, the examinations being bi-monthly, 1302-1311.

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Inference that the mahaldarnis generally go up to the examination rooms with their girls, 1353—Treatment of other cases besides venereal at the Lock Hospital at Bareilly; denial by Karim Bux, the native doctor, that cases attributable to secondary syphilis were treated there, although sixteen such cases appeared in the annual report for 1891; 1354-1374.

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Morgan (late Head Assistant to the Commissioner, Lucknow Division), as to Mrs. Barrett, otherwise known as Mrs. Hyland, having been paid matron of the Bareilly Lock Hospital, and having owned the chakla, 3543-3556.

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Explanation that, as Member of the Supreme Government, witness was cognisant, officially, of all that was done in India respecting cantonment regulations, *Lord Roberts* 1774—New Act adverted to as having coming into force on 1st January 1890, the rules under it having been finally published on 4th July 1890; *ib.* 2104-2106.

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CIRCULARS. Summary of circulars issued from the Quartermaster General's Department between 1876 and 1886 for the better prevention of the spread of disease in the army; examination more especially upon General Chapman's Circular of June 1886; *Lord Roberts* 1863-1886.

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Practice in all the head-quarter offices in India to issue circulars in the name of the Commander in Chief; statement hereon respecting witness' disapproval of the Quartermaster General's Circular of June 1886; *Lord Roberts* 2251-2304.

Explanatory statement respecting the circular memorandum of 17th June 1886, issued by witness, in his capacity, at that time, as Quartermaster General in India; positive statement that the whole draft was submitted to Lord Roberts and approved by him, *General Chapman* 2305 *et seq.*—Preparation of the circular in witness' office; consultation with the Surgeon General before it was sent to the Commander

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COMMANDING OFFICERS. Views of witness very much founded on the reports received from commanding officers, as from Sir Hugh Gough, in October 1891, for the Lahore district, *Lord Roberts* 2031-2034—Explanation as to the action taken when it was found there was any neglect to carry out the new regulations; extent to which the officers in fault were called to account and censured, *ib.* 2193-2204, 2251-2302.

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horn and witness); he is, however, an accomplished Hindu-tani scholar, and had an interpreter to help him, *Ibbetson* 3404-3406.

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consort with native soldiers, *Mrs. Andrew* 716-757.—Compulsory examination not applied in the case of other contagious diseases, besides venereal disease, *ib.* 785-791.

Confirmatory statement as to the practical compulsion to attend, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 964-967.—Practice at the Peshawar Lock Hospital to examine the Sudder Bazar women on Mondays and the regimental women on Tuesdays; refusal of the women to come for examination save under compulsion, *ib.* 1278-1284, 1299-1301.—Bi-monthly examinations at Amritsar, *ib.* 1311.

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Evidence of women at Lucknow Sudder Bazar that the inspection takes place every Saturday, and that they must attend or leave the cantonment, *Bell* 1638-1645.

Explanation respecting the system of periodical examination, the healthy women returning to the chakla and the diseased being detained at the hospital, *Lord Roberts* 1828-1837, 1844.—Evidence to the effect that both military and medical officials prognosticated that the voluntary system would be useless, *ib.* 1916-1931.

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#### 2. How Conducted:

Periodical examinations almost invariably carried out by the European medical officers of the lock hospitals in the presence of the native physician and the dhai; tabular statement showing the sources of information on this subject, and the varying times of examination at the different cantonments, *Mrs. Andrew* 638-656.—Use of the speculum and syringes, &c., the examination being conducted on a sloping table close to a window, *ib.* 657, 682-687.

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4. *Strong feeling of the Women respecting the Examinations:*

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Evidence as to the intended discontinuance since 1888 of everything in the nature of compulsory examination, though if a woman is reasonably suspected to be diseased and will not be examined, she is, very justly, expelled from the cantonments, *Lord Roberts* 1932-1995.

Practice generally as to the women having to comply with certain conditions or to leave the cantonments when turned out of the regimental chaklas, *Ibbetson* 2716. 2717. 2763—Limited power of the military authorities as to expulsion from chaklas and cantonments, *ib.* 2959-2974—Denial of statement by Dr. Kate Bushnell that in all cases women would have to leave cantonments if they did not attend the periodical examination, *ib.* 3378-3382.

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Official cognisance of witness, as Commander in Chief, and as member of the Supreme Government, in regard to everything that was done in India in the matter of cantonment regulations, 1774.

Explanation that upon receipt of a copy of the House of Commons' Resolution in 1888, the necessary orders to give effect thereto were at once issued, and that they appeared at the time to be carried out satisfactorily, 1780, 1781.

Regret that there should have been any slight failure in carrying out the instructions given in connection with the Resolution; personal action of witness resulting eventually in the removal of all the shortcomings, 1781, 1784, 1944 *et seq.*

Certainty that there was a full and *bona fide* intention on the part of the Government of India, and every desire on the part of the local authorities throughout the country, to carry out the Resolution, irrespective of what might be thought of the wisdom of it, 1781-1783, 1910 *et seq.*

No doubt that the orders, which were issued in the ordinary way, reached the women concerned; belief, moreover, that as a matter of fact the orders were generally carried out, 1785 *et seq.*

Agreement of witness with the summary of conclusions in the Report of the Committee of Inquiry, though he is not at present prepared to refute any statement of fact put forward in the evidence of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, 1788-1811.

Main feature of the system in force before 1888 that the women were segregated together in certain chaklas for the use of the British soldiers, 1812-1822.

Former registration of the women, who were numbered and supplied with registration tickets, 1819-1827, 1842, 1843.

Periodical examination, the healthy women being allowed to return to the chakla, while the diseased were detained at the hospital until cured; witness is not aware of any penalties for disobedience to the rules under the old system, 1828-1837, 1844.

Enumeration of the Acts, Rules, &c., dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases, under which the old system was administered; probability that all the rules and regulations were fairly observed, 1838-1845.

Accepted object of the old system to preserve a number of healthy women for the use of British soldiers; impression, however, that the women did not confine themselves strictly to Europeans, but were visited by their native friends (not native soldiers), 1838-1854.

Origin of the old system due to the desirability of preventing British soldiers becoming diseased by mixing promiscuously with the native women, and getting into trouble with the natives generally; certainty that the system was not established to let soldiers think that they could indulge in sexual intercourse with impunity, 1855-1862.

Explanation that the second paragraph of the circular memorandum of the Quartermaster General of 17 June 1886, suggesting the establishment of a



ROBERTS, GENERAL LORD, V.C., G.C.B.—*cont.*

Native Medical School for the study of venereal disease, was issued under witness' instructions in consequence of disease being so terribly rife among the natives, and not with any idea of extending the system, 1863-1879.—Issue of a series of circulars from the Quartermaster General's Department between 1876 and 1886 relative to the adoption of more stringent measures to prevent the spread of venereal disease in the Army, 1880-1886.

Evidence to the effect that, notwithstanding anything objectionable in the Circular Memorandum of 17th June 1886, the efforts of the Commanders in Chief who preceded witness were directed towards controlling prostitution, and mitigating its attendant evils, and that there was no encouragement by the Government, either directly or indirectly, 1885-1897.—Probability that similar views to those in the Quartermaster General's Circular of 1886 have been expressed from time to time by Army medical officers, 1899-1902.

Assertion that the rules framed since the Resolution of the House of Commons have been intended absolutely to abolish the system of official recognition and regulation of prostitution, not to modify it, 1903 *et seq.*—Evidence to the effect that when the change began to be effected both military and medical officers concerned in the administration of the pre-existing system expressed their general opinion that the substituted voluntary system would be useless, 1916-1931.

Intended discontinuance since 1888 of everything in the nature of compulsory examination; explanation hereon that if a woman is reasonably suspected to be diseased and will not be examined, she is, very justly, expelled from the cantonments, 1932-1995.

[Second Examination.]—Admissions to the effect that the old system was in many respects practically maintained in Lahore (Meen Meer) until May 1892, in disobedience of the general orders issued, 1996-2038, 2273-2287.—Foundation of witness' views vary much upon the Reports of Commanding Officers; reference hereon to Report of Sir Hugh Gough, Commanding Lahore District, 2031-2034.—Acceptance by witness of the proposition that many of the principal features of the old system existed at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow up to May 1893; 2039-2046.

Continuance nearly to the present time of the periodical inspection at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow of all prostitutes who could be induced to attend by the fear of expulsion from the cantonment; detention of the women in the hospital until cured, 2047-2067.—Questions considered as to the maintenance of the periodical examination of prostitutes, regularly, up to June 1893 at Benares, Bareilly, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar under the new Rules, which, although intended to apply to a purely voluntary system, are admittedly dangerously near to compulsion, 2068-2079.

Admission that by an error at Umballa and Rawal Pindi, at the time of the intended change of system, documents, new rules, &c. on the subject, marked "Confidential," were read and then locked up in a special drawer or put on a file and never seen by succeeding commanding officers, 2086-2090, 2239-2250.—Explanation that the documents overlooked at Umballa and Rawal Pindi were marked "Confidential" because they dealt with a delicate subject; admission that there is no cogent reason why they should be treated as confidential, 2091-2097.

Probability that the change of system would have been more widely known among the natives if the cantonment magistrates had proclaimed it in open court, and if the police had been made to distinctly understand it, 2098-2103, 2184-2187.—Reference to the new Cantonments Act that came into force on the 1st January 1890, and date of publication of the new rules under it, 2104-2106.

General concurrence of witness in the Minute of the present Commander in Chief, relative to prostitutes in the cantonments in India, 2107-2118 *et seq.*—Doubt as to there being any analogy in regard to the regulation of prostitutes between Umballa and an English city, such as York, 2110-2116.

Impression that the only object of employing the police to watch the prostitutes' quarters is the preservation of peace, this being a regimental arrange-

ROBERTS, GENERAL LORD, V.C., G.C.B.—*cont.*

ment, 2122-2139.—Doubt as to the police being employed to exclude the natives, 2123-2126, 2131.—Explanation that although a sergeant of military police generally succeeds in making a drunken or dishonest soldier pay the woman with whom he has consorted, he has no real authority to do so, 2126-2139.

Admission by the present Commander in Chief that in certain instances the regulations under the new system have been infringed, 2140-2142.—Extent to which witness disagrees with the conclusion of Sir George White upon the general question of compulsion in connection with the periodical examination of prostitutes; undesirability of refusing voluntary examination, 2143-2152, 2205-2207.—Entire belief of witness in the good faith of the missionary ladies, 2152-2154.

Identity of the venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals with the buildings used as Lock Hospitals under the old rules, 2155-2178.—Certainty that the Government of India have no wish to revert to the old system which obtained before 1888, by which prostitution was partially recognised; no doubt that the proposals in the twenty-ninth paragraph of Sir George White's Minute were due to his anxiety for the health of the British soldier, 2179-2183.

Explanation as to the action taken when it was found that there was any neglect to carry out the new regulations; extent to which the officers in fault were called to account and censured, 2193-2204, 2251-2304.—Instances of women accompanying the troops when on the march, 2229-2238.

Practice in all the headquarter offices in India to issue circulars in the name of the Commander in Chief; disapproval by witness of some of the contents of the Quartermaster General's Circular of June 1886; 2251-2364.

ROBERTS, GENERAL LORD. Letter from Lord Roberts to the Chairman of the Departmental Committee, dated 12th August 1893, enclosing statement in which it is admitted that the statements of the missionary ladies are in the main correct and that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had not been everywhere obeyed; full apology offered to the ladies in the matter, *App.* 138.

View of Lord Roberts as to the advantage in several respects if the ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India; avoidance thereby of much misconception on their part and of wrong deductions from the evidence which they received, *App.* 138.

RULES AND REGULATIONS. Conclusion that the orders issued in the ordinary way reached the women concerned, and that is a matter of fact they were generally carried out, *Lord Roberts* 1785, *et seq.*—Enumeration of the Acts, Rules, &c., dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases, under which the old system was administered; probability that all the rules and regulations were fairly observed, *ib.* 1838-1845.

Admission that in spite of Rules and Orders many of the principal features of the old system existed at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, down to May 1893; *Lord Roberts* 2039-2067.

Examination whether the Rules under the Cantonment Act may not have admitted of the evasion of the Resolution of the House of Commons, *Ibbetson* 2604 *et seq.*—Explanation to the effect that there is nothing in the Rules under the Cantonment Act to prohibit the carrying on the old system of dealing with prostitution, *ib.* 2704-2706.

Contention that the Rules under the Cantonment Act of 1889 must be read as part of the Act, and that they are empowering rather than prohibitory, *Ibbetson* 2913-2936.—Explanation that the Rules do not authorise any periodical examination, *ib.* 2926, 2929.

See also CANTONMENTS. CIRCULARS. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. HOUSE OF COMMONS' RESOLUTION.

SITAPUR. Description, with sketch, of the chakla at Sitapur, which had room for twenty women, *Mrs. Andrew* 389-393.—Conclusion as to the chakla belonging to Government, *ib.* 394-396.

SITAPUR—*cont.*

Visit to Sitapur Lock Hospital on 5th March 1892—a sketch thereof being submitted; treatment of prostitutes only, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1381-1415—Non-compliance with requisitions made for the hospital annual reports, *ib.* 3525, 3526.

Doubt as to there having been periodical examinations after a certain date, *Ibbetson* 2870-2876.

**SOLDIERS.** Evidence as to ill-treatment of the women by the soldiers, *Mrs. Andrew* 568-575; *Ibbetson* 2744-2751—Men never found in any Lock Hospital save at Bareilly, *Mrs. Andrew* 93. 800-806—Frequent advice given to soldiers by officers and chaplains to practise chastity, *General Chapman* 2457-2462.

See also **PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES.**

**STOPPAGES FROM MEN'S PAY.** See **PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES.**

**STEWART, GENERAL SIR DONALD.** (Analysis of his Evidence):

Prevalence of the general law in a military cantonment as it does elsewhere, the only difference being that the commanding officer has power to deal with breaches of rules under the Cantonment Act, 1742-1744. 1747-1751—Explanation that prostitutes and other persons living in a cantonment are subject to a coercive jurisdiction to which they would not be exposed outside, but that they cannot be expelled except for breaches of the law affecting cantonments, 1748-1751. 1759.

Ownership of the land in a cantonment by the Government, who permit buildings to be constructed there, subject always to the convenience of the military authorities, 1765-1768.

**SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE IN HOSPITALS.** Allowance of from two to three annas per day made during detention, *Mrs. Andrew* 690-693—Confirmatory statement as to subsistence allowances in hospital, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 961-963.

**SUDDAR BAZAR.** See **BAREILLY. CHAKLAS. CIRCULARS. EVIDENCE. EXAMINATIONS. HOSPITALS. LOCK HOSPITALS. LUCKNOW. MAHALDARNIS. MEERUT. PESHAWUR. REGIMENTAL CHAKLAS.**

**TARIFF OF CHARGES.** See **PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES.**

**TICKETS (REGISTRATION).** Form of registration and inspection ticket, *Mrs. Andrew* 431-433—Statement respecting the issue of tickets to the prostitutes enrolled to appear regularly at the Lock Hospital at Meer Meer, to enable them to pursue their calling, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1228-1233.

Cessation of issue of tickets to prostitutes at Lahore in September 1888, and recommenced in March 1890, *Lord Roberts* 2022.

See also **PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES. REGISTRATION.**

**UMBALLA.** Description of visit to three chaklas at Umballa, two of which were regimental, *Mrs. Andrew* 345-364—Examination of diseased women, *ib.* 435-439.

Information obtained on various points on visit to the Lock Hospital; specially constructed table used for examinations, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1312-1315.

Limited extent to which periodical examinations existed at Umballa since 1888, *Ibbetson* 2545—Evidence to the effect that in June last the periodical examinations were not compulsory, and that several women applied voluntarily to be examined, *ib.* 2781-2815—Weekly inspection of the cavalry women till August 1892, *ib.* 2804, 2805—The old Lock Hospital not now confined to venereal cases, *ib.* 2877-2882.

Separation between the old Lock Hospital and the general hospital, the former being now used for prostitutes only, whatever their ailment may be, *Cleghorn* 3090-3096.

Citation of evidence and records from Umballa in confirmation of former evidence of witness on certain points, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 3428-3467.

See also **EXAMINATIONS. REGISTRATION.**

**VOLUNTARY EXAMINATIONS.** See **EXAMINATIONS.**

**WHITE, GENERAL SIR GEORGE.** General concurrence of witness in the Minute of the present Commander in Chief relative to prostitutes and their examination, general treatment, &c., *Lord Roberts* 2107-2118.—Admission by the present Commander in Chief that in certain instances the regulations under the new system have been infringed, *ib.* 2140-2142.

Dissent to some extent from the views of the Commander in Chief upon the general question of compulsion in connection with the periodical examinations; inexpediency of refusing voluntary examination, *Lord Roberts* 2143-2152. 2205-2207—Absence of any desire on the part of Sir George White to return to the old system, *ib.* 2180-2183.

**WITNESSES.** More than 300 persons interviewed by witness and her companion; particulars hereon, *Mrs. Andrew* 114, 115, 538, 641.

See also **EVIDENCE (MISSIONARY INQUIRY).**

**WORLD'S WOMAN CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (UNITED STATES).** Explanation of the constitution, objects, and operations of this association, and of the circumstances under which Dr. Kate Bushnell and witness undertook a joint inquiry on its behalf into the system of prostitution in the Indian Cantonments, *Mrs. Andrew* 1-55.

See also **EVIDENCE (MISSIONARY INQUIRY).**





# A P P E N D I X I.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before the DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE appointed by the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, to inquire into the Rules, Regulations and Practice in the INDIAN CANTONMENTS, and elsewhere in INDIA, with regard to Prostitutes and to the Treatment of Venereal Diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, viz. : "That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for "the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating Prostitution "in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits "such measures ought to be repealed."

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

## FIRST DAY.

Tuesday, 11th April 1893.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
MR. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES FEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
*Secretary.*

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, called in ; and Examined.

1. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are, I believe, a native of the state of Indiana, in the United States, and you reside, when at home, at Evanston, Chicago ?—Yes.

2. And you are the widow of a late Methodist Episcopal Minister in Indiana ?—Yes.

3. Will you give the Committee some account of the public business in which you were greatly interested and engaged in the year 1890 in your own country ?—I was appointed in the autumn of 1890 to be one of the round-the-world missionaries of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and that meant a journey round the world to visit the branches of our society, which had been formed in 40 different countries, and I was appointed, with Dr. Bushnell, to make this journey, and to visit the branches, and to set forth in public meetings the objects of our organisation, to increase the usefulness of the Society generally, hold councils with workers, and do the work generally of a visitor who was trusted and sent forth to encourage the work and to brighten it all that was possible on its special line.

4. So that you undertook a mission, and were sent forth, so to say, as evangelists ?—Yes.

5. (*Chairman.*) Temperance work, I understand ?—Well, it has a temperance basis, but it is very broad in its scope.

6. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And will you give us an account of the other objects of this World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union ; does it consist of various departments ?—It consists of 40 departments of work in the United States. Of course all these departments have not yet been developed in the different countries where the work is new, but in the United States, where the society originated, it has developed into 40 different departments, and among

those departments is the work of social purity. They are called departments because there is one woman in charge in each country of these national departments.

7. Who is the president of the whole body ?—Miss Frances E. Willard.

8. And are those 40 departments grouped under a more limited number of heads ; now, for instance, I see in the proof of your evidence that you have certain departments with the general title of, first, evangelistic ; second, organisation ; third, prevention ; fourth, educational ; fifth, social ; and sixth, legal ?—Yes ; evangelistic, organisation, prevention, educational, social, and legal.

9. And those are your six heads ?—Well, yes ; we call those the six general heads. We group the departments under those general heads as we think appropriate. Purity comes under evangelistic ; therefore I was an evangelist.

10. And that, as you said, includes the question of social purity ?—Yes.

11. And you have superintendents of these different branches of work in various countries ?—Yes ; in 40 different countries, of which I have the list here.

12. And who is the superintendent in this country of the social purity section of work ?—Well, the superintendent for the world is Mrs. Josephine Butler, and the head of our society in England is Lady Henry Somerset.

13. Mrs. Josephine Butler, of England ; but she is the head of that department for the whole body ?—For the whole world ; and we have not yet this department under way in England, although Lady Henry Somerset has presented it for consideration.

*Mrs. E. W.  
Andrew  
and  
Dr. K.  
Bushnell.*

11 April 1893.

Mrs. E. W.  
Andrew  
and  
Dr. K.  
Bushnell.

April 1893.

The reason it has not been done is because of the purity societies already existing.

14. You have already told us it has branches in 40 countries in different parts of the globe, and that the vice-president for the United Kingdom is Lady Henry Somerset. Now, when did this world's union, I call it for short, hold its first general convention, and where?—It held it at Boston, Mass., on 10th November 1891.

15. And there were present representatives from many countries?—Yes; representatives from more than 20 countries.

16. When did the British section hold its first general conference?—A year ago this coming May, in May 1892.

17. And where?—Here in London.

18. And under whose presidency?—Lady Henry Somerset's.

19. You are associated in your work with your friend and companion, Dr. Kate Bushnell?—Yes.

20. And your work has been a joint work, as far as the inquiry of this Committee is concerned?—Yes, quite so.

21. You have never, I believe, parted company during your investigations?—No.

22. Except that occasionally, I presume, Dr. Kate Bushnell may have made one inquiry whilst you were engaged in some other portion of the work?—Yes.

23. But you invariably travelled together?—We invariably travelled together, and with very exceptional instances, we witnessed everything together, we never parted company, when she went to one town and I to the other, except on one occasion when she went to Sitapur.

24. Come back to this country, before you went to India, because we have not traced you to India yet. What did you do in this country at the time of the general conference, or afterwards; did you hold public meetings?—We were holding public meetings throughout England, and visited also Cardiff and Swansea in South Wales.

25. That was in the year 1891?—In the year 1891.

26. And the scheme for your work included Great Britain?—Oh, yes, it included visiting and remaining as long as we chose. We were given full liberty to remain as long as we chose, and to visit the countries in such order as in our judgment should be thought best.

27-36. But were you not specially set apart to visit certain British Colonies?—Do you mean in our general mission?

37. Yes.—We were to visit the countries where our societies were organised, but as to the order of visitation, we were allowed to choose. If my commission were read, you would see that very great liberty was given us to choose as to our work, and the order of it, and the manner of it.

38. But your plan of action included visiting certain colonies, did it not?—Our plan of action as we started from the eastern side of our country, included taking England and Wales, then South Africa, then India, and then Australia, and then all round the world to China and Japan, and so on.

39. And Australia included New Zealand and Tasmania?—Yes, Australia included New Zealand and Tasmania.

40. Now while you were in England was your attention directed to the subject matter to which this Committee is about to inquire?—It was.

41. And did you become acquainted with the Resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1888 upon the subject?—Yes, I did.

42. That resolution has been read to us, it is in our Order of Reference, but you are familiar with the resolution?—I am quite familiar with it.

43. (Chairman.) May I interrupt you a moment about the date when your attention was called to the Resolution, and so on. I suppose that was after you

had attended the Convention in London last May?—Oh, no, my attention was called to it through things that I read and heard in public meetings. Indeed, I may say that my attention was called to it first through a letter in America before ever I came over; not that I expected to have anything to do with it, you understand, but simply as a matter of interest. It was spoken of, the fear that things were wrong in India, and that the Resolution of the House of Commons was not being fully carried out. Then when I came to England I read certain pamphlets, among others this by Miss Lucy Wilson, setting forth the matter. I also had the honour of hearing Miss Lucy Wilson read this paper at the Westminster Town Hall at a public meeting, and was very deeply impressed by her paper.

44. When I interrupted you I only wanted to get my dates down. I had not quite caught when you first came to Britain?—I came to England in October 1890.

45. Before the great meeting at Boston?—Oh, yes. You see I was not present at that meeting nor at the meeting here. We have simply been engaged in the furtherance of our work, only holding communication with our home authorities by letter.

46. You were in London in May 1892, last May?—No, not at all. I have only the printed reports of what was done. I was not present, because of course in taking so vast a journey as that and holding public meetings, and with such immense work, we could not be coming back. Really, we expected to be away a term of years, and had we not come back to England for this work we should have pursued our journey directly round the world, but this being a part of our work we have turned aside to finish it.

47. (Mr. Stansfeld.) As I understand, Mrs. Andrew, you simply cite the passages that you have just read for the purpose of explaining to us how your attention was directed to the subject, and your interest in it made active and keen?—Yes; that is exactly what I meant to convey; but this was the first very serious thought I had given to it through this.

48. Am I not right in saying that, during your stay in England, you had the opportunity of reading a pamphlet containing references to articles in Indian papers?—To a pamphlet containing citations from Indian papers.

49. (Chairman.) I thought you said one was an English paper?—The "Indian Medical Record" is an Indian paper. All those citations are from Indian papers; but it is in an English pamphlet that they are published.

50. But I mean the newspapers?—The newspapers were Indian newspapers, and that was why it struck me with such force.

51. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And those extracts which we will not take down, suggested to your mind that the Resolution passed by the House of Commons was not meeting with practical obedience in some of the cantonments of India, and excited your interest in the matter, created in your mind a desire to ascertain the truth?—Yes.

52. And were you at that time informed of some correspondence which had passed between myself and Mr. Stuart, M.P., and Lord Cross, who was then Secretary for India upon the same subject?—I was, before leaving England.

53. There is a British Committee of the General Federation for the abolition of the State Regulation of Vice which holds its meetings in this metropolis?—Yes.

54. And were you requested by that body to take all the opportunities your general work might afford in India of obtaining information as to the actual condition of women living as prostitutes within the military cantonments with a view to ascertain to what extent the rules and practice under the Cantonments Act were in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons?—Yes.

55. You undertook that mission?—Yes.



56. At what date did you leave England?—We left England on the 18th July 1891.

57. You did not leave for India?—No, we left for South Africa.

58. Engaged upon your general work?—Engaged upon our general work, visiting the four colonies of South Africa.

59. You visited the four colonies there?—Yes.

60. And did you in November of the same year, November 1891, proceed to India?—We did.

61. And you arrived in India?—On the 21st December 1891.

62. When did you commence your inquiries?—Do you mean when we actually started out to make them?

63. When you actually commenced?—We started out the 30th December.

64. And you went first to what place?—Bareilly. We did not make any inquiry until the beginning of the year.

65. On the 1st of January 1892?—Yes, we were engaged in travelling you know, night travelling. It was the night of the 30th. We were travelling all day, and we did not reach Bareilly until the morning of the first day of the year.

66. Your general rule was to travel at night, and work by day?—It was very much so all the time; we were compelled to do it, and we often found it was much more convenient. There were sometimes better trains at night.

67. Will you now tell us something of the distances you travelled, and the places you visited, during the periods of your inquiry. Your inquiry began on the 1st January 1892, and how long did it last?—We reached Calcutta again on the 15th of March. It lasted until the middle of March, from the 1st of January till the middle of March.

68. And after leaving India?—We proceeded directly to Australia as soon as we could get a steamer.

69. Upon your general mission?—Upon our general mission, visiting six colonies.

70. In India you restricted yourselves entirely to the work which the Committee of the British Federation had asked you to undertake?—We did, for the season was so short. We were detained with our general work in South Africa, so that, as you see, we did not reach India until December, and we thought it best to do it as soon as possible, and get away, because the season was advancing so fast.

71. (*Chairman.*) If I understand you rightly, during the time you were in India, from January to March, the first three months of 1892, you two ladies confined your attention to the subject to which it had been directed by that pamphlet of Miss Wilson, the evasion, as you supposed, by the authorities there, of the decision of the House of Commons?—We confined ourselves to that entirely.

72. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then you went on to the Australian Colonies, and whilst there did you receive a communication from the British Committee?—We did.

73. Requesting what?—Requesting our return to England.

74. With a view to giving evidence before, as it was then supposed, a Committee of the House of Commons?—Yes.

75. And that communication was made to you after you had sent home an abstract of your evidence?—Yes.

76. Well, now, how many miles did you travel altogether in India?—I cannot state the exact number of miles; it was over 3,000.

77. Will you give us the names of the places which you visited and conducted your investigations?—The cantonments?

78. The cantonments.—Yes; do you mean just the cantonments where we actually did work?

79. Where you actually did work, yes; you visited, I understand, some places where you had not a suf-

ficiently favourable opportunity for inquiry?—No, there was not a favourable opportunity at Agra.

80. You passed on to others?—Yes.

81. Can you give us, in the order of your visit, as I have them marked on this map, the cantonments which you did visit, where you did conduct investigations?—Bareilly, Lucknow, Meer Meer, near Lahore, Rawul Pindi, Peshawar, back to Rawul Pindi for a second visit, back to Meer Meer for a second visit, Amritsar, Umballa, back to Bareilly for a second visit, Sitapur, Lucknow, Benares.

82. Lucknow a second visit?—Lucknow a second visit, and then Benares.

83. You have enumerated ten cantonments?—Ten cantonments.

84. And you conducted your inquiry in each of those ten cantonments?—In each of those ten cantonments.

85. Now with regard to the admission to the lock hospitals, did you find a lock hospital in each of those cantonments?—We did.

86. Was it called a lock hospital?—It was, in ordinary parlance; it was so called by the women, and by the native physicians.

87. Was it ever called the cantonment hospital?—It was sometimes by the native physicians, but they usually called it the lock hospital.

88. Were these hospitals for the treatment of men as well as for women?—There were out-door cases. These were pointed out in some cases, not the lock hospital proper, but there was sometimes a dispensary outside the wall.

89. (*Chairman.*) And the men were treated as out-patients there?—It was so; I would have to go over the list, if you wish.

90. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You visited some of these hospitals?—Yes.

91. How many did you visit?—We visited in the 10 cantonments.

92. You visited the lock hospital in each?—Yes.

93. And you saw the patients?—We never found the men in any lock hospital save at Bareilly. As I said, the men were in the out-door dispensaries, and outside; but never in the lock hospital proper, with this one exception.

94. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was the lock hospital the official term?—It was not so marked where the hospital was indicated; it was not called the lock hospital on the gateway; it was in some places called the cantonment hospital; but it was called lock hospital, as I stated at first, in the common parlance, and by the native physicians and by the women.

95. Are you aware that the term "lock hospital" was abolished some years ago?—I am aware that it is said to have been.

96. (*Chairman.*) Do I understand that these hospitals were, nominally, at any rate, designed for the treatment of various contagious illnesses, or were they exclusively given to this one complaint?—It was stated to us over and over again by the native physicians that these hospitals were for venereal diseases only.

97. I asked that question to illustrate what you said before about not finding any men in them, because I could not conceive men being found in a lock hospital, but if it were a hospital for the reception of all manner of contagious disease cases, the chances are that there would be men subject to other complaints in them as well as women?—No. I meant this, that most of the women were within a separate wall, the lock hospital proper, and the women, you might say in the women's ward, though they did not call it the women's ward, and they did not call it the lock hospital; sometimes there was an outer wall, and there men came to a dispensary.

98. In reply to a question by Mr. Stansfeld, whether you found any men in the enclosed hospital, I understood you to say, no; but were those enclosed hospitals in which you did not find any men—these

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walled-in, I will not call them lock hospitals, because the term seems to be disputed—but these cantonment hospitals, were they supposed to take in people with other complaints, such as small-pox or ordinary contagious diseases?—We were assured that they did not take them in.

99. (*Sir James Peile*.) You did not yourselves see that there were none sick of small-pox—no small-pox ward?—We went through them in several cases and had the word of a native physician.

100. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Did you go through the wards?—Yes.

101. And do I understand that you saw no cases that were not, as far as you can tell, venereal cases?—I should have to take each case and study it, Mr. Stansfeld, to say what the different things were that were upon the reports that we saw; but the reports stated a few, but we were also assured that such cases were not treated there, that they were treated somewhere else. We never saw any case of small-pox.

102. Or fever?—I think not of fever.

103. Perhaps upon this branch of the subject it would be as well if I were to examine, by and bye, Dr. Kate Bushnell?—I think she will be the best to be examined in regard to that, being a physician.

104. But the general impression produced upon your mind in visiting these hospitals was that they were practically confined to the venereal cases?—Practically confined to those.

105. And did you see any other cantonment hospitals in the cantonment than those hospitals?—We visited several general hospitals.

106. For what kind of cases?—Well, for general cases.

107. For any infectious or contagious cases?—No; but we visited at Lucknow the general hospital, and the head nurse, Miss James, pointed out what she said was the place for infectious and contagious diseases.

108. And what was the place she pointed out?—We did not visit it; it was, as we understood, for male patients.

109. And where was this?—This was at Lucknow.

110. This is in the case of Lucknow, was this a nurse?—Miss James; she was the head of the nursing sisters.

111. The head of the nursing department pointed out another building which she said was a building for infectious and contagious cases?—Yes; it was not the same building which we visited, which was pointed out to us as the lock hospital.

112. As far as you know that was not a lock hospital?—It was not a lock hospital.

113. (*General Sir Donald Stewart*.) Was that for European patients or for natives?—For European patients, Miss James stated.

114. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) I should like you to give us some idea of the number of persons, of all kinds and conditions, qualified to give information in all these various ten cantonments, whom you have interviewed?—We interviewed over 300 persons.

115. And they would consist mainly of what people?—They consisted mainly of the women themselves and of the mahaldarnis, the women in charge of them.

116. Now tell us who are the mahaldarnis?—The mahaldarnis are the women in charge of the chaklas, as they are called, the places where the women live.

117. (*General Sir Donald Stewart*.) May I ask what a mahaldarni is?—I believe the explanation of the term is the woman superintendent, or the woman in charge, as nearly as we could get it.

118. The term mahaldarni is the guardian (female) of a ward of a bazar?—Mahaldarni I refer to. That is as nearly as I could get it spelt, and in nearly every chakla we found such a person in charge.

119. Was that the term used in Bengal in these hospitals?—In all these cantonments that we visited

she was called a mahaldarni, and the dhai was the woman in charge of the women at the lock hospital; the nurse, I presume, is the meaning of it, but the mahaldarni was sometimes called the dhai.

120. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) And had you conversation also with a certain number of medical native officers?—Yes, with a certain number of native medical officers.

121. And with some patients in the hospitals?—And with some patients in the hospitals.

122. And with any other persons?—With a few Europeans, one or two district pleaders.

123. The majority were the women themselves?—The majority were the women themselves.

124. You commenced your inquiry, I think, if I remember right, at Bareilly, did you not, by seeing the European medical officers in charge; was that so?—We did; not the medical officer in charge of the lock hospital.

125. And the result of that interview, in your minds, was, am I right in saying so, that you were more likely to get the information, of which you were in quest, by addressing yourselves to the native, rather than to the European element?—Yes.

126. And after that visit to Bareilly you adopted that plan?—We did.

127. And you went to the chaklas, and you went to the hospital, and you put yourselves into communication with the native element as much as you could?—We did.

128. And you found facilities for so doing, did you not, through friends who were ready to interpret between you and those persons you saw who were not able to speak English?—Yes.

129. But did you find them often able to speak English?—We found very many of those women able to speak broken English, English, so that we could understand them very well, and they could understand us, we presumed, from their association with the soldiers.

130. Well now, besides the information which you derived from conversation with these persons, had you the opportunity of seeing, and of more or less studying, any official documents bearing upon this question?—Yes, we had.

131. You inspected the lock hospital in every cantonment?—We visited the lock hospital in each cantonment.

132. In any of those lock hospitals had you access to any books or other records?—We did have.

132\*. How many?—Shall I name them?

133. Name them if you like?—In Meerut, you quite understand me, that I do not say that we saw all the books or anything of that kind, but we saw certain books and hospital records in Meerut and Mean Meer, in Rawal Pindi, in Peshawar; Umballa, in Bareilly, in Sitapur, and in Benares.

134. In eight out of ten you had the opportunity of seeing some books and records?—Yes; Dr. Bushnell will refer more fully to the lock hospitals if you please.

135. During this time, roughly speaking, three months, not quite three months, did you both keep a joint journal?—We did; we kept notes and a rough diary.

136. And what did you do with those notes?—We preserved the notes. You might say we kept a journal; it was in the form of notes.

137. In loose sheets at first?—Yes, in loose sheets.

138. Did you think it a safer method than carrying about a volume with yourselves?—Yes.

139. And did you copy those in due order into a journal?—We did, for the Committee.

140. And that journal you have with you?—Yes.

141. And that journal you can produce?—Yes, that journal we can produce.

142. Have you it with you at this moment?—No, I have not, but it can be produced.

143. You can produce it at the next meeting?—Yes, if so desired.

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144. And that gives an account of your daily journeys made at the time?—It does, yes.

145. You first went, as you have told us, to Bareilly, and you determined then upon altering your course of procedure, and addressing yourselves to the native element, and you commenced operations upon this new method at which cantonment?—At Lucknow.

146. You went to Lucknow on what date?—January 21st.

147. You made preliminary enquiries from a resident friend, did you not?—We did, yes.

148. And you began your investigations practically on the 25th of January?—We began our investigations on the 25th of January.

149. Now will you give us an account of your doings in this place, Agra was it not?—We did nothing at Agra; we began our work in Lucknow proper, that is from this new side.

150. Now give me an account of what you did in Lucknow?—We began our work at the lock hospital; we went in. You do not wish me to describe the lock hospital, do you? Dr. Bushnell will describe it.

151. Is there only one cantonment at Lucknow?—There is only one. We went first to the cantonment, and we went to the lock hospital in the cantonment.

152. And whom did you see there?—We saw there the dhai and a number of girls. The first person we saw was the watchman inside.

153. Inside the lock hospital there was a watchman?—Inside the gate.

154. Of the lock hospital or of the chakla?—Of the lock hospital. We went to the lock hospital first. There was a watchman inside.

155. On guard?—On guard.

156. On entering at the gateway of the cantonment hospital?—Yes; we went to the gate and were about to pass through the inner gate. There was an inner wall, and the women were inside of this inner wall, and we were about to pass in, but the dhai told us that we could not go in; that the doctor would be angry if we went in, and so we waited outside and talked with the women. She said we could talk with the women there at the gate, and so we did.

157. Was that your only visit to the cantonment at Lucknow?—Oh, no; we went from the cantonment hospital or lock hospital to the chakla, as it is called, the same day.

158. And were you conducted over it?—We saw it; we did not go all over it at that time, we did at a later visit, but at that time we only went into the one ward.

159. And who showed it to you?—The girls themselves; that is, we were received kindly, we sat down and talked with them.

160. You were not conducted over it by any official?—I do not know that I should say conducted; we simply sat down and talked with the women under a tree; there was a great tree with a mortar bench round it.

161. At the hospital?—This was at the chakla, but at the hospital we did not go inside the gate at that time.

162. But you did afterwards?—We did afterwards.

163. Conducted by the native doctor?—Conducted by the native doctor.

164. Did you visit other places at that cantonment?—We visited Miss James whom I spoke of, the head of the nursing sisters, and she took us over the hospital there where she is.

165. And more or less in all future cases you endeavoured to obtain, and succeeded in obtaining access both to the hospital and to the chaklas?—We did.

166. Did you find in all the 10 cantonments an hospital for venereal cases?—Yes, for the women.

167. And in all of those cantonments you therefore also found at least one chakla?—Yes, we did.

168. The chakla being, practically, to use the English phrase, a brothel for the reception of native women who were not allowed to consort except with British soldiers?—Yes, we were so assured.

169. And that you found wherever you went, and there was no question about their being restricted?—Yes, there was no question about it.

170. Now the chakla; what kind of a building or buildings is a chakla?—There is not one kind; they are of different constructions. I might divide them into three heads; there were those where the women were all under one roof, and those where they were all in one place or one bazar, and those where they were in different parts of the cantonment in different chaklas. At Lucknow they were practically under one roof; they said all the chaklas had been broken up, and the women were brought under the one roof.

171. Was that called the Sudder Bazar chakla?—Yes.

172. And what does Sudder Bazar mean?—We were told that it meant central. I do not know whether that is correct or not. We asked a good many times, but we were told it was so.

173. The central trading place of the cantonment; the Sudder Bazar?—It seemed to be the central trading place of the cantonment.

174. And in Lucknow only the British soldiers resorted to the Sudder Bazar chakla?—Not only in Lucknow, but in Amritsar, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares; five of these.

175. And Peshawar?—No; in Peshawar they were in one place, one bazar, but not under one roof, but all gathered into one place. It was a street, with its ramifications, as you might say. I think a drawing can be shown of that, a rough drawing, if you wish. It was of peculiar construction.

176. Then in other cantonments besides the Sudder Bazar, you told us there were other chaklas?—At Meerut, Mean Meer, Rawal Pindi, and Umballa, we found the women in different chaklas in the same cantonment.

177. And to what special use were those other chaklas devoted?—They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment. Those seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazar chakla.

178. As far as you could see, they were chaklas apportioned to particular regiments?—Yes.

179. Did all the Sudder Bazar chaklas consist of permanent buildings, or did they, as far as your observation went?—Yes, they did, as far as our observation went. I think we can say that there is a great difference between English ideas about building and the Indian; the buildings seemed to us very poor in India usually; but there are rather poor buildings occupied by respectable people, so that while some of these I would not call very good buildings, nothing wonderful, still they were as good and substantial buildings as are usually to be seen.

180. Do some of the chaklas consist of tents?—Yes.

181. Is that the case with some of the regimental chaklas?—Yes.

182. But not with the Sudder Bazar chaklas?—Not with the Sudder Bazar chaklas; no; not any that we visited.

183. In Meerut, Mean Meer, Rawal Pindi, and Umballa cantonments, there are chaklas of both kinds?—Yes.

184. At Lucknow the chakla, you said, was a large building called the Sudder Bazar; it contains accommodation for how many women?—The woman said there were 100 there at the time, and that it would hold 150 or possibly even 200. I counted 33 rooms on my left hand side as I sat there.

185. How many of these women did you see there?—We had an interview with 37; there were 37 at one time around us, and two mahaldarnis.

186. Thirty-seven besides, or including the mahaldarnis?—Thirty-seven with the mahaldarnis, 35 women, and two mahaldarnis.



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187. What questions did you put to them?—This was a very good building at Lucknow, and we asked them who built it, and who gave them such a place as this, and they said the Government. The course of our questions was usually in regard to the house and who owned it, and whether they paid rent or not.

188. Well, now, I will put it to you in this way: take that particular chakla. Do you understand from your visits that there could be such a building within a cantonment without the sanction of the authorities?—No, not possible.

189. Or that it could be appropriated to that purpose without the sanction of the authorities?—I do not see how it could be possible according to the published cantonment rules, and also the evidence that we had from a district pleader, and from others. I do not see how it would be possible, because everything of that kind is regulated. I do not say by that that it necessarily had to belong to the Government out and out, but that it must be under the knowledge of the cantonment authorities.

190. But nothing can happen within a cantonment without the sanction—nothing permanent can happen within a cantonment without the sanction of the military authorities?—We were so assured by two European gentlemen, besides the evidence of the rules. One of these gentlemen stated that he built a wall, and then afterwards wished to put a gate through his wall, and that he could not do that without sanction; and the district pleader stated that you could not cut a limb off a tree. Property and everything was under the care of the cantonment authorities. This was stated to us quite voluntarily.

191. These chaklas, I presume (I put it to you for what your evidence may be worth), these buildings, occupied as they are, could not exist within a military cantonment without the knowledge, and therefore without the sanction, of the military authorities?—I do not see how it would be possible.

192. I do not know whether you know to whom the land of the cantonment belongs?—We did not inquire into that; we only asked in each case; and this conversation to which I have just referred was quite voluntary in our presence regarding the strictness of the cantonment rules. With regard to the Lucknow chaklas, when we said, "Who built this house?" they said, "The Government;" and they did not answer in the Indian word that has been referred to. They said, "The Government," and then they said that it had belonged to the Government until recently, and it had been sold to a Mahomedan, who owned it now, and they paid rent. This was one of the places where the women paid rent.

193. That was the Sadler Bazar Chakla at Lucknow?—The Sadler Bazar Chakla at Lucknow.

194. (Sir James Peile.) Do you mean they lived in it before the Mahomedan bought it?—We did not ask that. They said it belonged to the Government until recently, and that a Mahomedan bought it. They mentioned the name of the Mahomedan, but that we did not take down.

195. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Did you re-visit this chakla at a later period?—Yes, we did.

196. At what date?—We re-visited it in March; I think March 2nd was the next visit. You mean on this same visit to Lucknow?

197. I mean on the 25th January; two days later?—We visited it later; on the 30th January.

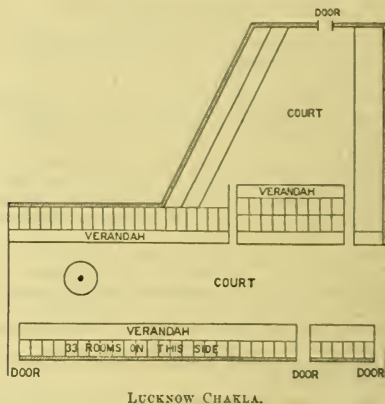
198. Now, what did you discover or observe as to this building?—We found that it was a large irregular building about 125 feet long, I should say, at the longest portions of the walls, very high. Certain portions of the walls were over the railway, I should think not more than eight feet high, but the other portions of the walls were higher, with a long narrow entrance, the principal entrance off the Sadler Bazar.

199. Were there windows looking out outside?—There were windows high up on this very high wall out over the railway. There were windows high in

the wall, barred with wood; and then these little rooms faced the wall, looking out on a courtyard. There were two courtyards. We were in the one going directly in from the Sadler Bazar.

200. Did you make a sketch of that courtyard?—Dr. Bushnell made just a rough sketch of it.

201. Have you got it; is this it?—Yes, that is it. Her original work is in the original journal, which is not here, which will be produced; but that is a copy of it.



202. (Chairman.) It is a ground plan?—Yes, it is a ground plan. We entered through this narrow place, and sat under this tree with this round mortar bed. Then you go through there [indicating]. There is a place there, in the centre, passing into this irregular courtyard, and then the railway running here, and it is there that the wall is very high towards the railway, and low across here. That is the shape; very irregular.

203. (General Sir Donald Stewart.) Do you know what the building was intended for originally?—I do not.

204. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now, along the wall on each side, is there a series of small rooms?—Yes; single rooms, that is. Each woman had a room.

205. Unfurnished?—Nothing in them usually except a native bed.

206. A bed?—Yes; they are bare, with this exception.

207. Did you ascertain whether the women paid rent for their rooms?—They said they paid two rupees a month each.

208. Did you obtain that information there?—I think they did not state the amount at our first visit. That is my recollection. They said they paid rent; but we afterwards met a girl at Sitapur whom we had met at Lucknow, and this girl at Sitapur immediately on greeting us said: "This chakla at Sitapur belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent here. We had to pay two rupees a month at Lucknow." But I do not recollect getting the exact sum of the rent at our first visit to Lucknow.

209. Now did you see inside this chakla any men?—We did. We saw a man in native uniform with "Chaukidar Cantonment" on the brass plate of the belt that he wore. He came up and stood with the group.

210. You understood him to be a guard?—Yes, a guard. It was stated that there was a guard there, a constable.

211. (Mr. Wilson.) Do you know what "chaukidar" means?—It was explained to us as meaning "guard." For a watchman or a guard they said the chaukidar.

212. (Sir James Peile.) You said that there was no question, nobody doubted that the women in the chakla were limited to the use of British soldiers.



By whose orders is it understood that they are limited, or how are they limited? Do they limit themselves or how?—No.

213. What was the idea you got?—I got the idea that they were not permitted to consort with natives at all.

214. By whom?—By the authorities.

215. The British?—The cantonment authorities, the British authorities I mean, if it is the nationality you wish.

216. Was that said or was it what you inferred?—Well, it was not altogether inferred although there was very much inferential evidence in that we frequently saw British soldiers there, and we never saw a native soldier. I am quite sure that in every cantonment visited we saw British soldiers in the chaklas.

217. But you do not mean that you saw any order of the British authorities limiting these women to the British soldiers?—The native physician at Rawal Pindi told us that it was only the women who were set apart for the European soldiers who were required to be examined.

218. Set apart?—We saw the registers on several occasions, and the women's names. I refer to the registers in certain lock hospitals on which the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments.

219. You say were set apart or were apportioned, but by whom?—By those in authority.

220. But you did not see any orders to that effect?—No; at Lucknow 35 girls and two mahaldarnis testified that only Europeans could visit them. At Sitapur, a woman who was there pointed to the smoke on the wall and said that this room had been occupied by a native woman who was at that time one of the women of the chakla, who had a native lover who visited her secretly. He became very jealous and angry and set fire to the bed, and then it all came out, his visiting her secretly, and the woman was expelled from the cantonment. And at Bareilly a woman told us that none but European soldiers were allowed to come; we visited that neighbourhood in the evening and saw the European soldiers coming and going to and from the chakla. As I say, the native doctor at Rawal Pindi said that all women consorting with Europeans must be examined and registered with the cantonment magistrate, and at another time he said that those women who were for the European soldiers were obliged to be examined, but those for the native soldiers came only when they pleased. We visited the native chakla at Rawal Pindi, and there the women told us first when the mahaldarni was absent, and then afterwards the mahaldarni confirmed it at another interview with her that they were not required to be examined regularly because they consorted with natives; that they were very glad to be relieved from it, and that they were only seen when the mahaldarni sent them; they were not required to be examined.

221. (Mr. Stansfeld.) With regard to the guard or watchman you saw there, did you understand anything as to the length of period during which he would be on guard and how often he would be removed?—At Lucknow the women did not state how often the guards were changed. They said that they were changed every few hours, and at Umballa they said the guards were changed every six hours.

222. (General Sir Donald Stewart.) Could you tell us whether this was one of the cantonment police?—At Lucknow he wore the uniform of the cantonment police.

223. He was a policeman on duty on that beat?—Well, I do not know whether he belonged to the regular police or not. As I say, he wore a cantonment uniform, and had "Chaukidar Cantonment" on the brass plate of his belt.

224. (Mr. Stansfeld.) But you saw him inside the chakla?—Yes, we saw him there as long as we stayed inside, he was going up and down,

225. (General Sir Donald Stewart.) Outside or in?—Inside.

226. (Sir James Peile.) In the courtyard?—In the courtyard.

227. Open to the open air, not under a roof?—Not a roofed courtyard; an open courtyard inside the chakla. We also saw a guard at Bareilly chakla.

228. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Which of the courtyards; there are two?—It was the one where the tree is; he came up and listened while the others were talking. I do not remember whether we spoke to him.

229. With regard to this plan, there is the long court with the tree, and then there is another court, but the whole of this building is a chakla; no part of it is the Lock Hospital?—Oh, no. The Lock Hospital is at some distance away. At Bareilly we also saw a native policeman or chaukidar in the chakla with his badge on, and in the evening at the entrance to the Bareilly chakla a policeman came and spoke to us about a girl whom we were trying to befriend.

230. I think I will take you on to another cantonment, to Meerut; what day did you visit that cantonment?—We visited the Lock Hospital at Meerut on 5th February 1892.

231. And your visit extended from 5th February to 11th February?—I think it was 11th February we reached Meerut. We began our work at Meerut on the 16th February. We were at Meerut, and began our work on the 5th.

232. You stayed a few days at Meerut?—Yes.

233. According to my instructions, you stayed from the 5th to the 11th?—Yes, I think so. We reached Meerut, or Lahore rather, 11th February; we reached Meerut 11th February.

234. How many chaklas did you find at the cantonment at Meerut?—We found four that we visited. We also knew of another through the Lock Hospital registration and hearing of it.

235. You heard of another chakla, at the Lock Hospital?—Yes.

236. You visited four chaklas?—We visited four; we did not visit the artillery chakla.

237. Is there a Sudder Bazar chakla there?—There is.

238. Did you visit that?—We visited the Lancers chakla, which is near by, and the women came to us in the Lancers chakla for the interviews we held with them.

239. What you call the Lancers chakla is near the Sudder Bazar chakla?—Yes.

240. Now why do you call it the Lancers chakla?—The women said they were the women of that regiment, and that it was called the Lancers chakla. In the Sudder Bazar chakla it was a different arrangement. They lived in little houses on a street. The Lancers chakla was the same arrangement of rooms on a courtyard, as at Lucknow, and it was a better place, and more open place, for the women to come to us in numbers. They came in numbers from the Sudder Bazar chakla to see us there.

241. Well, now, with regard to this Lancers chakla, did you ask them to whom the place belonged?—Yes, we did. They answered that it formerly belonged to the Government, but did not now. I think we did not ask at all to whom it did belong, or anything about that.

242. Now what else did they say; did they say to whom they belonged themselves?—They stated that they belonged to the Lancers regiment.

243. That was their view?—Yes.

244. Did you afterwards see a number of women collected at the same chakla. I presume that means outside the chakla, does it?—No, inside the chakla.

245. You mean on a subsequent occasion?—Yes, the next morning.

246. You met three and twenty women collected there?—Yes, we met 24 persons.

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247. You conversed with them?—Yes, they came from all round from the Sudder Bazar chakla.

248. Did that occur again upon a third occasion?—Not so many again; but we had another interview with them.

249. And upon that third occasion, were there any men present?—Yes, there were.

250. And who were the men?—There was the husband of the dhai or the ex-dhai; they call her the dhai. We could not just find out what her position was, but she was there. She said she had to take care of the women, and that this was her husband.

251. Are you speaking now of a chakla?—Yes, of a chakla.

252. But the dhai would have no position in the chakla, would she; she is the nurse of the hospital?—That is why we say we could not get her real position. She said she took care of the women when they were ill, and they gave her a few pie, but she did not seem to have a definite position.

253. Did you see any native police there?—There was a man there on the third interview, one afternoon, who they said was the head of the native police; he did not make himself known to us. We saw him there.

254. Did you see another chakla?—We did. We saw the Infantry chakla.

255. Is that one building, or a series of houses?—It is rooms on a street.

256. Is there a fourth chakla that you saw?—We saw another. That was the 50th West Kent Rest Camp; we saw the chakla there.

257. What do you mean by a rest camp?—I do not know that I could define it in a military way, but it seemed to be where the soldiers were staying for a time in tents in quarters out in a camp.

258. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) They are permanent buildings, are they not?—No, it is in a camp.

259. Was it a brick building?—No, in tents, wholly in tents.

260. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) However there was a chakla. What did the chakla consist of?—The chakla consisted of 14 small tents.

261. How ranged?—They were in a row opposite each other.

262. Two rows?—They were just beyond the bazar where the trading went on.

263. The bazar of the 50th Royal West Kent Regiment?—The bazar of the 50th Royal West Kent Regiment.

264. Did you see any other tents near these?—We saw a large tent which seemed to be used for eating and smoking opium, and all that; we went in and saw this after we had finished our interview with the women, and they were smoking and eating opium, and also eating food in this large tent.

265. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Who were?—The natives were, both men and women who had been there near this chakla of the women.

266. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now I will pass on to Meer Meer, how many chaklas did you see at Meer Meer?—Three, the Sudder, the regimental, and two artillery.

267. Now take the Sudder Bazar; is that a substantial building?—Yes, it was a good building; it was built with little rooms facing on the courtyard.

268. How many rooms?—There were 20 rooms, that is the rooms were against the wall, you know; the back was the wall, and they abutted on the courtyard; they were ranged about the courtyard. There were 20 rooms, and the mahaldarni said they were full.

269. Did you converse with the mahaldarni?—We did.

270. Did you converse through an interpreter, or did she speak English?—She spoke some English. We conversed with her partly in English, and partly in the native language. She offered us tea, and was very friendly. She showed us around. She stated

she had 16 girls in her own quarters, that was next to this chakla; that is, I mean they were really joined, there was just a wall between, but it was next door.

271. Did you visit another chakla in the same cantonment?—The regimental chakla; the women in the Sudder chakla told us there was another, the regimental chakla, and we visited that. There the quarters were rooms on a street; they resembled barracks rather closely, that is the way barracks looked usually. There was the outer verandah, and then a room inside of that; a row of rooms on a street, and these were very near the soldiers.

272. Did the mahaldarnis rent these rooms or what?—They stated that the commanding officer rented them for them, and that they paid rent.

273. They paid rent?—They said they paid from one rupee to one rupee four annas a month each.

274. The women?—The women stated this.

275. To whom did they pay that, to the mahaldarni?—I do not know to whom they paid it, I did not ask.

276. They said they were charged by somebody?—They said they were charged rent.

277. Is there a third chakla in the same cantonment?—That was the artillery chakla; that was little rooms in a street, a little narrow native street.

278. Did you visit the rest camp here?—We did not, we saw it at a distance as we drove on the road.

279. Did you hear anything about the rest camp?—The women at these three chaklas told us that there were 12 women at the rest camp.

280. Now Rawal Pindi, when did you visit that?—We left Meer Meer February 19th, and arrived at Rawal Pindi the same day, the 19th February.

281. You commenced your inspection on February 20th?—We commenced on the 20th, we did not arrive till the afternoon of the 19th.

282. How many chaklas did you find there?—We visited the Sudder chakla for the European soldiers, and that for the native soldiers, a very large chakla in the Sudder bazar, and the infantry and the artillery, and then we drove out to the new cantonment on the Monday following.

283. Some distance?—That was some distance. Yes, I could not say just how far, but I think it was stated to be three miles. I will not positively state that it was three miles, but it was a ride of some distance to the new cantonment, and there we visited three chaklas, the Highlanders, the Battery, and the Rifles.

284. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you make it quite clear how many you gave us that you visited. You mentioned them one by one?—Yes, that would make seven, counting the one for the natives also.

285. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Besides the new cantonment?—No, including the new cantonment.

286. Now the new cantonment, for what number of women are these chaklas?—There were 12 at the Highlanders, and 12 at the Battery, and 11 at the Rifles.

287. You have not got the numbers, have you, for the other ones?—I think I can give them. I cannot give them for the Sudder Bazar. We could get no light on it at all; they simply, when we asked, wherever we inquired, said there were so many women there that they could not tell; we interviewed ten, and then this native chakla was crowded. It was an immense place. Then at the Infantry chakla there were 20, and at the Artillery there were five.

288. Did you see the 20?—We did not interview the 20.

289. But you saw the 20?—Oh, we saw, I think, fully that many women moving about, but we only interviewed a few.

290. Well, now, take the chaklas at the new cantonment, what were they structurally?—They were on three parallel streets, brick buildings. It was stated that they had only been erected a few years



ago, and they looked new. Everything looked very nice and fresh, and there were three parallel streets, extending a long distance; I mean these three parallel rows of buildings down those three streets, and there was no break in all this line of buildings except one short very narrow street, going down toward a ravine; there was a little ravine at the end, and it was at that end of these rows of brick buildings that the women were. The one that we first approached was the Highlanders, and then we went around the end, passed along this ravine, or the one side of it, to the Battery bazar, and then on to the Rifles. The women occupied the buildings at that end, which were not separated from other buildings, but were all at that end of the ravine.

291. Were there any tents besides these buildings used for the same purpose?—Yes, there were ten small tents a little to the right of the Highlanders' rooms.

292. Ten or 11?—It was either 10 or 11. I have it recorded in the journal there were 11 little tents in the ravine close to the row of brick buildings.

293. Now, Amritsar. When did you visit that cantonment?—We reached Amritsar the last day of February, and we visited the chakla March 1st.

294. Was it a large or a small chakla?—It was a small chakla, and there were only five women there. It was built after the same manner that I have spoken of in several other cases, about a courtyard.

295. Was there a mahaldarni for these five women?—Yes, there was a mahaldarni.

296. Did you see them all?—We saw them all and talked with them all.

297. What happened in the course of that conversation; did they tell you how many soldiers were situated there?—We asked why there were so few, and they said there were only two companies situated at Amritsar at that time.

298. Did you see an English soldier there?—We did; he came to the entrance of the chakla, and stood waiting as we came away.

299. Now, Peshawar. When did you visit Peshawar?—We visited Peshawar after visiting Rawal Pindi; we went from Rawal Pindi on February 23rd for Peshawar, and arriving very late in the afternoon—

300. Before reaching Amritsar, you visited Peshawar?—We visited Rawal Pindi, then we visited Peshawar, then we returned to Rawal Pindi; that is the order, Peshawar being further towards the North West frontier than Rawal Pindi.

301. Well now take Peshawar?—Peshawar is the place where we found the women all gathered into one bazar.

302. The Sudder Bazar?—The Sudder Bazar, but not under one roof; there were little houses there and they were on these streets.

303. A series of buildings in a street?—Not in a street, but in, you might say, two streets, forming a street of right angles, and then little ramifications.

304. About how many women were there?—There were 56 registered, as in the Sudder Bazar chakla. The women claimed that there were two lists, and they had two examination days; that the regimental women had just been brought there, and therefore there were two examination days. We asked why there were the two examination days, and they explained it that way, but we saw only the registration list of the Sudder Bazar, and whether it covered the whole number or not we cannot tell. It did not seem as though it could, 56, for the reasons that we may give later regarding what we observed.

305. You made your way into that narrow street?—Yes.

306. And what happened then?—Well, we were warned not to come in, that was the first thing.

307. By whom?—By a woman speaking out at one of the doors.

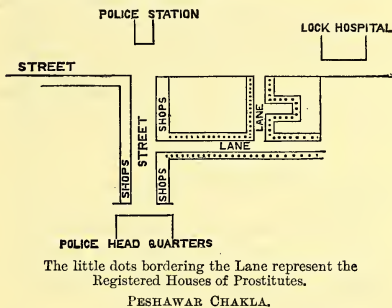
308. What did she say?—She said, "Do not come in here; we are all bad women here." We said we were seeking them. She then made us very welcome, and called in other women to see us.

309. And did some women come?—Yes.

310. How many?—There were nine women counting the old woman who was there, the mother of this woman where we had gone in; eight of the women themselves and this old woman.

311. Did they tell you anything about the Regimental Bazar?—Yes, they said that all the women in the Regimental Bazar had been brought in. They all lived in the same place. We asked if all the women lived there. We were accustomed to asking that in order that we might know whether to visit other places.

312. Have you got a sketch of this place?—Yes, we have in the Journal. Of course, these were just rude sketches; they were not intended to be exact as to numbers of feet and all that. There was a police station at each end of the street.



313. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) The police station used to be in the middle of the Bazar, was it not?—The police station now is just as it is placed there; one is at the middle of the street which is just outside, and the other is just at the middle of a street running the other way.

314. You have one called police head-quarters, and another called police station?—Yes.

315. My recollection is that the head-quarters were in the middle of the Sudder bazar?—We just took it as it was indicated to us.

316. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you observe with regard to these houses any numbers that they bore?—Yes.

317. Numbers outside the houses?—There were such numbers.

318. What were those numbers?—They were large and small numbers. The small ones were about six inches, I should think, nearly square.

319. Square pieces of what metal?—Of tin, and they were the cantonment numbers; they were small.

320. You inquired and you were told so?—Yes, we inquired and we were told so.

321. And then there were larger ones?—There were larger round tin plates on which were very large English numbers.

322. How large were these round?—About 15 inches in diameter.

323. (*Chairman.*) Were they the same numbers; would one house be numbered by a square plate and by a round plate?—They were in Hindustani figures on the small plates, and in English only on the round plates. These houses had the two plates on, and the small plates had both English and Hindustani figures on them, but they did not correspond to the figures on the large plates.

324. That is what I mean; two different systems?—Yes, and the large numbers were in English.

325. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you ask any one of these women what the numbers meant?—Yes, we asked on three different occasions.

326. What did they tell you?—They said the small numbers were the cantonment numbers, that every house in a cantonment has to be numbered with, and the large numbers corresponded with their registration numbers.

327. The registration numbers of the prostitutes?—The registration numbers of the prostitutes, yes.

Mrs. E. W.  
Andrew  
and  
Dr. K.  
Bushnell.

11 April 1893.



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11 April 1893.

328. How many of these numbers did you count?—I saw the number 67 opposite me. I did not go and count each one regularly. I only saw that number opposite me as I stood talking.

329. And that there were a considerable number?—Yes; naturally in this length of street.

330. Did you afterwards ask any other persons what the large numbers signified?—That was one reason why I thought the 56 names on the Sudder Bazar list could hardly cover the number of women, because it was No. 67 opposite me while I was talking. Yes, we did; and on one occasion, both a native man was standing there and a woman, and we asked the woman, but both the man and the woman answered, yes.

331. They gave the same answer?—The same answer.

332. That the larger numbers signified the registration number of the women?—That the larger numbers signified the registration number of the women. Then we had an interview with a girl later in her own room, a young girl there, who invited us in with seven others, and they stated the same. This was an entirely new group of women whom we had not seen, in another street from the first two interviews.

333. (Sir James Peile.) You say you saw the register of the women at the bazar?—Yes, we saw the register.

334. Where was that?—At the Lock Hospital.

335. In the hospital?—Yes, in the Lock Hospital.

336. Do you mean a hospital that was only for venereal diseases?—Yes.

337. And no other?—And no other.

338. And in the hospital you saw a register of the women?—Of the Sudder Bazar Chakla, 56 cases; we saw.

339. The register of cases?—The register of names; there were 56 the total.

340. But it was a register of women who had been treated in the hospital?—Yes, the register.

341. Of the cases?—Well, of the women. It was an hospital register, and it was of the women.

342. (Mr. Wilson.) Was it a register of the patients who had been treated in the hospital, or was it a register of women who had to come for periodic examination?—It was the register of the women; I thought I had made that clear.

343. Who had come for periodic examination?—It was the register of the women who had to come there for examination.

344. Not patients in the hospital?—No, except as they were detained.

345. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now we pass on to Umballa. You visited that on the 2nd of March?—We went from Amritsar to Umballa, and arrived there on the 2nd of March, Wednesday morning, a little after midnight.

346. What did you see there?—We visited three chaklas at Umballa.

347. Were they tents or buildings?—There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazar.

348. Did you find one chakla at the camp of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders?—We did.

349. Did that consist of tents?—Yes; that was the first that we visited.

350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here?—She told us to what regiment they belonged.

351. Did she tell you of whom she hired the tents?—She said she hired them from some one; I do not remember whom.

352. From a merchant, was it not?—From a merchant—a native merchant, I think it was.

353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there?—That there were 11.

354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there?—She and the girls corroborated each

other that there was a guard there till midnight; that the guard was changed every six hours.

355. Then what did you see at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders?—There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were inclosed with native matting.

356. A kind of wall of matting?—Yes, a kind of wall of matting.

357. How many tents were there there?—There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?—We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

359. Are both these chaklas near to each other?—Not at a great distance.

360. At what part of the Cantonnment; how far from the military tents?—They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these women—the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

361. While you were at the chakla, at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?—Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

362. Now what did you see at the Sudder bazar?—There were 20 girls at the Sudder bazar.

363. What is the chakla there?—The character of it?—It was rooms built on a court-yard inclosed by a wall and the rooms facing on the court-yard.

364. How many of the girls did you see?—We saw 10 at the Sudder Chakla.

365. And did you also see two very young ones?—Yes.

366. Apparently of what ages?—Well, one was, I should think, 12 years old; she did not seem to be more than that.

367. And the other girl was?—I remember that there were two, but I do not remember the ages.

368. Was the other girl almost an infant?—One was a child of four, but the other was one of 12; the latter impressed me greatly.

369. How was the one of 12 dressed?—She was dressed just as the degraded women were.

370. Was that any peculiar dress?—I could not say they wear any uniform, but they are apt to be belidened out very much; they wear all the jewellery that they can get, you know. This little girl was very much tricked out, and they are apt to put on as many gay colours as they can.

371. Well now, Bareilly, did you visit that on March the 3rd; that is the second visit, is it not?—Yes, that is the second visit; we visited Bareilly on March the 3rd.

372. Is the chakla a considerable building there?—It is a very good building. It is built in the same way, with a wall and the rooms facing on a court-yard.

373. That is the Sudder Bazar?—Yes, the Sudder Bazar Chakla.

374. How many women were there?—Well, they said there were 25; we did not see that many, but we saw quite a number. We interviewed 15, 14 girls and the mahaldarni.

375. They told you there were 25?—They said there were 25 in all, and we saw other girls moving about, but they did not join the circle.

376. Did they say there had been more than 25?—They said there had been 50, but many of their number had gone away to Raukhet with the soldiers.

377. With the regiment?—With the regiment, yes; I think they said with the soldiers; I think that was their expression, yes; many had gone away to Raukhet with the soldiers.

378. And all the women there, they said, were gathered into this one chakla?—They said they were, that the other chaklas had been broken up, and they had all been brought in.

379. Were the rooms here numbered with the small and large numbers?—Yes, they were.

380. But in this case?—It was just the opposite from Peshawar.

381. The small numbers were supposed to be the registration numbers, the large numbers to be the cantonment numbers?—It was said by the women to be so. We did not make the thorough investigation there that we did at Peshawar, but this is what was stated to us, that the small numbers were the registration numbers.

382. What did the women tell you as to the men who were allowed to visit them?—They said none but European soldiers were allowed to visit them.

383. Did they say at what hours they visited them?—They spoke of the first hour in the afternoon, 2 o'clock, I think, to 8 o'clock, I know 8 was the time they spoke of.

384. Did you see any native official within that chakla?—Yes, we saw a guard there with the cantonment badge on.

385. Did you go to that chakla again the same night?—We did the same evening.

386. Did you see any soldiers go in and out?—We did, a large number.

387. Did they all come walking up?—No, they came in cabs, or gharries, as they are called, and there were many gharries there waiting when we went, and none of them went away empty; there were sometimes three or four. Some officers came.

388. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was this chakla at Bareilly in the cantonment or outside the cantonment, in the city?—It was in the cantonment; not in the city.

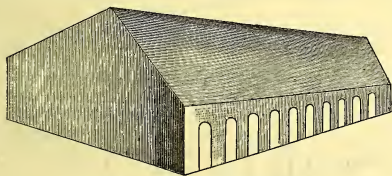
389. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Sitapur you visited 5th March?—Yes. Left Bareilly 4th March; visited Sitapur, 5th March.

390. Is the only chakla there at the Sudder Bazar?—Yes.

391. What size building is that?—Well, it is a very good building, very substantial looking, and not inclosed. It resembles barracks very closely. It is built with the rooms facing two ways, the wall in the middle.

392. How many women did it hold?—It would hold 20; 10 suites of rooms on one side, and 10 on the other. Stop; I think we have a drawing of it.

393. Is this it?—Yes; that is it; just in outline.



Ten suites of rooms on each side.

SITAPUR CHAKLA.

394. Did you see one of the prostitutes under an hospital nurse, a dhai there?—Yes; we did, an ex-dhai; she said she was not at that time a dhai.

395. What did they tell you? Did they say anything as to the payment of rent for the building?—That was after we passed round to the other side—this woman accompanying us, the prostitute. She went with us; and another whom we had seen in the Lucknow Lock Hospital spoke to us. This last one spoke right up, and was very glad to see us when we came round—recognised us immediately and spoke to us joyfully.

396. Was this your second visit?—No; this was the same visit, only we were first at one side and then we passed round the end of the building to this girl's room. It was the second or the third on the other side, and she was at her door, and recognised us

and was glad to see us, and then she said to us, seemingly with great gratitude and pleasure: "This house 'belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent 'here. We had to pay two rupees a month at 'Lucknow, but we pay no rent here." She could talk broken English.

397. Well, did you visit Benares, on the 11th of March?—Well, we visited Lucknow in the meantime. Then Benares came in later. We left Lucknow on Friday the 11th of March 1892, reaching Benares the same afternoon.

398. Is the chakla a building there?—It is a very noticeable building. It is in rather a prominent place, and there was a watchmaker's sign in front, a sort of shop there, or had been; a watchmaker's shop, and the chakla enclosed. There is a wall and there is a verandah round the rooms; and then you go from this veranda into the rooms—a room for each girl.

399. Did you see the mahaldarnis?—We saw the mahaldarni, and they said there were 15 girls there. I think we did not talk with the whole number; we interviewed 11, that is the mahaldarni and 10 of the girls at the Benares chakla.

400. They said they paid no rent?—They said they paid no rent; they said the building was rented for them by the Government, and that they paid no rent. They said there were 15 girls there.

401. (*Sir James Peile.*) You did not test that statement, I suppose, in any way, the statement that it was rented for them by the Government?—No; we did not.

402. Have you any proof that there was any order by a British authority, limiting the use of these women to the European soldiers?—We had the declaration of the women everywhere that they were under this strict rule, and they certainly showed that they felt it to be a positive prohibition.

403. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) They acted in that belief?—Yes; they acted in that belief—they certainly did, as far as we were able to judge. It certainly seemed to us strongly presumptive evidence that registration lists which we saw assigned the women to certain European regiments; that is to say, their names appeared under the regimental title. That was good evidence that they were not permitted to receive other than British soldiers.

404. (*Sir James Peile.*) Where were these lists?—In the lock hospitals.

405. In all?—I did not say in all the lock hospitals, but we saw them in several.

406. You mentioned it in one?—Where we saw registration lists, the women's names were thus assigned.

407. Do you mean they were ranged under the regiments—the women's names?—They were, in certain cases. I mentioned that the native doctor at Rawal Pindi stated this, that none but the women consorting with European soldiers were required positively—he put it positively—to come regularly for inspection; and then I said that in registers that we saw in different lock hospitals they were assigned to certain regimental quarters, and in most cases we have the corroborative evidence of having visited them in these quarters.

408. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, at Lucknow, as to registration of the women, I want to ask you one or two questions. In the Sudder Bazar chakla, at Lucknow, did you hear anything upon the subject as to who were registered? Did you hear anything about the mahaldarni's daughter?—There is a bit to be brought in with regard to that. An old procurer—who acknowledged herself to be so—and we saw her bring the girl whom she said she owned to the Lock Hospital—we met her several times; but the particular thing she said in regard to the registration I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell, because she said it to her.

409. Did you yourself hear from any of the girls or women there anything concerning the mahaldarni's

*Mrs. E. W. Andrew and Dr. K. Bushnell.*

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daughter?—They said that the mahaldarui's daughter was registered, as all in that neighbourhood had to be.

410. All in that building?—That was the expression. This was at our last visit to Lucknow, and it was after this change had been made in the chakla, and the mahaldarui was reported to have been dismissed, and she was living near by, just a few steps from the chakla in a little building there, and she had several girls living with her; and one of those girls who lived with her, when we went to see the mahaldarui, stated that the mahaldarui had gone to the Lock Hospital, and had taken her daughter with her. But we were not given to understand that the daughter was not a virtuous woman. She said the daughter was virtuous, and did not receive the visits of soldiers, but that she was registered—that they had all to be in that neighbourhood, and that, therefore, she was obliged to go to the Lock Hospital.

411. Well, now, at Peshawar, what did the women tell you there in reference to their registration?—We had seen the daughter, I should mention, the day before. In the meantime examination day had intervened, according to the statement of the women, and this woman was detained there. More evidence as to why she was detained, and for what purpose, will be brought in later.

412. Did you make any enquiry as to how the girls entered this life?—That is for Dr. Bushnell to answer. She talked with this woman who owned the girl there, and the woman informed her.

413. I mean at Peshawar?—When we asked at Peshawar, "Where are your names written?" they said, "They are put down in a book with the cantonment magistrate."

414. Did they say they would come to the cantonment magistrate to be registered?—We asked how a new girl would go into that life, if she wished to go into it; and they said she would go first of all to the cantonment magistrate to be registered, and then to the Lock Hospital.

415. For what purpose?—They said if the doctor said she was clean, she could then go into the chakla after examination.

416. If not, she would have to stay in the hospital, I presume?—Yes; it was presumable. They said, if not, she would have to stay at the hospital until she was well.

417. In this cantonment did the women's houses bear the registered number of the woman occupant as well as the number of the house?—Do you mean those houses we were then visiting?

418. The women's houses in this cantonment?—The women's houses in the cantonment were numbered twice—the large numbers they stated to be the registered numbers of the women.

419. Well, now, at Mean Meer, in the Lock Hospital, you saw books and forms of counterfoils, did you not?—Yes.

420. Bearing upon this question?—We saw several books there.

421. Will you tell me what you saw?—We saw a book of blank forms, with coupon attachments, and the stubs of those pages. A great many of those pages had been torn out. We saw the stubs there still.

422. You saw the counterfoils?—Well, I mean that they were ranged, we will say, so; and then with a little piece to tear off—a little thinner piece—and the page to be torn out of those, and the attachments of these had been torn out, and the stubs remained.

423. With reference to these parts which were left—which I will call counterfoils—what did you see upon them?—Some of these bore dates as late as January 1892. This was February 16th that we were there; there were many of these blank forms remaining.

424. Did you notice any of the blank forms?—The blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, asking him to give the prostitute — a

ticket, enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspections, the Voluntary Venereal Hospital of Mean Meer Cantonment.

425. That was on the blank form?—Yes, that was on the blank form.

426. Was the same instruction on the counterfoil?—Well, on the counterfoil there was just a jotting, as I remember, of the name and date.

427. Were these forms signed?—They were all from the surgeon of the Lock Hospital.

428. Were they signed by the surgeon?—They were signed by the surgeon, but there were blank forms there; many of the forms had been torn out.

429. Was the word "surgeon" on the blank form ready for the name to be added?—They were all printed.

430. (Chairman.) With the word "surgeon" printed?—Yes, as I remember. I think I can be quite sure of that; that there was the word "surgeon" on it.

431. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Well, you have said these blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, requesting him to give the prostitute of such a name, a ticket enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear at the bi-monthly inspection. Did you succeed in obtaining one of such tickets?—Yes.

432. Can you produce it?—We saw a number of such tickets in the hospital, and supposed them to be tickets of women in the Lock Hospital. We afterwards succeeded in obtaining one of these tickets.

433. Have you got that?—Yes, here it is.

#### 1892.

#### TICKET OF REGISTERED PROSTITUTES IN THE CANTONMENT OF MEAN MEER.

Name, Begum Ist.  
Caste, Mahomedan  
Registered number, 1  
Place of residence in Cantonment, Sadder Bazar.  
Date of Registry, 4. 3. 90.  
Personal appearance, \_\_\_\_\_

C. L. M. Rick,  
Officiating Cantonment Magistrate,  
Mean Meer.

A. B. P., S. B., M. M.

YEAR AND MONTH.	Date of Medical Examination and Signature of Medical Officer.				REMARKS.
	Date of Inspection in the First Half Month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	Date of Inspection in the Second Half Month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	
1892:					
January -	1st.	Lat. G.	15.1.92. 23.1.92.	H. E. H.	
February -	1st	H. E. H.	27.1.92. 15.1.92.	B. W.	
March -					
April -					
May -					
June -					
July -					
August -					
September -					
October -					
November -					
December -					



In the Journal I see that I have written it so :—  
“Signed, Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital.” All these  
forms were so signed. This was the form. This was

February 16th. As you see from the ticket, the last  
inspection at Mean Meer had taken place just the day  
before, the 15th February 1892.

Mrs. E. W.  
Andrew  
and  
Dr. K.  
Bushnell.

The Witness withdrew.

11 April 1893.

Adjourned to Friday, at noon.

## SECOND DAY.

Friday, April 14th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General G. R. NEWMARCH,  
Secretary.

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, called in ; and Mrs. ANDREW  
further Examined.

434. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) At Rawul Pindi, what did  
you hear from a native doctor at the lock hospital ?  
He told us that the women who consorted with Euro-  
pean soldiers were obliged to be registered by the  
cantonment magistrate, and examined regularly, and  
he said there were about 45 women who were usually  
or regularly examined there, and 35 of those were for  
the European soldiers.

435. At Umballa you saw the lock hospital ?—  
Yes. At Umballa, we saw in the Correspondence  
Book certain letters from the surgeon-in-charge.

436. Copies, I presume ?—Copies of letters to the  
cantonment magistrate.

437. From whom ?—They were from the surgeon  
in charge.

438. From the English surgeon ?—The English  
surgeon in charge of the Lock Hospital, to the can-  
tonment magistrate. These were dated ; I think the  
letters referred to were all included between January  
and February, 1892 ; declaring that certain soldiers  
had declared themselves as diseased, and certain  
women were indicated in those letters.

439. Indicated by the soldiers ?—Certain women  
had been indicated by the soldiers, and the English  
surgeon included the names of those women and  
requested the cantonment magistrate to send them  
for examination.

440. Have not you already told us that at Bareilly  
the houses or rooms of the women in the Sudder  
Bazar chakla bore the registered number of the  
women as well as the number of the tents ?—I have  
stated that the women so declared, pointing out the  
numbers. These were the English numbers, and  
they were the small numbers ; the native numbers  
were the large numbers in that case ; just the opposite  
of Peshawar.

441. As to the mahaldarni. The mahaldarni, I  
think I understood you to tell us, was a woman  
superintendent of the chakla ?—That was what they  
told us, that mahaldarni meant the woman in charge,  
or the woman superintendent.

442. Did you, in nearly all the chaklas, find a  
woman called the mahaldarni, who appeared to you to  
be in charge of the women ?—Yes, in nearly all.

443. When you were at Lucknow, on January 25th,  
you visited the chakla at the Sudder Bazar ?—Yes.

444. Did you ask to see the mahaldarni ?—We  
did.

445. And did she come forward ?—She came for-  
ward ; she was an old woman.

446. What did she tell you ?—She told us that she  
was the mahaldarni, and that the Government paid her  
ten rupees a month.

447. (*Chairman.*) Where was this mahaldarni ?—  
At the Sudder chakla, Lucknow.

448. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was paid ?  
—She said she was paid by the Government ; that  
was her expression.

449. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How much ?—Ten rupees a  
month.

450. Did you at the same time see another mahal-  
darni ?—We saw another woman there, who said her-  
self, and the girls said, that she was the mahaldarni of  
the Lancers regiment. She stated that she was paid  
ten rupees a month, and the girls stated in her pre-  
sence, and she corroborated, that she also took one-  
fourth of their earnings.

451. She was a showily-dressed person ?—She had  
a great deal of solid gold jewellery, and was a very  
fine-looking woman, that is, judging by the native type,  
and she impressed us as prosperous in every way ;  
and this she said not only once, but it was said over  
and over by the mahaldarni and the girls. There  
were 35 girls in the group.

452. (*Sir James Peile.*) Did they speak English ?  
—Not all ; a number of them did.

453. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) A kind of English ?—Yes,  
a kind of English. I do not say classical English,  
but English that was easily understood—colloquial ;  
and some of them very good English indeed ; that is,  
very fair for native women to have picked up.

454. Did these two mahaldarnis tell you through  
whom they received their Government pay, as they  
called it ?—They said they received it through the  
cantonment magistrate.

455. This was on the 25th January ?—Yes.

456. You visited Lucknow on the 7th March ?—  
Yes.

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Andrew.

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457. Did you find the two mahaldarnis still there ?—We did not find them in the chakla. When we visited the Sudder chakla the women told us that the mahaldarni had been dismissed.

458. Did you see either of them elsewhere ?—We went to see them at their own houses. We went to see the old mahaldarni first, who had been in charge of the Sudder chakla ; she was in a little house just a few steps from the chakla.

459. And what did she say to you ?—She said that she had been dismissed, and that she had been dismissed a month before ; and she said that she had worked for the Government, that was her expression, continuously in Lucknow for ten years.

460. Did she show you any documents ?—She produced two certificates that she showed us.

461. What did they seem to be ?—Well, these certificates, one of them read thus—

462. Did you make this copy ?—No.

463. Who made that ?—Dr. Bushnell copied this ; I dictated to her. I dictated and she copied from the originals. Is it all right to read it ?

464. Very well, you can read it.

465. These are your copies, Dr. Kate Bushnell ?—(Dr. Kate Bushnell.) Yes. (Mrs. Andrew.)

"Ameer has supplied the 2nd Derby Regiment with prostitutes for the past three years, and I recommend her to any other regiment requiring her for a similar capacity." Then follow the names.

466. The names of whom ?—Is it a proper thing to read it ? "S. G. Miller, Quartermaster, 2nd Derby Regiment, Lucknow, 25th October 1885." The second one is Ameeran. Of course, these gentlemen from India know how very arbitrary the spelling of the Indian names is, and we found them very different in their conclusion. She was called Ameer in the first, and in the second "Ameeran, Mahaldarni of the Sudder chakla has been known to me for three years, and has always done her work well. R. A. Kay, Surgeon, M.S." And then underneath, "Staff Surgeon Dil Kushaw, Lucknow, 12-3-89."

467. Did you also see the second mahaldarni of the Lancers regiment ?—Yes ; we also saw her. We saw her on three different occasions.

468. But on this occasion did you see her ?—Yes ; on the same day, March 7th.

469. And what did she tell you ?—Well, we saw her twice on this occasion ; at the lock hospital in the morning ; and then in the afternoon at her little house, which is just a few steps from the chakla.

470. She said she had also been dismissed, but she was nevertheless at the lock hospital ?—Yes, she was at the lock hospital.

471. What was she doing at the lock hospital ?—I do not know. She seemed to be just a visitor there ; she was with others standing about. A girl had died, and we went there, and we were all there together in the outer enclosure, not in the inner enclosure, in the outer enclosure ; and she said that she had been dismissed, and that the authorities told her that "they," putting it in the plural ; including, we supposed, the old mahaldarni, "were promised that they should have the first places when these houses should be opened again." Though the houses were not closed the Mahaldarnis were dismissed ; but at any rate this was what she said, that they were told that they would have the first places when they were re-opened.

472. Then what was the hypothesis in her mind : apparently that these houses were to be closed ?—Yes, it seemed to be so. And then later in the day, when we saw her, remembering that she had not stated who said this to her, only "the authorities," we said, "Who dismissed you ?" She said she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate ; that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up, had to "close up." Then, on the third occasion, I saw girls there, and there seemed to be quite a number, and I said to her, "What does this mean ; you have girls here living with you ?" And she said, when her Lancers' chakla was broken up she

sent a petition, feeling in a great grievance, and that both the European doctor at the lock hospital and the cantonment magistrate told her to take six or eight girls, and so make her living in that way ; take a part of their earnings, and so make a living in that way, and she said she had five now.

473. Did she show you any certificates ?—Yes ; she showed us certificates and papers. She brought out a great bundle of papers of various kinds.

474. Of what dates were they ?—You mean from one year to another ? They were of different dates. Some of them years before, 1882, I think, to 1885.

475. They were none of them later than 1886 ?—I think none later than 1886. Stop, there is one here of 1886.

476. Do you desire to produce those ?—Well, I should desire to produce them, for this reason : to show what the mahaldarni's duties are, and what they have been ; because we have proof that they are the same now. We have some evidence that they are the same ; and if the Committee will permit them to be brought in in that way, I think it will make it clearer.

477. You can produce them as evidence of what their duties were at the periods to which they refer ?—Yes ; at the periods to which they refer. One that she had read thus : "Ameer, Mahaldarni, Seventh Lancers, you have not brought your women from Meerut and Ferozepore. You will have to do it, or the Colonel will think you have broken faith. It is now fifteen days since you received your appointment." This is also signed by "R. A. Kay, Staff-surgeon." 26th June, 1886, is the date. And then she showed us also a statement signed by the colonel of the regiment, showing that she had leave of absence for a number of days to go to Ferozepore, to attend to certain business of her bazar. This was dated June, 1886, within a fortnight of the foregoing. Then there was a petition, also, from her to the cantonment magistrate. The petition stated that she had been greatly misrepresented by the native police, and that they had said that her place was dirty, that she was not there, and that she did not have girls there ; and she stated that the place was kept tidy, that she was always there at the proper hours, and that she also had 15 girls there "within hours" ; that was the way in which it was expressed ; and she begged therefore for an inspection of her bazar. I think we only kept between which years these covered.

478. Was it in the period between 1882 and 1886 ?—Between 1882 and 1886. Then there was another petition to the cantonment magistrate, that she had informed him that she had brought four new girls, who had several thousand rupees' worth of jewellery, and that they were in danger of losing it. She said their brothers had accompanied them, and that she should require them to live in her bazar, and then the brothers would not come near. This was dated August, 1886, at Lucknow. Then there was still another lot of papers in regard to Orderly-Sergeant Edward Theobald ; his letters were very fulsome, and he told her he had forsaken his family for her, and then he made a petition to the cantonment magistrate.

479. She stated that he had lived with her, did she not ?—She stated that he had lived with her, and she called him her husband.

480. This was the mahaldarni ?—The mahaldarni Ameer. This is the woman who had so much jewellery. The letters were signed, "Your loving husband." Then there came a petition from this Orderly-Sergeant Edward Theobald, to Captain Campbell, the cantonment magistrate, for the privilege of building a brick house in the cantonment. Then Captain Campbell had written on the same, saying that he would have to know more particulars before he could grant the application ; and this document was dated in the year 1885. Then there was a petition in regular form by Edward Theobald, orderly-sergeant, asking for a place to live with this woman Ameer, as it was his intention to remain in India



and live with this woman until death removed one or the other. He said he had a salary of 30 rupees, and that he would give her 20 out of these, and therefore he asked this privilege. We then asked where he was, and she said he had gone to England.

481. I understood you to say "sergeant"?—Orderly sergeant. This was dated August 1886, at Lucknow. She treasured all these very carefully. Her petition, that you asked me the date of, may I correct, was dated August, 1886.

482. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, we pass on to Meerut. Did you visit that on February 10?—On February 10.

483. And who did you see at Rest Camp chakla?—We saw two women who claimed to be the mahaldarnis. We concluded that there must be one who was the head woman, with another who was in an inferior position; evidently Rahiman was the head woman from the way that she talked; but they both said that they received two pice for every four annas of the girls' earnings. Rahiman said that she protected the girls from ill-usuage and excess.

484. Was that the chief one?—That was the chief one. She was an old woman, that is, past middle life, and a very hardened-looking woman. She said that when a girl was not sufficiently attractive to earn her living she sent her away, and got another one in her place. She spoke as if she had full authority; we asked her where she got women from. She said "she got them from the bazar when they were needed." She said she went to Colonel Plowden; she did not call him the cantonment magistrate; but, by reference to the Meerut Directory, you see he is. She stated his name right out. She went to him and "he gave her five, ten, or twenty rupees, as the case needed, to get girls." She said that, "for a very young attractive girl, she was furnished with fifty rupees." Then, she added, "There is always plenty money to get them with." This is the Meerut Directory for that month, for February; his name is at the bottom of that page.

485. "G. Plowden, colonel"?—Yes. Cantonment magistrate.

486. Well now we pass on to Mean Meer, cantonment of Lahore. Did you visit that on February 16th?—Yes, on February 16th.

487. And you saw a mahaldarni there; was she one whom you had seen before?—This was in the Sudder bazar. That was our first visit. She was adorned with a great deal of jewellery.

488. But had you seen this one before?—No, not at all. This was our first visit. Perhaps I referred to her in the evidence on a former occasion.

489. Well, you saw her there?—We saw her.

490. What did she tell you?—We saw her first in her own place. I remember now describing how it was constructed; that there was just a wall between what was called her quarters and the chakla proper, and she stated that she had 16 girls in her part of the house, and there were 20 in the other. She was adorned with jewellery profusely, and those who are acquainted with this know that we could tell at a moment whether it was proper jewellery. There is a great deal of that which is just gimcrack, but even if is somewhat rude in construction, yet you can see when it is solid gold; so we noted those who seemed to be more prosperous than others. She was adorned with jewellery, and some of it very good; and she said she had 10 rupees a month from the Government. That was her expression.

491. (*Sir James Peile.*) That she was then getting; not that she had formerly?—No, she said she was getting it.

492. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) What time was this?—This was February 16th.

493. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you visit the regimental bazar?—We visited the regimental bazar, and the mahaldarni there stated that she got one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

494. Did she say she received any salary?—No, simply one-eighth of the girls' earnings. The artillery bazar we visited on another day, on the 17th February; and there was a mahaldarni there. She also stated that she got one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

495. But no salary?—No salary.

496. What did you find at Rawal Pindi?—At Rawal Pindi we found mahaldarnis in all the chaklas visited except the Sudder, and as to that we really did not get a clear idea of its boundaries, because the women were living in little rooms on the street, and I think we did not ask whether they had a mahaldarni we were occupied in asking other things, and, at any rate, we did not meet with a mahaldarni at all in the Sudder; but we did in the artillery, and she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

497. That is to say, she told you?—Yes, the mahaldarni and the girls both told us. The artillery one-eighth, the infantry one-eighth, of the girls' earnings. In the infantry the woman said she had formerly been a dhai in the lock hospital, and had had 15 rupees a month, but was not now. This is in the new cantonment of Rawal Pindi. In the battery one-eighth, and in the rifles one-eighth. The latter was a young woman. In the Highlanders' bazar we saw a very fine-looking, well-dressed woman, who came forward to meet us, and stated to us that she was the mahaldarni before we asked her, and she had a manner of great dignity. Her name was Ezeerge. She produced a scrap book, which was very neatly arranged, with all her certificates and letters of recommendation pasted in in very nice order. These people so appreciate their certificates. We found that in all classes and grades of society in India, from the dhobis or washermen, up to those who served us in the most intelligent manner; this woman had it in the folds of her dress, and she drew it out and showed it to us, and it contained letters of recommendation and certificates of service from April 1887 to November 1891; they spoke of her efficiency as superintendent of the prostitutes, and of her intelligence and obedience to instructions, and of the soldiers being very free from disease, and so forth, when the women were under her care; and also that she had accompanied the women "on the march" in a very satisfactory manner. They covered a great deal of ground. She stated that she received 15 rupees from the Government and one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

498. (*Sir James Peile.*) That she did receive, or had received?—No, that she was then receiving. Perhaps I did not express myself properly.

499. It is a point to make clear.—Of course it is, as not being in the past.

500. Because you spoke of another who had had it.—No. She said she was now in receipt of 15 rupees a month, and also took one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

501. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, did any of these mahaldarnis who stated that they received one-eighth of the girls' earnings tell you what that eighth amounted to?—Yes; they sometimes put it in this way, that it was two pice out of four annas; they generally put it in that way. Sometimes they said it that way, but I think we got rather into the way, for shortness, of saying one-eighth in our journal.

502. But did they tell you what that amounted to?—Oh, yes.

503. What their earnings on that basis amounted to?—You mean as a whole?

504. As a whole.—No.

505. Per month or per week?—No, we never asked that; we were not bright enough to ask that, Mr. Stansfeld; we did not think of it at all. We sometimes asked them what their proportion was, and they said two pice from the four annas, or sometimes it was one-fourth instead of one-eighth as I have stated, but they always worked to this proportion of four annas, because that was the pay the women declared they got from the private soldiers. May I state with regard to the earnings of the mahaldarnis that when we returned the second time to Lucknow, then the old

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mahaldarni who had been in the Sudder chakla was receiving one-fourth of the girls' earnings. She did not state that she was receiving this at our first visit in January, but when we were there the last time she was taking one-fourth of the girls' earnings whom she had with her in the house, so that both mahaldarnis were doing this.

506. And when she received one-fourth then she had no salary?—No salary; but, in the first instance, the Lancers' mahaldarni, who had the gold jewellery, received both 10 rupees a month and one-fourth of the girls' earnings.

507. Did you say in two cases the mahaldarni received one-fourth?—When we returned. In the first instance, I should say, on January 25th, when we visited them, they stated that one of the mahaldarnis received 10 rupees a month; that was the Sudder mahaldarni. The Lancers' mahaldarni received 10 rupees a month, and one-fourth of the girls' earnings; was receiving at that time.

508. But am I right in saying that your evidence is to this effect: that in almost every case where the mahaldarni received no salary she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings?—Yes.

509. Now, at Peshawar, was the mahaldarni there or absent?—At Peshawar the women stated to us that the mahaldarni was absent at that time. They stated that they had one, and that she took the usual proportion of their earnings; but she was away, and we did not see her. We called at her house the next day, but she was still away; we saw her daughter.

510. And what did you ascertain at Amritsar?—At Amritsar the mahaldarni received no salary, but one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

511. At Umballa?—At Umballa we saw at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders bazar a young woman as a mahaldarni, and she stated that she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings, and that the girls pay six rupees on entering the chakla, any new one, and then the mahaldarni allowed her to pay it as she earned it.

512. An entrance fee of six rupees?—An entrance fee of six rupees was charged. At the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, a chakla visited the same day, the mahaldarni and girls stated that the mahaldarni received one-eighth of their earnings.

513. Now, at Bareilly?—At Bareilly it was an old woman who was the mahaldarni. She herself and the girls stated that she received 10 rupees a month and one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

514. (*Sir James Peile*.) Received from Government?—I do not remember enquiring whether she received it from the Government.

515. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) This was said in her presence and she did not contradict it?—Yes, this was said in her presence, and she did not contradict it. We have other evidence regarding how the mahaldarnis were paid; that is as to how the expenses were carried on. She would not have said from the Government in that case, but from the cantonment magistrate, had she said it, because the matron whom we talked with later, Mrs. Barrett, stated to us that all expenses connected with the Government service were paid out of the cantonment fund at Bareilly.

516. Now at Sitapur?—At Sitapur there was no mahaldarni; a woman and an ex-dhai, who was living here, stated that the European guides and the native police took care of them; that they had no mahaldarni.

517. At Benares?—At Benares there was a woman who claimed to be both mahaldarni and dhai of the lock hospital. We met her in the chakla, and she stated that she received 10 rupees a month.

518. (*Chairman*.) I forget what the meaning of the second word is?—Dhai, nurse. Dhais and mahaldarnis are often used interchangeably, but it certainly is not correct.

519. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Now this woman, what had she formerly been?—She had formerly been a

prostitute, but she expressed a desire to leave that life, and she said, when she was about to leave it, she was given this position, which she had had five years, and she had been two and a half years there at Benares.

520. In that chakla?—In that chakla.

521. At Benares?—Yes. Afterwards we saw in the hospital records that she was paid 10 rupees, and all the records were signed by the military surgeon, Dr. J. Paterson.

522. You saw an entry of sums paid during that period, with her name?—With her name as dhai of the lock hospital; that she was paid 10 rupees a month. She stated that she was paid for her double services, and that, while her duties were unpleasant, she preferred it to a life of sin.

523. Let us begin with Lucknow. Have you got the number of soldiers who were in the cantonment at the time you visited it?—We were told that there were 2,860.

524. And the number of prostitutes?—One hundred the girls stated, and the mahaldarnis.

525. Well now, at Meerut?—1,038 soldiers. That is the infantry, Meerut infantry 1,038; the number of women 32.

526. That would be in the chakla for this regiment?—It was so supposed.

527. Well now, take the artillery?—The artillery 635, and the women nine.

528. That was a much smaller proportion?—The Lancers 593, five women; the 50th, West Kent, 890, and 13 women. Mean Meer, Lahore, I have only the numbers of the women. The regimental bazar 12, artillery eight, Sudder 36. Rawal Pindi, I have not the number of women in the Sudder bazar. We could get no light on it, it was put so vaguely, but as if there were a great many. We talked with ten in one house. The infantry, 20 women. The artillery, the women stated that there were 250 men, there were five women. At the new cantonment, Battery 12 women; at the Rifles 11 women; at the Highlanders 12 women. Peshawar Sudder bazar 56 women. At Amritsar there were two companies, the women and the mahaldarni stated, and there were five women. At Umballa, the Sudder bazar, 20 women. The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders 11 women; 2nd Gordon Highlanders 10 women. At Bareilly, the Sudder bazar, 25; they stated there had been 50, but there were only 25 left, many having gone to Ranikhet with the soldiers. At Sitapur, 15; and at Benares they stated that there were 400 men, and there were 15 women. We did not make a special study of this. We simply took things as they came to us from time to time, merely to show somewhat as to the truth of what the women stated as to the proportion.

529. As far as you gathered from what you happened to hear, without endeavouring or pretending to make an exhaustive inquiry as to the results?—We did not undertake an exhaustive inquiry.

530. Well now, at Meerut; did you make any inquiry of the women?—I have a note here that in some cases the number of women apportioned to the number of men is very much smaller than in other cases. Did you ascertain at Meerut how such conditions were met?—We asked the women in the Lancers regiment how they did when there were too few women there, and they said they took in more. We said, where did they get them, and they said from the bazar, and then they said the authorities took them after examining them. You will remember that Rahiman, the mahaldarni of the 50th West Kent Regiment, said she also got them from the bazar, whatever that may mean.

531. What did you hear from the native doctor at Sitapur?—We asked, "When there are too many women, what do you do." He said, "We send some away," and we asked "When there are too few what do you do." He said, "Send and bring more." We did not question him further.

532. Did you endeavour to ascertain the amount of money which the soldiers had to pay the women, and which the women received?—Yes. We asked that, I think, in every cantonment. Yes, in every cantonment we asked it.

533. And what was the result of your inquiries, did you find that there was, generally speaking, a uniform rate of pay?—Yes, there was.

534. Regulated by the rank of the soldier?—It seemed to depend upon his rank, because they stated almost invariably that the rate was proportioned to the rank of the soldier, and that it was for a sergeant one rupee, a corporal eight annas, a bombardier six annas, and a private soldier four annas. I have a table of it, setting forth the places where this was stated.

535. Is this a table of your drawing up?—It is a copy, but that is type-written.

536. Then the evidence which you have just given us as to the uniform rate of pay is founded upon statements you have received from the persons enumerated in this table which I hold in my hand?—Yes.

537. And your informants were either prostitutes, or mahaldarnis, or dhais?—As they are stated there, because we made quite a thorough investigation into it. Our attention was called to it, because of the women giving us the information voluntarily, and then we naturally noticed the matter.

538. Will you put that paper in?—I am perfectly willing to do so.

TABLE showing sources of information as to UNIFORM RATE OF PAY, viz. :—Sergeant, 1 rupee; Corporal, 8 annas; bombardier, 6 annas; Private, 4 annas.

Cantonment.	Brothel.	Number and Character of Informants.	
Benares - -	Secrole - - -	10 Prostitutes	1 Mahaldarni.
Lucknow - -	Sudder Bazar -	35 "	2 Mahaldarnis.
Sitapur - -	Sudder Bazar -	1 "	1 Ex-dhai.
Bareilly - -	Sudder Bazar -	10 "	1 Mahaldarni.
Umballa - -	Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.	4 "	1 "
Umballa - -	2nd Gordon Highlanders.	6 "	1 "
Amritsar - -	Sudder Bazar -	6 "	1 "
Meerut - -	Lancers - - -	3 "	1 Dhai.
Mean Meer - -	Regimental Bazar -	6 "	1 Mahaldarni.
Mean Meer - -	Artillery Bazar -	7 "	1 "
Rawul Pindi -	Infantry Bazar -	4 "	1 "
Rawul Pindi -	Artillery Bazar -	4 "	—
Rawul Pindi -	Highlanders (new Cantonment).	4 "	1 Mahaldarni.
Peshawur - -	Sudder Bazar -	8 "	1 "

The above Table will show that we made careful inquiry into this matter. Benares and Peshawar are at the farthest distance from each other of any of the stations we visited. And we gathered evidence on this point at every one of the ten Military Cantonments we visited between these two places.

539. Did you find any exceptions to this general rule of uniform payment?—There were these exceptions; I do not know that I can name them in the order of visitation, but I remember the exceptions. At Rawul Pindi, at the new cantonment, at the rifles bazar, I think it was.

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540. Battery?—At the battery bazar, that was my first thought, they stated that they got double this rate, and we questioned them, and yet I have always thought there was a mistake, they were such a wretched-looking lot. They did not show any sort of prosperity; still they stated that, and therefore in fairness I wish to mention it. And at the Sudder Bazar, at Umballa, the women stated there that they had not a positively fixed rate of pay because they had no mahaldarni, and they said the mahaldarnis fix the rate of pay; and then at the native chakla in Rawal Pindi the women stated that they did not have a uniform rate.

541. No fixed rate?—That was for the native soldiers, no fixed rate.

542. At Meerut Rest camp you saw the mahaldarni. Did she tell you anything with respect to the pay of the girls?—She said when the soldiers were dishonest, and did not pay, she reported them to the colonel or the quartermaster, and she said it was deducted from their pay.

543. And she said that the amount was deducted?—She said the amount was deducted from the soldier's pay, and the girls also confirmed this.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March, and saw some of the prostitutes?—Yes, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said, was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla. They started to call him, but we would not let them, because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them. The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the colonel.

545. On the subject of the indigent condition of the women, did you find, as far as you were able to ascertain, that the women were invariably in a state of debt?—As far as we enquired in all these different places, and we asked in many places, they were in debt.

546. I presume a large proportion of them would drift into prostitution owing to the previous fact of destitution?—That was what was stated in almost every case that we asked them about their histories, and we did often, because we were very deeply touched by their condition. Many of them were widows.

547. Now take the case of Meerut, at the Rest Camp chakla. Did you see one who was said to be a widow there?—Yes. She said she was a widow, and that she had been very ill, and she looked very ill. She said she was deeply in debt, and that she would be obliged to follow the soldiers until she could pay those debts.

548. Did you find that the girls get into debt to the mahaldarni?—Yes; that was frequently stated also, and of course the case of the mahaldarni at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla, Umballa, was proof of that, and their getting into debt immediately on entering the life, because they had to give six rupees to enter that life. That put them in debt to the mahaldarni at the beginning.

549. They probably would not have the six rupees to begin with?—The mahaldarni positively stated that she took it as they earned it. They paid it off in instalments, but of course they were in debt.

550. Did you at Lucknow actually see the transaction of the transfer of such a debt, and the consequential transfer of the custody of the girl?—Yes, I witnessed that. That was the morning of March 10th, 1892, at the Lancers' mahaldarni's house, Lucknow, near the chakla.

551. Just recount that circumstance?—I was talking with the mahaldarni, and there was a number of persons present, six women and one man, when there came two girls into the room. One was dressed very beautifully, with solid gold jewellery and a great deal of scarlet in her dress, a very pretty girl indeed; a native girl, but beautifully featured, and very inde.

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pendent in manner. She came in, bringing another girl with her, and she went out and spoke to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni laughed, and drew forth seven rupees.

552. The other girl was of a different appearance ?—The other girl was very miserable, very shabby-looking indeed, very wretched, and a very ill-favoured girl in appearance, compared with the other ; not at all a handsome girl, and a girl whose manner was of perfect apathy. She sat down, said nothing, took no part in this at all ; but the bright, well-dressed one spoke to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni laughed, and drew forth her purse from the folds of her dress, and took out seven rupees.

553. And gave them ?—Gave seven rupees to this girl ; put them into this girl's hand, and then she said that she would give eight annas more.

554. That was to the well-dressed girl ?—To the well-dressed one.

555. She promised to pay eight annas more ?—She promised to pay eight annas more. There was a great deal of scrambling and laughter, because this girl dropped the money on the floor. They were all sitting on the floor, in native fashion. One of them said to me, " This is a new one," and of course that attracted my attention very much, so I watched it all very closely, and they then explained that this one that had come in was the daughter of a mahaldarni who had died. I do not know when she had died, that was not stated, but at any rate she was the daughter of a mahaldarni who had died, the handsome girl, and that this girl had earned money for this mahaldarni, the ill-dressed one had earned money for the mahaldarni who had died.

556. For the mother of the well-dressed one ?—For the mother of the well-dressed one, and that she had died, and this girl, the ill-dressed one, had owed the mother seven rupees.

557. Owed the mother at the time of her death ?—Owed the mother at the time of her death.

558. How much ?—Seven rupees and 8 annas ; and therefore a bargain had been arranged by the daughter of the mahaldarni to bring this girl and the Lancers mahaldarni would pay the debt. She exacted the payment of it, or got it in this way, and they all declared, corroborating one another, and the mahaldarni nodding her head, that the ill-dressed one " belonged now to the Lancers mahaldarni, because she had paid her debt." Then it was on this occasion that the mahaldarni stated again that she had been told to get girls and earn her living, and she had had five, and now this was the sixth girl. I called Nesibon and spoke to her, and she smiled and nodded to me, and then sat down. She took no part otherwise, except when I called her and asked her her name. I called Nesibon, the poorly-dressed one, and asked her her name, which she gave me, and I asked her if this was true. But the manner of all showed that it was ; the lightness, and fun, and the perfectly jolly manner in which they carried out the transaction showed that it was not anything infrequent, that it was not a rare or strange thing to them ; that their manner showed.

559. It passed off as a custom ?—As though it was all right. They seemed to think that I ought to think it was all right, and the mahaldarni went on to tell these girls that soon she meant to leave this life, and she pointed to me, as showing how people prospered who obeyed God and lived the right life, saying that I could ride in my carriage, and had everything that heart could wish. Therefore she intended bye-and-bye to leave all this, and go and read her Koran, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca, because God rewarded those who obeyed him ; and yet in my presence she had just arranged for the continuance of her work.

560. Well now, at Umballa, what did the mahaldarni tell you on the subject of payment ?—I mentioned Umballa as to the six rupees.

561. Did you receive a statement from any of the mahaldarnis or the girls tending to show that they were in debt, and desired, as they naturally would, to

get out of that debt ; that it compelled them to receive an excessive number, more than the usual number of British soldiers ?—That was at Benares. The dhai told us that the girls early lost their health from excess. She said that the rate of pay was so low that they were compelled to receive more visitors than they ought, and that they early lost their health from this.

562. Did you hear from any of the girls any account at all of the number of visits they would receive ?—No, we asked them about that many times, but they just shook their heads, and would draw their fingers across their foreheads, saying, " It is our fate," and they would not talk of it. There was just one more thing in regard to debt, if you would permit me to mention it, that was at Sitapur. A girl told us that she had come there from Lucknow. We were deeply interested in Itwaria, whose case will be presented by Dr. Kate Bushnell. She said that we need not hope that she could ever leave that life, because she had more debts than the hairs of her head. But, we asked, would that keep her ? She said " Yes ; if she would go away she would be brought back."

563. Did you hear anything at Rawal Pindi upon the subject of money claims made against these girls ?—There was a group of three girls, and one of these three, the other two corroborating, said that they were detained sometimes in the lock hospital by the native doctor, even when they were not sick, unless they paid him five or six rupees, and that if they paid him they were then let off, and they expressed great indignation at this extortion.

564. Did you hear of any instances of extortion at the hands of the native police ?—At Meerut we went to see a woman in whom we were interested one day, and when we sent for her a woman came back saying that she could not come, that there was some sort of intervention by the police, and we could not quite understand it, not knowing very much of their customs ; the next day we went to see this woman again, and we saw her, and then she said that a man had fallen dead in the street near her door, and that the native police had accused the degraded women of having had something to do with it. Of course she said they had not, but the police accused them in this way, and then demanded that the women should pay them from two to ten annas, or they would have them brought into court, or that they would beat them. She said that the women who had money gave them some money, but that there were others who had no money.

565. (Chairman.) That he would beat them, you say ?—The police threatened to beat them, and she said that the women who could pay something, and that those who then could not promised to pay when they could, but that the police said they would give the beating now and take the money afterwards. That was her expression.

566. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Did she say she was beaten ?—Yes.

567. Cruelly ?—She said she was.

568. Now did you hear of any cases of abuse of these women by English soldiers ?—When we were at Lucknow on the 25th of January, our first visit, we asked the girls what the mahaldarni did for them, or something about why the mahaldarni was there, and they said that when the soldiers came there drunk, and were rough and unkind to them, the mahaldarni was there to protect them. And then at another time, that was in March, on our last visit to Lucknow, the girls, on our speaking kindly to them in parting with them, in telling them that we were very sorry for them, and that we wished them to leave that life, lifted up their hands and uttered a sort of blessing on us, and said, in pouring out their feelings on our parting with them, that they thanked us that we cared for them, because they said the soldiers often knocked them about, and kicked them, and abused them, and took their money from them.



569. At Meerut what was your experience?—That was at the Lancers regiment. They said, I think, that the men were very bad. They wanted all the women in common. They were speaking then of the blessedness of marriage, and that they thought that next to marriage to live with one man, to be a kept woman, was the best. They said the men there were very bad, they wanted all the women in common; the men of the regiment, I should state.

570. Do you mean that sometimes some of these women ceased to carry on the life of a prostitute at the call of any soldier, and became the kept woman of one soldier?—Yes; such women were pointed out to us more than once, and they were regarded with great envy. They seemed to think that this was an approach to virtue.

571. At Mean Meer, what did you find?—At Mean Meer, this was at the artillery bazar, they said that when the men were in drink they beat them and sometimes robbed them and otherwise ill-used them.

572. At Rawal Pindi, what did you hear from the girls?—At Rawal Pindi, the women said that the soldiers tormented them for two hours at a time and took their money away.

573. When?—When they were drunk, when they would come there and be in an ill humour. There were only five women at this bazar, and we asked why there were so few women there, and they said it was because the soldiers were so unkind. That was when they described their being so cruel to them, and they said that they not only did not pay them, but that they often robbed them, and sometimes took away their cotton quilts and sold them for a few pice for drink. They then told us of one woman who had been beaten very terribly and cut in the arms and breast, and they said that she had run away to the Highlanders' bazar. They were the most wretched looking lot those women, and their quarters were unusually poor. Usually we found them in pretty comfortable quarters, as I stated the other day, but in this case I remember it was a very cold night and the wind blew in, and they were just dressed in their thin cotton garments; they were spreading their hands over a little charcoal pot to try and warm their hands by turns; there was no door. There was just a sort of grass or native matting curtain over the door in this room where we sat, and the women sat on the mud floor; it was a very dreary scene; it impressed me deeply.

574. And what did you see at Umballa?—At Umballa the mahaldarni said at one of the chaklas that the soldiers often came terribly drunk, just after pay day, and knocked the girls about badly. But we said, "You are here to protect them; why do you not protect them?" She said, "How can I?" Of course she could not. She was a young woman, and not very strong in appearance.

575. What did you see at Bareilly?—There we saw a wretched woman. The girl spoke to us at one part of the chakla and called our attention to her, and then we got up and went into the courtyard farther on to see this woman. She said she was a Christian woman, had been amongst the Christians. They called her a native Christian; they said that she had been very wretched, and that they had been giving her food, that she would have starved if they had not given her food, and that they wished we would take her away; they wished we would do something for her. And so we promised to take her away and we went for her; but she was another of those cases, she was in debt, and she said she could not leave on account of being in debt, and that her creditor had come and sat down at her door; at this time, when we wanted to take her away, a girl who spoke fair English, came up to the cab just opposite the chakla and declared that this woman was treated terribly. You see she was past middle age, she was the oldest woman we ever saw in any of the chaklas in appearance, and this girl said that the soldiers knocked her down and called her "grand-

mother," and beat her, because she was too old to please them.

576. And she could not leave because she was in debt?—She would not tell us at first why, but when we pressed her she said that since we had been there in the morning the word had gone out that she was going away, and now the man to whom she owed ten or twelve rupees for food had sat down at her door, and she could not go, that he demanded to be paid.

577. To whom was she in debt?—She was in debt to a man, who, as I remember it, was her creditor of whom she had bought food. I see I have stated it in the journal: "Had been notified of her intention to leave, and had come and sat at her door demanding payment." She owed him ten or twelve rupees.

578. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Bunya?—I think she called him that, but I find it difficult to remember names. It was the native merchant, at any rate, who had sold her food.

579. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) At Sitapur what did the girl show you?—The Committee will remember the construction of the Sitapur chakla. It was ten suites of rooms facing opposite ways, with a wall in the centre; the girls showed us a hole in the wall up near the roof, and they said that that was to enable them to call for help in case the soldiers abused them.

580. Now, as to the age of these poor women. The large majority were of course young?—Yes, they were, although it is very difficult to know their ages because I think it is always difficult to judge of a people of another nationality, it always has been for me, but many of them looked very young, and I should say that a large proportion were under 20.

581-2. They probably might be younger than they would appear to your eyes?—Yes, I am quite sure of that, because of the unfamiliarity of their type to me; I have found it so in other countries.

583. When you say that they appeared generally to be under the age of 20 you would be on the safe side?—I think so.

584. Did you sometimes see very young girls admittedly living in this way?—Yes. At one interview with the girls at Meerut there was a young girl; they said she was 15, and she did not look any older than if she were that age. She was exceedingly slender and delicate, a very pretty girl with an exceedingly sad face; she was there with an elder sister, but she was an acknowledged prostitute, they so stated.

585. She had come to be with her elder sister?—She had come to be with her elder sister.

586. Now at Rawal Pindi new cantonments did you see a young prostitute?—At the Rifles bazar we saw one. She was a very pretty girl; she was 15 or 16 years of age.

587. She was said to be?—She was said to be, and she did not look as old as that. We both remarked it.

588. At the Sudder Bazar chakla, at Rawul Pindi, did you see a young girl there?—Yes. There was one there apparently not over 16. She was brought by her brother, the woman told us.

589. At Sitapur you saw a young girl, did you not?—We saw a woman there who said that she was "sold by a Sepoy, whose daughter had brought her up to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla," that was the way she expressed it, when she was 11.

590. What age was she?—She did not seem to be more than 20 then. She was sold by the Sepoy. It was in famine times. That was her story. The Sepoy's daughter adopted her, and then this Sepoy sold her to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla. She added, "In all the years of my life I have never known one day of happiness," as if she felt herself to be old in misery, but she really looked to me not to be over 20 then.

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591. At Benares, did two girls tell you at what age they began to be in the chakla?—At Benares there were two girls who said they were taken up in the bazar and put into this life when they were 14. They told their full histories.

592. By whom were they taken up?—They said by the native police.

593. And did they say why they were taken up?—Well, they said that they were wandering about. One of them stated, as I remember, that her husband was beating her, and that she ran away when she was 14 years old. She was wandering in the bazar and the police took her to the lock hospital she said. This occurred at Ferozepore.

594. What I understood you to say was, the police took these girls to the chakla; that would be a different thing?—No. She says the police took her to the lock hospital.

595. That is one of the girls?—Yes. I was speaking of the two together.

596. Have you got the other?—Another did not wish to give her name, and we did not get it. She said her husband ran away and left her. A sahib, a European, took her by force at 11 years of age, and kept her. When she was thrown off, her family would not receive her. She said she was "taken by the Government"—the other girls said "by the police," and put into the chakla.

597. This one was put into the chakla?—This one was, but I wanted to mention these two. — was put in at eleven. Her husband died soon after. She was then three years with his family, but was so miserable that she ran away and wandered in the bazar. She was taken up at 14 years of age, and brought into a life of shame. Those were the two that were brought in at 14.

598. (Mr. Wilson.) Where was the one that you mentioned first, as being taken to the lock hospital?—That was at Benares also. These three girls told us their stories at the same time. We were struck with them, because of their extreme youth when they came in.

599. (Mr. Stansfeld.) You found, did you not, quite young children in the chaklas?—Yes, living in the chaklas. One was at Lucknow, a little girl, 10 years old. We met her as we went in at our first visit, in this long narrow passage way. She was dressed like a prostitute, in that very gay style, looked like the others, and was living there with them.

600. Do they usually dress in gay colours?—It is difficult to describe how they are dressed.

601. And this little girl was dressed in the same way?—She was dressed in the same way.

602. You do not mean that she was acting as a prostitute at that extremely young age?—We did not enquire, as we thought it impossible, and yet we saw her there, living in the chakla with the others.

603. Now at Meerut?—At Meerut we saw a little girl of nine living in the 50th West Kent Regiment chakla, and she was there with her sister.

604. With her sister or mother?—They stated that the mother cooked for them. The elder sister was earning money. And at Umballa, at the Sudder bazar chakla, we also saw a little girl of 12 dressed as a prostitute, and living with the women in the chakla.

605. As to the women accompanying regiments, can you give us a summary of the information you gathered?—At Lucknow, when we asked how many women there were in the chakla, they said there were a hundred, but they said that the chakla would hold many more, that there were sometimes 150, and sometimes as many as 200 there "when other regiments came and brought their women with them." That was the way they expressed it.

606. How many did you see?—How many did we talk with on this occasion?

607. Yes?—We talked with 37.

608. Thirty-five girls and two mahaldarnis?—Thirty-five girls and two mahaldarnis, yes.

609. They said that when other regiments came they brought their women with them?—Yes, that is what they said. "There were sometimes as many as 200 in the chakla when other regiments came and brought their women with them." That was the way they expressed it.

610. Did you hear anything from a resident at Lucknow as to the average number of women for a regiment?—Yes; he said that it averaged 10 on the march.

611. At Meerut did you hear anything on this subject from some of the women at the Sudder Bazar?—At Meerut it was the 50th West Kent Regiment that we saw in their tents. A district pleader told us in Meerut that if we should visit the regiment that was in camp some distance out of Meerut we would find the women there in charge of a woman, and he went on to explain what the method of these women was, that they took money from the girls and so on, and we drove out that same night, and the sentinel pointed out the women. He said there were about 12 women there, and pointed them out; he said it was too late for us to go through the lines that night, but we could come in the morning; so we went the next morning, and then we saw the women as I described the chakla the other day; a row of tents; 14 tents.

612. What bazar was that?—That was at the 50th West Kent Regiment.

613. Yes, but I do not understand that you heard anything from those women upon this particular subject. I am referring to a visit which I believe you paid at the Sudder bazar at Meerut where you saw these women who said they belonged to the Lancers?—Oh, yes.

614. What did they tell you about accompanying the regiment?—They said they accompanied the regiment when marching, and we asked how their expenses of travelling were borne, and they said the expense was borne by the Government, but the colonel provided the carts, and a certain number of men, they said, gora dandawallas. That was explained to us to mean European guards with batons. This term was used very often, "gora," meaning European, European guards. "Dandawallas" was explained variously, men with batons, men with police authority, men with guard's authority, and so on; at any rate these men were told off to take care of them.

615. What did they say about the number of women allowed on march or in camp?—They said 12 to 15. One group the day before said 10, and another group of 23 women the next day said 12 to 15.

616. Did you go to the Rest Camp chakla?—We did.

617. Where there were seven girls?—Where there were 13. We talked with seven altogether. We talked with more than that altogether, but there were seven that were all together when they gave us information regarding this matter.

618. And the mohaldarni?—Yes.

619. What information did they give you?—They said they were taken in covered carts, and taken care of by European guards on the march, that they accompanied the regiment. Then at another interview at this same place there were two women present, and one said that when the soldiers were on the march they went with them in carts, and that Europeans guarded them. The other woman added that the colonel provided the carts.

620. Did you hear anything from a sentinel?—The sentinel said, as we went in, in our presence, speaking of the strength of the regiment, that it was 890 strong.

621. What regiment was that?—This was the 50th West Kent. Then he said that their winter quarters were at Meerut, and their summer quarters were at Chakrata.



622. Is that a place in the hills?—That is a place in the hills, as we understood. And later a woman, in talking with me, dreading to see us go away, said, "Will you not come to see us when we go to Chakrata?"

623. So that they apparently expected to be taken there with the regiment?—Yes, they expected to go; and later we had information through a letter that the 50th West Kent Regiment marched from Meerut on the 8th March for Chakrata.

624. Now Mean Meer. What information did you receive?—At the regimental bazar chakla there were seven present, and one mahaldarni, eight in all. A young girl said she had been there three months, and she said they all came from Umballa three months before, on the march. That was the way she said it. She spoke it in English, and she said they came in covered carts, and that European soldiers took care of them. The colonel furnished the carts. This is what she stated.

625. What did the mahaldarni in the Sudder bazar chakla tell you in the same place?—She said that the women at the Sudder bazar chakla accompanied the soldiers on the march.

626. Now at the artillery bazar chakla what did the women say there?—They said that when on the march they travelled in carts and were cared for by European soldiers. They said they paid for their own carts by what they earned on the way. The women of the artillery bazar said that.

627. At Rawul Pindi you saw some girls at the battery bazar chakla new cantonments?—Yes, we did.

628. What did they say?—At the battery bazar, that was in the new cantonment, Rawal Pindi, eight girls and the mahaldarni were present. The women said that they accompanied their regiment when it marched, and the soldiers and officers took care of them. They went in carts, paying part of the expense of their journey by their vice on the way. When we asked them first, "Do you go with the regiment on the march?" they replied, "The Government has registered us; why not go with the regiment." They seemed to consider it an enlistment. They spoke impatiently when we asked it, as if they thought it was all a perfectly straightforward matter.

629. You saw, upon one occasion, a mahaldarni at the Highlanders chakla. What statement did she make to you?—We saw her, and when she showed us her certificates, one of these certificates stated that she had taken care of the women satisfactorily on the march; had taken care of the women on the march in a satisfactory manner, I think is the way in which it was expressed.

630. Do you recollect the date of that certificate?—I doubt if we have the date of it. We would only get certain portions of it. I can only give the range of the whole of the certificates, and that is from April, 1887, to November, 1891.

631. That is the range of date?—But I cannot give the date of this special certificate.

632. Of the certificate you got at that place?—The certificates that the Highlanders mahaldarni showed us in her scrap-book ranged from April, 1887, to November, 1891.

633. At Peshawar what did you hear?—There

were nine women present at one of the interviews there, and they said 15 women accompanied the regiment to the hills at the beginning of the hot season. We asked how did they go, and they said in bullock carts, and the European soldiers looked after them. They said they were moved with the bazar, and fed as well as the soldiers by the rajah of the country through which they passed. Then we saw a Kashmir girl, at the same place at another time, and she told us she came in April of last year; that was April 1890. This Kashmir girl said that she came in April of last year from Fyzabad with the soldiers. She said the women came in bullock carts, and they were taken care of by European guards. Then at the lock hospital, Peshawar, seven women were present. They told us that they went with the soldiers on the march in bullock carts, and were cared for by European guards. They said they were moved with all the bazar things. A girl at the hospital said that they earned money on the way towards their expenses.

634. At Umballa?—At Umballa, at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla, the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about March 15th to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend. They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them. They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

635. At Bareilly?—At Bareilly 14 girls in the Sudder chakla told us that there had been about 50 girls there, but many had gone away with the soldiers to Ranikhet. Twenty-five were left at Bareilly. They said that when they marched with the soldiers they went as far as possible by train, and the rest of the way by bullock carts and other conveyances.

636. Did they say that they paid their own way?—They said they paid their own way.

637. At Sitapur?—At Sitapur, in an interview with the women the next day, the women said they went to the hills with the soldiers at Dagshai and Subathu, and what they earned they paid on the way.

638. Now, as to the periodical examinations of these women. Did you make careful inquiries in each of these 10 cantonments to ascertain whether regular periodical examinations of these women were held at the lock hospital at each place; by whom such examinations were held, and by whom they were witnessed?—We did.

639. And what did you find?—We made very careful enquiries in all of the 10 cantonments regarding this matter, and we found that in seven cantonments, Meerut, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Beuares, the examinations were stated to be held once in each week, and at Lucknow twice a week. At Mean Meer and Amritsar, twice a month. We have a Table which was prepared on that testimony. This is the type-written copy.

640. What does that Table show?—This Table shows a summary of evidence as to regular periodic examinations covering the cantonment, the place of taking the evidence, the number and character of the witnesses, and when they were examined by surgeons.

641. That you put in?—Yes, that I put in.

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TABLE showing Times, &c., of REGULAR PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS.

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Cantonment.	Place of obtaining Information.	Number and Character of Informants.	When Examined by Surgeons.
Lucknow	Cantonment Hospital	9, dhai and 8 patients	Tuesdays and Fridays, bi-weekly.
Lucknow	Sudder Chakla	37, 2 mahaldarni and 15 prostitutes	" " " "
Lucknow	Neighbourhood of Chakla	4 prostitutes	Bi-weekly. " "
Lucknow	Cantonment Hospital	1 native physician	Intimated Friday, examination day.
Lucknow	Near Cantonment Magistrate	6 native police	Monday (Sai) and Friday.
Meerut	Lancers Chakla	4 prostitutes	Monday, weekly.
Meerut	Lancers Chakla	23 prostitutes	" " "
Meerut	Near Lock Hospital	A and B saw women collect for examination	Monday.
Meerut	Near Lock Hospital	1 prostitute	Monday, weekly.
Meerut	Rest Camp	7 prostitutes	" " "
Meerut	Rest Camp	4, some same as above	" " "
Meerut	Rest Camp	4, 1 mahaldarni and 3 prostitutes	" " "
Meerut	Lock Hospital	7, 1 mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	Bi-monthly (Mondays).
Mean Meer	Artillery Bazar	8, 1 mahaldarni and 7 prostitutes	" " "
Mean Meer	Lock Hospital	A and B saw hospital records	" " "
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	6, dhai, mahaldarni, 4 prostitutes	Fridays (weekly).
Rawal Pindi	Sudder Bazar	10 prostitutes	" " "
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	1 native physician	" Regularly."
Rawal Pindi	Infantry Bazar	5, mahaldarni, 4 prostitutes	" " "
Rawal Pindi	Artillery Bazar	4, mahaldarni, 3 prostitutes	" " "
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	4, dhai and 3 others	" Examined this morning" (Friday).
Peshawar	Sudder Chakla	10 prostitutes	Some on Monday, some Tuesday.
Peshawar	Lock Hospital	Records seen by A. and B.	" Regularly."
Peshawar	Lock Hospital	1 native physician	Bi-monthly (Tuesdays).
Amritsar	Sudder Chakla	7, mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	" " "
Amritsar	Lock Hospital	1 dhai	" " "
Umballa	Argyll and Sutherland Regiment	5, mahaldarni and 4 prostitutes	Every fourth day by Mahaldarni; every eighth day by surgeon.
Umballa	2nd Gordon Regiment	7, mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	Tuesday (weekly).
Sitapur	Lock Hospital	1 native doctor	Regularly.
Sitapur	Chakla	2 prostitutes and ex-dhai	Tuesday (weekly).
Benares	Chakla and Lock Hospital	11, dhai and 10 girls and records	Monday (weekly).
Bareilly	Sudder Chakla	10, mahaldarni and 9 prostitutes	Every other day by matron; every eighth day by surgeon.
Bareilly	Cantonment Hospital	1 native physician	Regularly.

642. Now what other results came from your inquiries upon this subject?—Well, I think they are well covered by the Table. There are just a few other points. One is that the women said almost invariably, so much so that you might say that it was a consensus, that the examinations were made by the European medical officers of the lock hospital and assisted by, or in the presence of, the native physician and the dhai also, and this was confirmed by the books and records as seen in the lock hospital.

643. Had you an opportunity of inspecting some of the hospital books in some of the cantonments?—We had in eight cantonments. One I will not count, Amritsar; I think Amritsar should not be counted, because we saw only one book there, so it is scarcely worth mentioning, it was just a book of expenses.

644. In the others you saw books of various kinds?—We saw books of various kinds.

645. You had access to the books?—Yes, we had access to them.

646. And you found from the women's statement that the examination was made by the European medical officer, confirmed by the entries in those books?—Yes.

647. (Sir James Peile.) What was stated in the books.

648. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Yes, how was that confirmed?—Well, it was confirmed by letters such as I have referred to, signed by the medical officer in charge to the cantonment magistrate ordering up women for examination, and also speaking of women not being present at the inspection on this occasion, such as I read at Mean Meer at the lock hospital.

649. But did any of those books contain records of the examination conducted upon examination days?—There were the registration lists signed by the European physicians.

650. Yes, but what was the evidence in the books which you inspected which confirmed to your minds the intelligence you got from the women, that the examinations were conducted by European surgeons?—Well, it was of various kinds; it was that these records were signed by a European physician in almost every case; in every case so far as we investigated it. The whole of the books were thus kept.

651. (Sir James Peile.) But I want to get the nature of the records. What was said in them, did it show this woman was examined, and what the result was; was it merely an entry of patients I mean, or was it a description of an examination and the result

of an examination?—Well, there were correspondence books, such as I have referred to, in which there were copies of letters addressed to the cantonment magistrate, and requesting him to send women for examination, women who had not come. There was also this book that I spoke of the other day, of the blank forms with the coupon attached, and those signed by the European surgeons, and then the ticket above all with the surgeon's initials on it attached to the examinations. This ticket was purchased just two days after the examination day. This was at Mean Meer.

652. You did not on any occasion question the European medical officer himself?—We did not; not the one who was in charge of the examinations.

653. And did you actually see the women at an examination or going to an examination?—We did.

654. (Chairman.) Which, saw them at the examination, or going?—We saw them going to an examination. Sir James Peile said "or." I ought, perhaps, to have made it more explicit. I have the full account. We had a great consensus of opinion on it, but perhaps we took too much for granted. We quite considered that they were in charge, and everything corroborated that that we saw in the records; but the full account of the records will be brought in by Dr. Bushnell, of the lock hospitals, and that will probably make this much more clear.

655. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And the statement of the women was that they were examined by European surgeons?—Yes, that they were examined by the European doctor.

656. Did they describe the examination?—They gave the names of the European surgeons in different places, hundreds of miles apart. The girls were perfectly intelligent as to the European doctors. At Rawal Pindi we visited the lock hospital on examination day, and got there just, as the dhai informed us, after the examination. She said the European doctor and the native doctor had just gone away; so there was a consensus of opinion. I could bring up a great deal and a great many instances, but it was simply a consensus.

657. Well now, how did the women describe the character of the examination?—They described it at different places in a most vivid way, expressing their hatred of it, and then described it. They described it as a corporeal introspection by means of the speculum.

658. At Meerut a woman described this to you, did she?—At Meerut a woman suddenly broke into

the interview we were having with the women. To our surprise—we had not questioned her at all—she broke in, in the most vivid manner describing it and expressing her horror and indignation against it, and especially with regard to the exposure of the women. And there were others; there was a crowd about her, and they cried out, “Oh, shame, shame,” over and over, and she also did; one girl joined with her particularly, and described it with her, as you might say; they almost described it in concert in their feeling and indignation; we said to them that we were sorry that these things should be, and that the women should be so treated, and then this woman, who spoke fair English, turned to us and said, “Oh, shame”; and we said we were sorry that those who came to them as representatives of a Christian nation, and who called themselves Christians (because, of course, they are called Christians in distinction to the natives), we said that we were sorry that these things should be carried on by them, and she said “Yes, the Commander-in-Chief, the colonel, and all of them all the way down, your Christian men, favour these things.” She said: “The Queen does not countenance it. She has daughters of her own, and she cares for her daughters in India also.” She said “It is the Commander-in-Chief.”

659. Did any of the girls confirm her description?—Yes, these girls all confirmed it.

660. On the following Monday, February 8th, at Meerut, did you see the girls assembling in the morning at the lock hospital?—We did. They had told us at the Lancers chakla at a previous interview that they went on Mondays regularly at 8 o'clock, and the native physician had also told us that the women were examined on Mondays regularly, and how many came, and so we went out at 7.35 in the morning to see whether the women went at that hour. The women said at 8 o'clock, and we saw them going. We saw them coming, some walking, and some riding in what they call the gharris, the closed cabs, and others coming in the ekkas, the native carts. All these cabs and carts waited for them just across the street while they were there. There is a police-station just across the street, somewhat diagonally across the way from the lock hospital, and there were several policemen standing about. In this cantonment the lock hospital is situated in a very prominent place; it is one of the busiest thoroughfares in Meerut. There are five roads meeting not far from the lock hospital, and then several other roads not far away. So that it is a very busy thoroughfare.

661. I presume there were a good many men and boys about?—There were; we counted 25 at one time either sitting there or passing by, lingering along, and there were at least 20 women, 25 women I should say, at the gate almost constantly. They were coming and going, but there was a group that sat down just at the entrance, and there was another group to be seen inside. We could not count them, that was too far off, but we could see it was a crowd nearly as large as the one outside. Then, of course, it was varying, some coming and some going inside the gate, and others going away.

662. Did you see one woman waiting for a girl?—We did; she was an Eurasian woman. She was evidently waiting for a girl, and when the girl came up she took hold of her by the arm and marched her off as if she were a prisoner, with right of ownership, and the policeman called out, evidently in a derisive way, after this woman, “Mem sahib.”

663. What was the meaning of that expression?—It was always addressed to us by the natives. I suppose it means a lady.

664. (*Sir James Peile.*) Was your impression that all the women went to the examination?—No; our opinion was that there were some women who owned women, and who brought them, as in the case of the “Mem sahib.”

665. What I meant was that the examination was

an examination of all the prostitutes in the place, and not one or two only?—Yes. No; we believed it was an examination of all the degraded women in the cantonment. That was confirmed to us by the statement that the women of the 50th West Kent Regiment went once a month in cabs to be examined.

666. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are speaking only of women who received the visits of European soldiers?—Yes, who received the visits of European soldiers, and were registered.

667. At Mean Meer, what did you hear from the women at the Artillery bazar on this subject, about their distaste of it?—They spoke with very strong expressions of hatred of the examinations.

668. Can you recall, or have you a note of, the exact statements of the women with whom you spoke at the Artillery bazar at Mean Meer upon this subject? I understand from you that they spoke with strong expressions of hatred. Have you a note of their specific words?—I could not repeat the words at this moment. I do not know whether I made any exact record of their words; but it was that they hated them, that is what they were saying; that they hated them; and they showed it by their manner.

669. If you did make a record you can supply it afterwards, can you not?—“They spoke with hatred of the examinations, and pitifully of the hardships of their lives.”

670. That is all?—That is the way I have recorded it.

671. Now, we will pass to Rawal Pindi?—At Rawul Pindi one girl in the group described, much in the same manner as the two women at Meerut, the process of the examinations, and spoke of the shame of them, and the exposure of them to the women, and spoke of the shame, too, of being pointed as a “Bazar prostitute.” She had special reasons in her own history evidently, because she claimed to come of a good family, and that her father had been killed during the Afghan war, and that she had been deceived under promise of marriage, and brought into this life without knowing what she was coming into; and she spoke with great bitterness, with the tears running down her cheeks, and sobbing with the shame she felt both in regard to the examinations and the shame of being pointed out as a “bazar rundi,” as she expressed it, or a prostitute; and the women that were there corroborated all that she had said regarding the method of examinations, the exposure of the women; and they all felt, as she did; they cried, “Yes, we all hate it; not one is left out!” We asked if the other women of the chakla felt as these women did, and they said, “Yes; we all hate it; not one is left out.”

672. Did one describe how their clothes were thrown back?—Yes, she did.

673. And in the presence of whom?—In the presence of the European doctor, and the native doctor, and the dhai.

674. And the mahaldarni joined in these denunciations, did she?—Yes; the mahaldarni made no correction of her statement at all.

675. She made no statement?—She made no correction of her statement; but joined in in sympathy with the women.

676. And did she say that all the girls felt the same way?—Yes, she joined in saying they all felt the same way.

677. Now, at Peshawar. What did you hear there?—At Peshawar their spirit was a little different; that is, they expressed just as deep a feeling, but in a more pathetic way; and they spoke of the disgust they felt at the examinations. And they said this, that they had heard that the Queen had forbidden the examinations; and they said that when they heard this they petitioned verbally to the cantonment magistrate that they might not be examined; they said then for six months no soldiers were allowed to come near them, and at the end of that time they said they were starving, so the cantonment magistrate then told them that if they wanted to sit in

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the bazar, this was the way they expressed it, they must be seen regularly; and they said they were forced to submit; but they hated it just as much as ever. And then they added, "It is the officers, not the Queen, who has done this"; and then they said, "Everyone under this Government is treated well but ourselves; we only are despised."

678. At Amritsar?—They spoke in a similar manner, and declared that only their poverty compelled them to live this way.

679. The same at Umballa?—Yes; at Umballa they spoke particularly of the shame of it, and the mahaldarni spoke with sympathy for the women in the matter.

680. And at Sitapur?—It was the same testimony of hatred of the examinations.

681. At Benares?—At Benares they all declared their hatred of the examinations, and declared that all the women felt the same way.

682. Did you visit the examination room at any of these 10 lock hospitals?—Yes, we visited eight. We saw eight examination rooms. We were inside of seven. At Lucknow the examination room was pointed out to us, and we stood talking with the native physician by the open door; and at another time by the open window, so that we saw it, but we did not go into it.

683. Did you see the usual table used for the purposes of examination?—We did.

684. Did you ever see the instrument used?—Yes; we saw the speculums, and sponges, and syringes, and washes and disinfectants, and medicines in many of them.

685. Did you notice anything particular at Umballa in regard to the table?—Yes; it was peculiarly constructed. It was four or five inches lower at the end away from the window than at the end towards the window. At the end towards the window there was a step for the woman to ascend, and the other end was four or five inches lower where her head would lie.

686. So that she lay with her feet to the window, to the light?—Yes.

687. (Chairman.) With her feet higher than her head?—Yes.

688. (Mr. Stansfeld.) What happened after examination, as to the women being either kept in the hospital or returned to the chakla?—They are kept if diseased; it is so declared. Or, if well, they are allowed to go back to the chakla to pursue their occupation until the next examination-day.

689. Are they ever kept, although they may not be veneratedly diseased?—They claimed that they were; and we saw evidence of their being kept during the natural menstrual period.

690. Did you ascertain that an allowance is made to each woman during detention in the hospital?—Yes; that was stated to us.

691. By the women?—By the women and the dhais and the mahaldarnis; and in some cases the native physician told us the same; and of course reference to the Cantonments Act confirms it.

692. What kind of payment did they receive?—From two to three annas a day when they were in the lock hospital.

693. Then would they pay their food with that money?—I presumed they paid for their food, but did not ask as to that. They simply told us there was this allowance of two to three annas per day, and we sometimes saw it so stated in the records of the lock hospital.

694. Now the testimony of the women that they were confined at the time of the monthly period; was that confirmed anywhere by a native physician?—It was confirmed at Lucknow. The native physician showed us through the hospital, and he stated that they were kept there during that period. He pointed out two or three women who were there for that reason, and he said that it was for safety.

695. For the safety of whom?—We asked him

what he meant by that expression, and he said, Well, it was to prevent their giving disease to the men, and also, he added, or getting any.

696. Did you see at Umballa Lock Hospital any girls detained at the monthly period?—Yes; we had been told at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla that there were certain of their number there for that reason; we asked when we went there, and there were eight patients there, and a number of them were there for this reason. That was stated to us, and the dhais confirmed it.

697. And did you see any list of cases at Benares which told the same tale?—We saw a list of cases since January 1st, 1892, in the lock hospital. We were there on March 12th, and this was a list of cases in the lock hospital since January 1st, 1892. It showed 25 cases for menses averaging three to seven days each. There were 37 cases in all; 25 of these were for menses.

698. You have told us, I think, already, that the soldiers reported against certain women as having diseased them who were then ordered for examination?—We saw some records of that.

699. Will you give us some particulars. At Meerut what did you ascertain?—Well, at Meerut the mahaldarni, to whom I have referred before, at the 50th West Kent Regiment chakla, said that when a soldier became diseased he was questioned as to the woman, and she was then hunted up and sent to the lock hospital.

700. Did any other person confirm that statement?—Yes; there were two girls sitting there at the time; they confirmed what the mahaldarni said.

701. Well, then at Umballa, at the lock hospital, had you access to their reports?—Yes; we saw the correspondence book at the lock hospital in which there were certain copies of letters from the surgeon in charge.

702. From the European surgeons?—The European surgeon in charge of the lock hospital to the cantonment magistrate, in which he mentioned certain women as suspected cases of disease, and requested them to be sent for examination.

703. Under what date were those entries made; recently?—There were at least half a dozen within the new year.

704. Within the year 1892?—Yes, within the year 1892. We were there on March 2nd.

705. And you found there half a dozen letters to the cantonment magistrate of recent date mentioning certain women as suspected sources of disease, and requesting that they might be sent up for examination?—Yes, their names were written on the margin of these copies of letters.

706. Now, at the same cantonment, did you visit the lock hospital on March 2nd?—Yes, it is the same lock hospital. Dr. Bushnell will describe those hospitals more particularly; but I will just say this much about this one, that it was two buildings, that is, that there was a large building, and then there was a smaller building two storeys high. The large building, as I remember it, was only one storey high, and these were all brick and plaster. In this two-storey building, the second storey was the examination room, and in going up the steps of this examination room (it was an outside sort of winding stairway leading up to the examination room) I saw what seemed to me to be fragments of paper on the steps, and I picked those up. They afterwards fitted in to the description seemingly of women inhabiting certain tents.

707. How many women?—Two women inhabiting certain tents, and they were the very chaklas that we had just visited on the camp ground, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders.

708. And they were a complaint?—They seemed to be; they are apparently a memorandum to identify these women.



709. Do you produce that paper?—Yes. With the description of a male disease written, on hospital paper.

710. These are the fragments you picked up and joined immediately?—Yes.

711. The printed side is a paper to record apparently the temperature of a soldier, rank of man, date of attack, under some feverish attack; but on the back of it there are certain things which are written: "Gordon corner tent, biggest and fattest, A. & S."; what does that mean, Argyll and Sutherland? "Little fat woman, sister of dhai, first on left"; and that you picked up there?—Yes, Sir. Corner tent, Gordon, biggest and fattest (ulcer penis), A. & S.; little fat woman, sister of dhai, first on left as you go in.

712. This is in blue pencil?—Yes.

713. Do you know that handwriting?—I wish to make no remark about it. I just put it in as I found it. I do not know the handwriting.

714. Then you put that in as mere evidence of the denouement of the women?—It seems to bear somewhat strongly on this, as we have read this correspondence regarding it. May I say as we have read this correspondence regarding the denouement of women on the part of the soldiers, it seems to us to fit in.

715. Was this on an examination day that you picked that up?—I think it was the day following. It was the 2nd of March. We can easily ascertain by reference to the Table. This was the day following the examination day, according to the record in the Journal. We were there, as nearly as I can make out from the Journal, on Wednesday the 2nd of March, and the examination day was, according to the testimony of the women, on Tuesday, so it was the day following examination day, in the forenoon.

716. Well now, I come to the question of the compulsory attendance at examination, and the penal consequences of non-attendance and of the breaches of other regulations. At Lucknow did you ask the girls whether they attended voluntarily?—We asked the women who were in the lock hospital on the morning of the first visit that we made on the 25th of January, as we stood at the gate talking with them, the inner gateway, if it was voluntarily, and they said yes. We asked if they submitted to the examinations and went to the lock hospital voluntarily, and they said yes, voluntarily and not voluntarily. They said unless they did submit they would have to leave the cantonment.

717. The compulsion, according to their account, was their being turned out of the cantonment?—Yes, their being obliged to leave the cantonment, was their expression.

718. Well, now, at Meerut, at the lock hospital, in the visitors' book, did you see anything?—In the visitors' book it was stated that two or three women had been coming in from the city to practise prostitution, and that they must be dealt with severely by the cantonment magistrate.

719. How did you interpret that entry?—That it was a note made for future action, or for immediate action.

720. That the women were to be punished for coming into the cantonment?—To practise prostitution without being registered and inspected.

721. Your interpretation of it was?—That two or three women had been coming into the cantonment. The idea was that they were outside women, as we took it.

722. (Sir James Peile.) Who wrote that note?—It was just an entry in the visitors' book.

723. It was signed?—I do not remember by whom.

724. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Do you recollect the name of the visitor?—I cannot state the name of the visitor.

725. (Chairman.) But it was signed by somebody?—Oh, yes. It was in the visitors' book.

726. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And the result of all your visits and inquiries has been, has it not, to your own

minds, clearly this, that the women were only admitted to the cantonment by this process of passing through the lock hospital, being ascertained to be what they call fit?—That was what we understood in all the cantonments. Then the native doctor at Meerut, in this same lock hospital, said that if they did not come for examination they would be expelled from the cantonment.

727. What did you hear at the Lancers bazar at Meerut?—The women at the Lancers bazar chakla said that a native guard, or police, as they expressed it, came for them every Monday and told them to go to the examination. We said, "Suppose you do not go?" "Well," they said, "if they missed one day they would be told that they must go next time, and if they missed that next time they were told that they must go outside of the cantonment."

728. Did you hear anything from the district pleader in that neighbourhood?—Yes.

729. Will you tell us, for the information of some of us, what you understand a district pleader to be?—A man who practices in the courts there, in the cantonment; this man evidently did, because he spoke of cases, and spoke his observations generally.

730. A lawyer?—Yes.

731. What did he tell you?—He told us that this sentence of expulsion was a very serious thing indeed, that it really meant expatriation for these women if they were sent outside; that it meant losing their home and friends, and that it was a most serious thing. And he said it was military law.

732. And if they were driven outside the cantonment, he meant to say, they would have no friends to go to?—No; that they would have no friends to go to, and that it was really leaving home and friends, and it meant starvation.

733. In fact, their only home was the chakla?—Yes; he spoke very intelligently of the difficulty of women having very little means of subsistence in India; that there were so few industrial positions open to them; and he added, no person could reside in the cantonment without permission from the authorities.

734. He said the cantonment was subject to military law?—Yes.

735. At Mean Meer; did you see a book with a copy of a letter in it?—Yes; we saw a copy of a letter in the lock hospital. At Mean Meer we saw the copy of a letter signed by the European surgeon.

736. Dated?—Dated the 1st January, 1892, to the best of my recollection; it is so noted. This is the copy as we made it: "1st January, 1892, Mean Meer Hospital. Has the honour to inform cantonment magistrate that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requests that they may be made to appear on the 8th instant," and these four names followed; it was signed, "B. Grainger, Surgeon, M.S."

737. Do you recollect the title of the book?—It was a book that was not labelled, and there were copies of letters in it, many addressed to the cantonment magistrate, and this recent one we took a copy of it.

738. Well now, Rawal Pindi. Did you see the native doctor. Did he tell you anything?—Yes; he was a graduate of Calcutta, an M.D., and talked very intelligently in English; he said there were 45 women who attended there for examination, about 35 being for European soldiers.

739. For the European soldiers?—Yes, for the European soldiers, and he said that those who consorted with European soldiers were obliged to be examined, and registered with the cantonment magistrate.

740. And what about those who consorted with the native soldiers only?—He said those for the native soldiers came when they pleased.

741. Now, at the artillery bazar chakla, in the same cantonment. What did the mahaldarni tell

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you?—We asked the mahaldarni what would happen if the women did not go to the examination. The women were speaking of their feeling, in regard to that, of hatred. She said the police would come after them, and order them to go next time, and if they were not present next time they would be fined, and if the fine were not paid, then they would get one month's imprisonment. We asked if any of her girls were ever fined, and she answered "No." She said if it rained or hailed, or even if they were ill, they all went.

742. So that her impression was that they might be fined or imprisoned if they did not go, and as a matter of fact they never dreamt of disputing the order?—No, and she saw to it that they went.

743. At Peshawar, what did the native physician of the lock hospital say?—We asked him if the women were compelled to come to the examination, and he said "yes"; if they were not compelled, they would not come; and we said to him, "but suppose they do not come," he said, "I send for them."

744. And what did the women themselves in the same cantonment say?—They said they were compelled, the women in Peshawar were compelled to come.

745. Were those the women in the hospital or in the ehakla?—We had interviews twice. The women in the lock hospital said all the girls had to go to the examinations. The women in the bazar ehakla said that they were compelled to go to the examination and we said, "but what would be done if you did not go." They said, "If not, the police would come after them, and then if they did not go they would be expelled from the cantonment."

746. And what else was said?—And at this same time they went on to speak of the hardship of expulsion, and we said to them, "But why is it such a dreadful thing, could you not go out?" and they said, "Where would we go; we are prostitutes; no one would give us work." They said it meant starvation, no one would give them work.

747. What did the women at Amritsar tell you?—They said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the cantonment, and the mahaldarni confirmed it.

748. That was the women at the ehakla?—That was the women at the ehakla?—Yes.

749. Now, the women at Umballa at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders ehakla, what did they say?—They said they would be turned out of the cantonment unless they submitted to the examinations, and fined if they left the lock hospital before being discharged as cured, and they said that if they did not pay the fine then they were imprisoned.

750. That was the impression on their minds?—Yes, that was what they said.

751. But at the Gordon Highlanders ehakla at the same cantonment, what did the girls say?—They said they would be imprisoned or fined if they did not go to the examinations, and they would be punished more severely if they were troublesome, but still more severely if they left the lock hospital without being discharged as cured, and the dhai at the lock hospital at Umballa said that if the girls did not go to the examinations they would be taken before the cantonment magistrate and talked to severely, and be made to go. Then she added, "if they left the hospital without permission they would be imprisoned," and we asked if this had ever happened, and she and the women looked very significantly at one another, and she replied, "No, the girls all go," in a most decided tone.

752. She said that in English, did she?—She spoke in broken English, not very clearly; but she said this in such a decidedly significant tone, that we asked that it might be told us just what she had said in that place, "the girls all go."

753. At Bareilly, at the Sudder bazar ehakla, what did the women say?—They said that unless they went to the examinations they would be turned out of the cantonment.

754. At Sitapur?—At Sitapur, in the ehakla, they said the examinations are voluntary, but if they did not go to the examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment.

755. At Benares?—At Benares the women said they would have to leave the cantonment unless they gave regular attendance at the examinations, and that they would also be expelled from the cantonment if they left the lock hospital without being discharged as cured.

756. Will you look at the letter from the Indian Government to the Right Honourable Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, of the 4th August, 1890, with an enclosure No. 1, entitled "Government General Order," dated 4th July, 1890?—Yes.

757. Will you put that enclosure in?—Yes.

#### GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER No. 617, JUDICIAL.

In continuation of the notification of the Government of India in the Military Department, No. 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following rules, under section 26, clause (21), and section 27, sub-sections (2) and (4) of the Cantonments Act, 1889, and to direct that they be put in force in all cantonments in British India:

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of that authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till To-morrow, at noon.



## T H I R D   D A Y .

Saturday, April 15th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
*Secretary.*

MRS. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and DR. KATE BUSHNELL called in, and MRS. ANDREW] further Examined.

758. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) WILL you turn to Question 333 of Sir James Peile; have you that question before you?—I have it.

759. "You say you saw the register of the women at the bazaar?—Yes; we saw the register. (334.) Where was that?—(A.) At the Lock Hospital." And then further down (Question 339) "The register of cases?"—You say: "The register of names; there were 56 the total." (340.) "But it was a register of women who had been treated in the hospital;" and your answer, unless you have corrected it, is: "Yes; the register." (Question 341.) "Of cases?"—(A.) "Well, of the women. It was an ordinary hospital register, and it was of the women." Now, I want to know whether the register in this case was a register of patients who had been treated in the hospital, or a register of registered women who had to resort to the examination room to be examined, and treated, if necessary?—I meant the register of women who had come there for examination—come to the Lock Hospital for examination.

760. Was there any other register; was there what may be called a hospital register as distinguished from a register of prostitutes?—We did not see the register of patients received for treatment in the Lock Hospital at Peshawar. We saw only, I think, the registration list of the women who came for examination from the Sudder Bazar, and the annual report for 1891.

761. You have not got a copy of the annual report, have you?—No; I have not.

762. In this Cantonment Hospital or Lock Hospital at Peshawar, for how many patients was there accommodation?—There was a capacity for 12 beds.

763. And how many names were on the register?—There were 56 names.

764. Therefore that register could not be a register of the patients under treatment at the hospital at that moment?—Yes; that was the way we reasoned about it.

765. That was your inference?—That was our inference.

766. In fact, it is evident from the face of things?—Yes; was evident, certainly.

767. On the other hand, then, the conclusion which you drew was that this list was the list of the women who had gone up for examination?—It was; and there were two patients in the hospital at the time—only two.

768. Only two patients at the time?—Yes; only two patients.

769. Can you illustrate this matter further from your experience?—Well, I might from the Meerut Lock Hospital, I think. We saw there the list of the patients; the records of the in-patients as well.

770. And that was a separate record?—That was a separate record. It was the record of the in-patients that had been admitted into the Lock Hospital from the beginning of the year. That was 5th February when we were there, and there had only been five recorded as admitted since the 1st January; I called the attention of the native physician to this. I said: "You have only had five patients here since the 1st January," and he said: "Yes," and then he called my attention to the examination book, which we were also examining at the same time, and the register of the women, and spoke of their being registered under the different regiments to which they belonged: the Lancers, the Sudder, the Artillery, the Lancers and the Infantry. There were nearly 100 women recorded.

771. And at Meerut you saw two registers?—Yes.

772. One containing the list of five women who had been treated?—Who had been admitted as in-patients to be treated.

773. From the beginning of January to the 5th February?—From the beginning of January to the 5th February. Yes.

774. And the other a list of 100 women who had attended examinations?—Yes, nearly 100; and it had been corroborated by his word.

775. Is there anything you wish to add?—Well, only this, that at Umballa we also saw the registration list, and it was headed. There were six regimental lists of the women who came to be examined regularly.

776. One moment; did I understand you at Umballa the registration lists of the prostitutes were under the headings of various regiments?—They were. Yes, there were six of these lists containing from five to 14 women each, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words: "Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections."

777. Is there anything further you wish to add upon this head?—No; I think not, at present.

778. (*Chairman.*) We have heard, of course, very often in your evidence, about Lock Hospitals. Now, the places which you so described, I understood you to say, were generally called by that name; that was the ordinary term by which they were described?—They were generally called so by the people; by

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the women and the cab-drivers. The native physicians sometimes said "Cantonment Hospital"; but then, in talking, they would soon say Lock Hospital, involuntarily. It was this sort of involuntary evidence. Then there was another term which was frequently used, and that was generally by the cab-driver. When we asked him to take us to the Lock Hospital he would look astonished, and he would immediately remonstrate with us and say, that is the Rhadian-ki Hospital, bad women's hospital or prostitutes' hospital. Well, that made it only the more clear.

779. Well, that is enough on the term; the use of the name. Then, as a matter of fact, are they not hospitals in the sense that people who once get into them cannot get out of until they are well?—The testimony bore that out so far as we were able to get evidence regarding it.

780. You mean that the women spoke as if they were virtually detained there, or prisoners there?—Yes, they did; and the native physicians corroborated that. The native physicians, in several instances, corroborated that, as you may remember I have given evidence.

781. Then did you find that these hospitals, whether called Cantonment Hospitals or Lock Hospitals, practically contained no provision for people who were suffering from other contagious diseases than this particular one. I mean were they small-pox hospitals or fever hospitals as well, or were they very specifically hospitals for this kind of cases?—Do you mean the diseases treated there, or do you mean the character of the patients, may I ask you?

782. I meant patients suffering from what kinds of diseases were taken in there; were they suffering from all sorts of contagion, or only this particular sort?—Well, it was sometimes claimed by the head physician, in our talk with him, that all were; that the character of the hospital had been changed, but as we examined the records, we found that they were practically for venereal diseases.

783. Did you find cases of small-pox, and so on, and fever and other like contagious diseases under treatment at the time when you went?—We never did.

784. You never were told, even in one case, "there is small-pox in that room," or "in that ward"?—Never; on the contrary, finding it on the record in more than one case we found it so; at Bareilly, for instance, we found one case of leprosy, and one case of small-pox recorded, and we asked the native physician were these treated here, and he said: "No; they were not treated here. There is a small-pox hospital in Bareilly, and there is a leprosy hospital in Bareilly," and we could corroborate the latter statement, for we had visited the leprosy hospital in Bareilly.

785. Well, I think we understand that the theory of these cantonments at any rate is, that any person suspected of suffering from any contagious disease can be required either to submit herself for examination, or else leave the place; that alternative is put before them, is it not so?—You mean that is the theory?

786. The theory, yes, is it not so, that they claim the power in the cantonment to warn anybody who is suspected of suffering from contagious complaint of any kind to submit to be examined, or to be cleared out?—Yes.

787. And that, you add, was very often put practically into force in regard to women suffering from this particular complaint; I mean constantly. That is the state of things, is it not; that they are required either to submit themselves to examination, or to clear out?—They are required; yes.

788. But did you hear that the same system was, as a matter of fact, actually in force in regard to all other contagious diseases, that if a person looked as if he had scarlet fever, do you know that he was equally required to submit himself for examination or clear out for that?—Not at all.

789. I put that question to you because it is claimed by those who uphold the present system that all the contagious diseases are treated in the same way; that

the persons affected by them are required to be examined or cleared out, but that did not come under your notice?—We did not see that ourselves, nor did we find such records in the annual reports. I say we neither saw such cases nor did we see them recorded in the annual report, save in very exceptional instances, such as I have mentioned regarding Bareilly, which we explained not to have been treated there.

790. And you did not hear it as matter of common knowledge that a person suspected of suffering from small pox or anything of that kind would be ordered out in the same way or required to submit to being examined?—Oh, no.

791. So that you gathered that, in practice, whatever the theory might be, there was an entirely different system at work with respect to these complaints, and with respect to other contagious disorders?—We did.

792. There is another question. You gave us yesterday the excessively shocking tariff of charges regulated according to the rank of the men in the army. Did you hear of English officers having recourse to the same women, or is it entirely a matter of non-commissioned officers and privates?—We heard on several occasions that the officers sent to the bazar for other women, and we heard also of women living in bungalows for the use of the officers.

793. And did you hear that they received higher rate of pay?—Yes.

794. I suppose not a graduated system, as in the other case, but just what they chose?—Just what they chose; that was the impression that we received. Will you permit me to add as to the 4 annas, I think the sum has not been brought out here as to the value of the rupee which during our investigations was only 1s. 4d., not over that, and when we left India only 1s. 3d. and a fraction, making the four annas, which was the sum that the women received more often than any other, as from the private soldiers, not more than 4d. according to that. We spoke of it in our first thought as less than 6d., but it is not more than 4d.

795. Another question I want to ask you is with regard to the nationality of these women. You spoke generally in your evidence of native women. Do you draw any distinction. Did you find that they were all, to all outward appearance, people of the same race?—No.

796. They were from various races?—No; I said native for the reason that that was the term that would cover the ground best, but in reality we found women from many different countries and different parts of India. We found them from Cashmere and from Afghanistan and from Egypt; native women.

797. But, as far as you had an opportunity of judging, were they of unimixed Oriental blood or were any of them, any considerable proportion of them, Eurasians, or partly white?—I remember at this moment only one Eurasian woman, except the Eurasian woman to whom I referred yesterday, who owned a girl. I only remember one case of a Eurasian woman who seemed to be leading this life.

798. Did your researches bring you in contact with any purely English women who had gone to live there for that purpose. I mean is there an appreciable number of English prostitutes?—Not an appreciable number. I saw one in a Lock Hospital.

799. But still a very large preponderance of those whom you describe were of unimixed native blood of one kind or another?—As I say, there was only the one English woman that I saw in all these investigations as living within the cantonment and having practised prostitution within the cantonment.

800. (Sir James Peile.) I understand that you say what you called the lock hospitals were always separate hospitals, and not wards of general hospitals?—Separate hospitals.

801. Would you look at Bareilly, what you have recorded about Bareilly. I want to ask about that one particularly; I am speaking of the Bareilly lock hospital?—Page 5 of the proof, question 93. May



answer you that I have recorded here as wishing to have a correction, or an explanation of that. I have answered you "we never found the men in any lock hospital in the women's division." The way I wish it to read is, "We never found the men in any lock hospital save at Bareilly. As I said, the men were in the out-door dispensaries and outside, but never in the lock hospitals proper, with this one exception. It occurred to me after we had left the Committee the other day that Bareilly was the one exception where we saw two or three men in the mens' ward, but of all the ten hospitals we visited that was the only one where we saw any men.

802. Suffering from venereal disease, do you mean as patients?—They were there as patients, I do not know for what, I did not inquire.

803. What I wanted to ask was this, that at that Bareilly hospital are you clear that there were not cholera and small-pox wards, as well as a venereal ward?—Well, the lock hospital was not a large hospital. We were taken to two wards, the women's ward and the men's ward. There were only two or three men there, as I say; I know not for what diseases.

804. But there might have been cholera and small-pox wards?—I have recorded of Bareilly none but venereal diseases recorded in the annual report, except one leprosy and one small-pox, which the native physician assured us were not treated there. We saw the annual report for 1891.

805. But was the venereal building standing by itself without other wards adjacent?—Yes, this was standing quite by itself.

806. Was that the report of the hospital, or the report of the venereal hospital?—We saw the annual report for 1891, apparently the same form as others we had seen; it was in writing. These reports in every case that we saw them, I think, without exception, seemed to be perfectly alike, exactly alike, all that we saw. They were written, and at the head of the page were these words: "Report of

the Cantonment Hospital for contagious and infectious diseases for——cantonment for the year ending——" and then the year inserted. We made a sketch of the form.

807. Did you on any occasion place the information you obtained from the women and others before a European medical officer, a cantonment magistrate, or a commanding officer of any cantonment?—Do you mean the whole of it?

808. I mean any information you obtained of the kind which appears in your evidence?—Any part of it?

809. Yes?—I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell in that, because there was a case in which she did place certain information which she had received before a cantonment magistrate, but I must leave that for her. It is not permitted for me to give because I was not present on that occasion.

810. Did you show the ticket obtained at Peshawur to any British authority?—At Mean Meer, we got the ticket at Mean Meer. We did not.

811. Nor seek any explanation about it?—We did not.

812. (*Chairman.*) I asked whether you found any appreciable number of European women, or Eurasian women, among the unhappy class you visited, and you said, "No." I think we may infer that you gathered this, that if English officers out there wanted people of this description they had recourse to the same races and classes of women as the private soldiers?—Very largely, yes.

813. Indeed there was no English or Eurasian class of that kind that they could deal with?—We did not find them in the cantonments.

814. And you never heard from the women that they had what I may call English rivals in their profession, English women or half-race women of the same line?—No; we heard of just one instance.

815. Yes, exactly; but not at all as a general rule?—Not, as a general rule.

#### DR. KATE BUSHNELL Examined.

816. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are a native of Illinois in the United States?—Yes.

817. And you reside at Evanston, Chicago, when you are at home?—Yes.

818. Are you a graduate and M.D., of the Women's Medical College at Chicago?—Yes.

819. And have you practised medicine principally in China as a medical missionary in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church?—Yes.

820. Did you for some years hold office in the Women's Christian Temperance Union of America?—Yes.

821. What office?—It was evangelist of the Social Purity Department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

822. How have you been engaged since the year 1890?—With Mrs. Andrew in visiting various countries as a world's evangelist of this same society.

823. Or of an extension?—An extension of this society to other countries.

824. The society is an American society, and it has become a world's society?—Yes.

825. Since February 1891 you have worked with your friend and companion Mrs. Andrew?—We were first here in England holding meetings for the most part in connection with the British Women's Temperance Association, and we also paid a short visit to South Wales; then we proceeded to South Africa.

826. And your work in England, if I follow you, was in the first half of the year 1891?—Yes.

827. And you proceeded to South Africa in July 1891?—Yes.

828. And when did you reach India?—We reached India the latter part of December 1891.

829. December or November?—Of December; we

sailed in November from South Africa; we reached India the 21st December 1891.

830-31. And you went to India with the views and purposes detailed by Mrs. Andrew to this Committee?—Yes.

832. In addition to that general investigation in respect to degraded women in Indian cantonments had you, before commencing your tour, been asked to undertake some other work?—I had. Previous to leaving my own country, the women physicians of Chicago asked me if I would prepare a paper for the forthcoming congress of women physicians in Chicago at the time of the World's Fair on some professional subject, especially something that would occur out of some investigation or observation that I would make during my world's trip.

833. In consequence of that undertaking, what did you do when you arrived in Calcutta on the 21st December 1891?—Well, I was induced to commence an investigation into the relation which is supposed to exist, particularly by the natives of India, and in other parts of the world too by other people, that there is a close connection between leprosy and syphilitic disease. I think Sir William Moore holds that theory very strongly, and other physicians of considerable prominence.

834. We need not go into that I think; there is nothing you wish specially to say upon that subject is there?—No, nothing; except that I made a little study along that line in connection with the other work that I was doing in India.

835. Pursuing that study, occupying a certain time with that inquiry, you proceeded with Mrs. Andrews to Lucknow?—Yes, Sir.

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*Dr. K. Bushnell.*

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836. Was that on the 20th January?—It must have been about that time.

837. And it was there and then that your investigation as narrated in Mrs. Andrew's evidence commenced?—Yes.

838. You have heard Mrs. Andrew's evidence?—Yes.

839. Do you corroborate it generally?—I do.

840. You, perhaps, could say more than that you generally corroborate it?—I think in every detail; nothing occurs to me.

841. I understood that you travelled together, and that you were almost always united upon every occasion of investigation?—We were, with one or two exceptions, trivial exceptions.

842. There were a few exceptions in which you conducted separate enquiries of your own?—Yes, one or two.

843. And at a later period of your examination you will give us particulars of those special enquiries?—Yes.

844. You confirm her evidence in respect of the cantonments visited, the number of cantonments, and their names?—I do.

845. The persons interviewed?—Yes.

846. The books inspected at the several Lock hospitals, and chaklas, and other places?—Yes.

847. You have some further evidence on your own account to give on some of these headings, I mean not only records of separate investigations, but will you have something personal yourself that you desire to say with respect to some of these points?—Yes, Sir, perhaps having a more distinct memory of hospital records, and matters of that sort.

848. You paid special attention to those; you had an opportunity of seeing them?—Well, they more naturally and more easily fixed themselves upon my memory.

849. The books and records of the various hospitals that you visited?—Yes.

850. You verify Mrs. Andrew's account of those numerous chaklas which you both saw and the conversations with the occupants, and you guarantee the accuracy of the sketches of three of those places; perhaps you made those sketches?—I made those sketches; they are approximately accurate. Of course I took no measurements, or anything of that sort.

851. First, as to Mrs. Andrew's account of the chaklas, having heard her description of these buildings and of the several cantonments, and of the conversations held with the occupants, you confirm those statements of Mrs. Andrew's?—I do.

852. Now with regard to the registration of the women at the Sudder Bazar chakla at Lucknow on January 25th, did you gather some information on that subject, did you see an old woman there, and what did she tell you?—Well, it was not there that she told me anything about the registration; it was not at that place; it was not at the lock hospital; I think, perhaps it was the same day.

853. Not in the lock hospital, but in the chakla?—In the neighbourhood of the chakla; we were standing out on the street.

854. What was it that she said?—She told me that when a girl was a candidate for a life of shame she went to the mahaldarui first, and that then the mahaldarui took her to the cantonment magistrate, and she paid 9 pice to be registered.

855. To whom did she pay that?—To the cantonment magistrate, I understood.

856. You are not quite sure of that, are you; you understood that?—It does not say so. I see that the journal does not say so, but that was my understanding at the time.

857. It struck me the other day, in regard to the answer of Mrs. Andrew, that the 9 pice of which we have heard before, would probably have been paid to what you called a "pleader" for writing out the application; I don't know whether that is so?—Well,

that is it. That is exactly what I said, only it was in my mind that the cantonment magistrate would write that out, but it would be another person who would write it. The girl pays 9 pice to get the application written out, and my impression was that the cantonment magistrate wrote out the application.

858. We will have it, if you will accept that term, that she pays 9 pice not to a "pleader," but more correctly to a petition writer to write out her application?—That would be it.

859. What did you understand was done with that application?—That then that application is turned over to the inspector.

860. By the cantonment magistrate?—I don't know.

861. The application is made to the cantonment magistrate?—The application is made to the cantonment magistrate I suppose; Yes.

862. But is not that your evidence: Did you or did you not understand that when she gets this application written out, the application is handed to the cantonment magistrate?—I would simply infer so from what I know of other places. It is not very clearly expressed here.

863. But you say is handed to the inspector; now what does the inspector do?—Then he sends the girl to the lock hospital.

864. This is the evidence of that mahaldarui?—Yes, it is.

865. And then?—And then, if the result of the examination is satisfactory, she is turned over to the mahaldarui of the chakla.

866. She is sent back first to the inspector, is she not; was not that the evidence?—Yes, she is.

867. Who hands her over to the mahaldarui?—Yes.

868. And the latter then does, what?—Takes her into the chakla.

869. I see the phrase is, "enters her into the chakla." Does that mean record her name in a register?—The journal here says: "Takes her into the chakla."

870. Do you also confirm Mrs. Andrew's evidence as to the houses of the women in Peshawar bearing a register of the number of the women, as well as of the numbers of the tenements?—I do. I think that Mrs. Andrew said that the smaller numbers were written in English and Hindustani. I see our journal says English and Urdu. I don't know whether it makes any difference; it is the same thing.

871. And I think there were other places named where there were numbers of two kinds upon the houses, and you confirm her evidence with regard to that?—Mrs. Andrew spoke of Bareilly, but at the time she was questioned about that I was occupied with something else, and paid no particular attention to it.

872. At what lock hospitals did you see the registration lists of the women?—At Meerut, at Peshawar, at Beaurais, and at Umballa.

873. When the phrase "registration lists" is used, I refer rather to the lists of the women; I do not mean hospital lists?—No, I mean the lists of the women who are examined periodically.

874. And will you have something hereafter to say upon this subject, bye-and-bye, under the head of hospitals?—Yes, Sir.

875. As to the mahaldaruis and the continuance of their work now, as before the repeal of the Act, I want to put it to you in this way: We have had some evidence from Mrs. Andrew about the method of business of the mahaldarui anterior to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in India, and the enactment of the new Cantonment Acts, and I want to know whether you have anything to say as to the continuance of their work on the same lines now, as before that period?—Well, the mahaldaruis that held those certificates for the most part told us that they had had 11 continuous years' service under the Government, all those certificates being for a term of years. I should



have to study individual cases to see which mahaldarni said which.

876. Did any mahaldarni that you can remember give you any reason to understand that any change in her functions was produced by these legislative changes?—None of them.

877. Were they, generally, conscious that there had been legislative changes?—Well, the women and the mahaldarnies together, in several places referred to the fact that these things were now forbidden by the Queen, and that other people were to blame for them, and not the Queen, so that they knew that much of the change.

878. That those things were now forbidden?—Yes, were now forbidden by the Queen.

879. Can you corroborate Mrs. Andrew as to the interviews with the mahaldarnies at the several chaklas, and as to the production by them of the certificates and other papers mentioned by Mrs. Andrew?—I can.

880. Now in Lucknow, on March 7th; did you take copies of any certificates?—I did.

881. Of which?—Of certificates held of the mahaldarni called Ameer and Ameeran, and of another one called Ameer.

882. Have you got those copies?—I have them before me.

883. Will you read us those two copies of documents?—“Ameer has supplied the 2nd Derby Regiment with prostitutes for the past three years, and I recommend her to any other regiment requiring her for a similar capacity. S. G. Miller, Quartermaster.” That is the same one that we had yesterday.

884. (*Sir James Peile.*) That mahaldarni had been dismissed since you had been at Lucknow?—She had been dismissed a month previous.

885. Then that looks as if there had been some change in her position?—There had been a change within the month.

886. Yes; what month?—Well, it was between our two visits. We were there on the 25th of January and again on the 7th of March, and they stated she had been dismissed immediately after our preceding visit.

887. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) These certificates are old certificates, and the dismissal of the mahaldarni would not apparently have any relation to her conduct before the legislative changes to which I have referred, would it?—I do not think I understand your question.

888. I see her dismissal was in January 1892?—Yes.

889. Was it of both these mahaldarnis. Were they both dismissed?—They were both dismissed.

890. In January 1892?—Or probably in February; the 1st of February 1892.

891. Their dismissal would probably have no relation to these legislative changes, because they occurred long before January 1892?—They had taken place in 1888; no, certainly not.

892. Did it occur to you to note the fact that their dismissal occurred within a very short period after your visit?—Yes; and we specially noted the fact that Mr. Alfred S. Dyer had come out with some publications with regard to a personal visit to this place in the meantime.

893. We have not had his name before; Mr. Dyer; you had better tell us who Mr. Dyer is, without reference to the name. Mr. Dyer is a gentleman who has also been interested in this subject, and has been resident in India for some time. Is not that the case?—Yes.

894. And you mentioned his name in this case, because he published some results of these visits shortly before the dismissal of these two persons?—Shortly before this publication there was a large meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, on January 12th.

895. And that was between your two visits, was it?—Yes, it was. Mr. Dyer's meeting did not come in between our two visits, because it was January

12th and we were there on January 25th. The news had probably come in the meantime.

896. (*Sir James Peile.*) With regard to that, might I call attention to Question 472 and Mrs. Andrew's answer. Then what was the hypothesis in her mind? apparently that these houses were to be closed?—Yes; it seemed to be so. And then, later in the day, when we saw her, she did not state who said this to her, only ‘the authorities.’ And then we said, ‘Who dismissed you?’ She said she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate; that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up; had to close up.” That would look as if her dismissal was the result of the order of the Queen, would it not?—That was what we were told at the chakla.

897. That she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate after an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up?—Yes.

898. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I will go a little more particularly into this case. I have Mrs. Andrew's evidence here. In Mrs. Andrew's evidence she told us that this mahaldarni said she had worked for the Government at Lucknow for 10 years. You saw that mahaldarni with Mrs. Andrews?—I did.

899. And did she say that she had worked for the Government in Lucknow cantonment for 10 years?—She did.

900. When did she say that her pay had stopped?—She said her pay had stopped one month ago.

901. Just after your visit?—Just after we had visited her; that is, just after our first visit.

902. Then she did not state to you explicitly why her pay was stopped?—No; she did not.

903. Did any one else make any statement on that subject?—There was a statement made on 2nd February. I think I stated that it was on our second visit. It must have been, then, the first time that we were in Lucknow that it was said. A group, consisting of three women, two boys, and a young man—that was in the smaller court-yard of the chakla; Mrs. Andrew was not present; I was there with two little children;—they all assured us and insisted that the three other chaklas that had existed in three other bazars had all been closed up, and the girls put in this one; that the mahaldarnis had all been discharged, and the doctors were not going to examine the women any more, because word had been sent from Simla that the Queen did not like it, and it was all to be done away with. Neither of the mahaldarnis was present when this was stated to us. It was a remark on the part of these women and one half-grown boy some sixteen or seventeen years old.

904. Had you been the same day, whatever day that was—you say it was 2nd February, I think—to see the second mahaldarni belonging to the Lancers Regiment?—That was on 7th March, that you refer to now.

905. That was the second visit, was it?—Yes, that is our second visit when we saw the second mahaldarni.

906. And what did she say about the authorities?—She said the authorities had promised the mahaldarnis that when they should open the chaklas again the mahaldarnies should have the first places.

907. (*Sir James Peile.*) Who had promised?—The authorities. We asked her afterwards who made this promise to her, and she said “the authorities”; because we thought it would not do to leave it simply as “the authorities said so”—we asked her particularly, and she said that the Cantonment Magistrate said so—Captain Campbell. She mentioned his name.

908. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Therefore as far as the evidence of this mahaldarni is concerned, it goes to the effect that they were dismissed. I am not sure that I followed you exactly; I thought you said just now that her evidence went to this effect, that they stopped some of the chaklas, and lodged all the women in one?—No; that was in relation to what these three women and two boys told me; not the mahaldarnis; they were not present.

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909. And what those three women said, if I understand you rightly, was, that all the chaklas were not shut up, but that the women were transferred from some chaklas to another chakla; is not that so?—They said the other chaklas about Lucknow; I think we were asking to find out if there were any other women that we could visit, and they said, "No;" the women were all there at that chakla in Sudder Bazar; that the chaklas in connection with the other regiments had been closed up, and all the women brought there.

910. So that at that very time that you interviewed these two mahaldarnis there was a chakla in the Sudder Bazar containing prostitutes?—There was.

911. For the use of European soldiers?—There was.

912. (*Sir James Peile.*) That the regimental chaklas had been closed?—So they said. We did not ask when they had been closed; they simply said they had been closed.

913. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Therefore did you understand that all the women that were in the regimental chaklas were taken into the Sudder Bazar chakla?—I did.

914. Therefore you did not understand that there was any reduction of the women?—No reduction in the number, as I understood it.

915. But you understood from this second mahaldarni of the Lancers' regiment that when they reopened these chaklas again the mahaldarnis should have the first places?—Yes.

916. Did they tell them how to occupy their time in the meantime?—They told them to take five or six girls, and take a share of their earnings.

917. And had they done so?—They proceeded to do so about this time.

918. (*Sir James Peile.*) Then I understand that the mahaldarnis had been dismissed before your first visit?—No.

919. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Immediately after?—They were in charge at our very first visit, but the rumour that they had been dismissed came before we left Lucknow the first time.

920. At Rawal Pindi, what did you see at the Highlanders' ehakla? Did you see a scrap-book there? We saw a scrap-book there in hands of the mahaldarni, containing certificates.

921. What was the date of those certificates?—The date of the last of them was November, 1891.

922. And what was the nature of this certificate?—The last certificate in the mahaldarni's book was signed by the surgeon, and was for three years' service.

923. Signed by a surgeon with an English name?—Yes.

924. And certified for three years' service ending in November 1891?—Yes.

925. At the Infantry Bazar of the old cantonment at Rawal Pindi?—Yes. There are two cantonments at Rawal Pindi; and this was at the old cantonment, the Infantry Bazar was.

926. Did the mahaldarni produce any certificates?—She did. There were seven or eight, ranging in date from 1875 to 1888.

927. What was the date of the last?—June 1888.

928. And what did they call her in those certificates?—They called her various titles: "the head woman of the brothel"; "the superintendent of the brothel"; "the woman having charge of the brothel"; and "the woman in charge of the regimental brothel"; one said, "of the Fourth Battalion Rifles."

929. During a certain number of years?—Yes.

930. During three years?—I do not quite understand your question.

931. What did the certificates purport to be; certificates for three years' service?—Well, they said that she had taken several other such positions during the last three years, and had given good satisfaction.

932. And had given satisfaction?—Yes.

933. Who were they signed by?—They were signed by colonels, majors, and surgeons.

934. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Colonel surgeons?—No, military colonels.

935. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How long had she been in this service?—For 14 years. She had been out-of-work in that 14 years three years. These were not the three years previous, however, the certificate showed that, and she said so, but the term of three years had come in during the past 14 years.

936. Had she then relinquished it, or been dismissed, do you know?—She had relinquished it; she said her conscience hurt her.

937. And what did she say as to her future intention?—She said the regiment was going away in six months, and she would give up this.

938. Give up altogether?—Yes.

939. Have you any information about her?—I have not.

940. Now what can you say to us about the proportion in number between the registered women and the troops; do you confirm Mrs. Andrew's testimony?—Yes, sir.

941. And with regard to the uniform rate of pay?—Yes, Sir.

942. You confirm her evidence and the table she produced?—I do; we made it out jointly.

943. Now, as to the indigent condition of the women, do you confirm her evidence in that respect?—I do.

944. As to the women accompanying regiments?—Yes, Sir.

945. Were you present on every occasion mentioned by Mrs. Andrew when information on this subject was obtained?—So far as I can re-call now, I was.

946. And you believe that you were present at every interview?—I think I was every time.

947. And you corroborate that evidence in all its details?—I do.

948. Now as to the periodical examination of the women; you shared the labours of Mrs. Andrew in the inquiries in the collection of the information on this subject?—I did.

949. The results of which were given in her evidence?—Yes.

950. And particularly in the table which she handed in?—Yes, Sir.

951. The table showing, does it not, first of all the fixed times of examination?—Yes.

952. Secondly, the persons by whom, and in whose presence the women were examined?—There is no statement in the table that I can see in whose presence it was done.

953. Take these tables, you have got the table, have you not, at page 22?—I have.

954. I want you to explain to us all that that table shows?—It shows the cantonment and the place of obtaining information in the cantonment; that means, whether at the hospital or at the chaklas, and the number of women or others who gave evidence; the number of dhais who gave evidence on it, and the number of mahaldarnis, and the number of native physicians who gave evidence on the point, and then the time of the examination.

955. Well, now, besides the table there was Mrs. Andrew's evidence. She gave us an account of the persons by whom and in whose presence the women were examined?—Yes.

956. Do you confirm that evidence?—I do.

957. She described to us the nature of the examination; do you confirm that?—I do.

958. And she described also the women's abhorrence in their own words?—I heard those words.

959. And the results of the examination that if the women were not found to be diseased they had liberty to continue their profession, but if they were found to be diseased they were detained in hospital with a view to cure?—That was repeatedly stated to us.



960. But they were also detained during their menstrual period?—Yes.

961. That they also had a money allowance while so detained?—Yes.

962. And do you know or only presume for what purpose that money allowance was made?—Well, the clause in the Cantonments Act, which relates to the confinement of patients in the Contagious Hospital, would provide for that.

963. Subsistence allowance?—Subsistence allowance, yes.

964. She gave us evidence, also, which you heard, on the special examination of particular women, on the report of soldiers resorting to them, that they were not in a healthy condition; do you confirm that?—I do.

965. And she described the nature of the compulsion enforcing their attendance at the examination. That you confirm?—I do.

966. And the penalties for non-attendance at the examination, and other breaches of the contonment regulations?—I heard the evidence.

967. And you confirm all that evidence?—I do.

968. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Can you speak Hindustani?—No; only just a few words that we picked up while we were in the country.

969. How did you communicate with the women and the other natives whose statements you have given us?—The women, very many of them, under-

stood a little English; and we had always with us an interpreter.

970. What kind of an interpreter?—It was usually a woman whom we employed for the purpose. We had several different women in different places.

971. Had you any reason to suppose that these were good linguists?—Yes; in every instance they had been in the country a great many years, some had always lived in the country, and if they had made a mistake in translating to us what the women had said, for the most part the women themselves would have corrected them, as they did several times when they did not quite understand what the women had said, for they understood a little English and would sometimes break over and try to explain in English. Then again, of course, we went over the same ground repeatedly with the women, and in the course of time we came to understand more Hindustani than we could have spoken at all, so that we understood to some extent, even when they spoke in Hindustani. Yes and no, and some of these things, of course, we would understand.

972. In the course of conducting your inquiries did you write down these statements at the time, or afterwards from memory?—We wrote down our statements immediately after we had paid a visit to the place, immediately, very often going no further than the Gharri, and sitting in that and writing it down. We did that always for numbers and things of that sort that it was difficult at all to hold.

The Witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned till Tuesday at noon.

## FOURTH DAY.

Tuesday, April 18th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
*Secretary.*

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL called in; and Mrs. ANDREW, further Examined.

973. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Mrs. ANDREW, you have your corrected proof of the second day, have you not?—I have not it by me.

974. Have you struck out of your corrected proofs—I forget whether it is the first or the second day—all the names?—I have so far as I have gone, all of this first day.

975. Believing that the conclusion of the Committee was that all names were to be omitted?—I understood that the ruling of the Committee was that all names should be omitted, names of persons.

976. Well, now, as to your sketches; have you any wish to express as to your sketches of buildings?—I feel that they are a part of the testimony. Those sketches, although they only purport to be rough sketches, and were not taken by measurements, yet I certainly feel that they are part of the evidence, and were so offered.

977. And you desire that they should be inserted Y 24265.

on the Notes if it can be done without inconvenience?—Yes.

978. And you would desire by preference that they should be inserted in the Minutes on the margin of the question which refers to them?—I have so expressed it on these proofs, requesting that the sketch plan of the chakla of which I was then giving testimony, should be inserted at the place where it was produced.

979. Have you got the sketches?—I can produce them.

980-1. For the printer?—Yes, for the printer.

982. And the question beside which you wish them to go?—Yes. I have just indicated a place, and said, "Insert sketch plan"; and then I thought on the sketch I could put the number of the question which they were to follow, if that met the wishes of the Committee.

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## Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, further Examined.

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983. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, you have confirmed generally, place by place, and subject by subject, the evidence of Mrs. Andrew ; and I now come to a portion of your evidence, which will either be evidence exclusively of your own, I understand, or confirmation where you desire to go a little more into detail ; and I will begin with what is headed in my notes, "An illustrative case." Now, have you in mind the case of a girl which bears upon several points in the evidence of Mrs. Andrew ?—Yes, sir ; it is the case of Itwaria, a young girl that we found in the chakla at Lucknow.

984. When did you first see her ?—We saw her first on 25th January on our first visit to that establishment.

985. And where at Lucknow did you see her ?—In the Sadler Bazar chakla.

986. Did she look like a girl who had been long leading that life ?—Well, she did not have the appearance of hardness that some of them had ; she looked rather more like a recent girl ; prepossessing in appearance ; rather the best looking of any that we saw there.

987. You thought there was a certain modesty about her ?—Yes ; an unusual degree of modesty, and she seemed to be very much ashamed of being found there.

988. Was she at all differently dressed to the rest ?—Not that I remember.

989. Was she less gaudily dressed ?—Well, she was neatly dressed ; not so disorderly as some of them ; neat in appearance.

990. Did this girl address herself to you ?—She came to me as we were talking together—as there were some 35 girls about us, and two mahaldaris,—and she came and motioned to me, and took me aside round into the smaller courtyard of the chakla, to her own private room, and said she wanted to talk with me ; she could talk English.

991. Was she a native of India ?—She was a native of India ; she may have had some European blood ; I am not sure ; she might have been entirely native.

992. (Chairman.) Did her appearance suggest to you that she was one of those I asked about the other day ; not quite a native ?—Not wholly a native by blood.

993. Did her appearance suggest to you that she was Eurasian ?—We did not question her about the matter at all ; I only spoke about the possibility, by her being nice looking, that there might have been European blood, but I am not quite sure that she was not entirely native ; she was not one that you would say at a glance was Eurasian ; she was too nearly native.

994. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And when she took you to her room, what did she say to you ?—She began to cry, and said that she wanted to leave very much, and wanted us to take her away. I tried to get her to tell me something of the circumstances, that is, under which she was living, but she would not talk very much ; she simply seemed timid, and clung to me and cried, and said to me to "take her away."

995. And when the time came for your leaving ?—Then there were some three or four girls who said they wanted to go with us, and they talked about the matter together ; and then they seemed to come to the conclusion, all of them, that they had better wait till after the next day, which was examination day, and that it would not be possible for them without trouble to leave until that day. So Itwaria said she would leave it till after the next day, and then come with me.

996. What was the day of the week on which you were there ; was it a Monday ?—25th January.

997. Was the examination day Tuesday ?—The examination days were Tuesdays and Fridays. I think this must have been Monday that we were

there. I know it was the day before examination day. It was Monday.

998. When did you see her next again ?—Well, we saw her next again on 2nd February, when we called at the chakla.

999. You did not see her next day, which was examination day ?—No, we did not ; we did not see her until 2nd February.

1000. That was a Tuesday ?—That was a Tuesday.

1001. That was an occasion when you were again at the chakla ?—When I was at the chakla with an interpreter.

1002. Did you put any question to her ?—Well, we asked her why she had not come. She had seemed to think she could come by herself ; and she said she had not because, in the meantime, she had gone to the Lock Hospital on account of her *menstrues*, and that, being examination day, she had now been allowed to come away.

1003. Therefore, according to her account, she had been kept, because of that condition, in the hospital for the week ?—Yes.

1004. Did she then prepare to go away with you ?—Yes ; she was very much delighted when she found we were willing to take her, and went and dressed herself, and combed her hair, and came away with us as far as the cab ; and then she hesitated, and said it would be necessary to go first and ask the cautionment magistrate.

1005. What followed ?—Well, we drove with her then to the magistrate's office ; that was some distance away ; and we did not find him there. The native police standing about in the yard told us we could not see him until 12 o'clock.

1006. What time was it then ?—It was then perhaps 10 or 11. Then I took her with me to my stopping-place, while I had my breakfast. Mrs. Andrew will remember my bringing the girl in. At that time Mrs. Andrew was not with me, but she saw Itwaria at that time when I came in for breakfast.

1007. Well, then, when you returned after breakfast, was it to the magistrate's office ?—We returned then to the magistrate's office.

1008. Were there any native police about ?—There were half-a-dozen. I see here : "There were six policemen there, and also other men and boys ; but the magistrate had not yet come. So the girl, being personally acquainted with one of the policemen, told him what she wanted."

1009. What did she tell him she wanted ?—She told him she wanted to get her name taken off the register, so that she could leave.

1010. What did they say ?—They told her that she could not do it till after the following Friday ; that the following Friday would be an examination day, and then, if the European surgeon thought fit, she might be allowed to sign a petition to go away.

1011. Did you put any question to the police ?—I asked the policemen which were examination days, and they replied Monday and Friday. This "Monday" I knew was incorrect, because we had abundant evidence that it was Tuesday and Friday ; and I suspected they told me Monday, thinking I might say there was no objection to her going away because she had just been examined.

1012. Well, I see in the table showing the times of periodical examination, at page 18 of the second day : "Lucknow : number and character of informants, six native police ; days of examination, Monday and Friday." And opposite "Monday," you have put in inverted commas, "False, or inaccurate." They may have had some motive in saying it ; at any rate it was inaccurate. You had previously ascertained that the examination day would be the day following your first visit, which was on a Monday ?—Yes, we had obtained it from no less than 40 or 50 witnesses,



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that Tuesday and Friday were examination days, and not Monday, as the policemen stated.

1013. That was the girls themselves?—The girls themselves, and the dhai of the Lock Hospital, and the mahaldarni of the chakla, too.

1014. Did you ask where the European doctor was to be found?—Yes, I told them that I was not willing to wait till Friday, and asked them to tell me where to find the European doctor, and I would go immediately with the girl to him. They refused to tell me; and I had to talk to them very sternly before I could induce them to tell me where to find the doctor; rather to tell the cabman. I wanted them to tell the cabman in Hindustani, as I could not speak Hindustani.

1015. Did you threaten to report them?—I threatened to report them if they would not give the proper information.

1016. And they gave some information to him?—They gave information to the cabman, and we started out to find the European doctor. They said the physician I wanted was at the Tenth Native Infantry Regiment, so we drove several miles along the cantonment to that place, in search, as we supposed, of Dr. Hamilton; it was Dr. Ranking really that was wanted.

1017. How did that drive affect the girl?—Well, she seemed to lose a great deal of courage, and on the way there I questioned her very closely, for my own information, rather, at first, why she could not leave without getting permission; what they would do if she left without getting permission. She said, "What do you mean? Steal away like a thief; why, the police would bring me back again." Then, from that she seemed to get an idea that I would help her to "steal away like a thief," as she expressed it; so she asked me if I would not, and she began to fail in courage about pursuing any other course, except to run away.

1018. Did you find the doctor?—We did not find the doctor we were after, but we went to the native doctor of the small hospital, I suppose, connected with this Tenth Infantry Regiment, as we were in that neighbourhood.

1019. Did he speak English?—He spoke very good English.

1020. What did he tell you?—We explained to this native physician what we wanted, and that this girl wished to leave, and wanted to get permission to go away. The native doctor explained that we must take the girl back to the cantonment magistrate, and that we must see the cantonment magistrate first, not the doctor first, as the native policeman had told us; and he further said that the cantonment magistrate would give us a written permit, and that we might convey that to the surgeon of the Tenth Infantry, who was Dr. Ranking, and that he would allow the girl to go, "if she was all right," as he expressed it; that is, free from disease.

1021. Then what did the girl say?—The girl was very much disheartened by this time, and she told the native physician that there was a fine of 20 rupees against her that was not yet paid, and if she saw the cantonment magistrate, she did not think he would let her go at all, because she had nothing to pay it with.

1022. Did she give you any explanation about this fine on your drive back?—Yes, she did, not a very clear explanation; I got the whole story later, yet what she stated did not contradict it in the least. She said she had lived with a soldier at Havelock-road, out in the civil lines.

1023. That she was living with him at that time?—That she was living there at the time she was fined; that she had been before the cantonment magistrate and been fined 20 rupees.

1024. What was she fined for?—She did not say then, but afterwards I learned this very clearly from the one who had made the complaint against her; that she was fined, not twenty, but fifty rupees, and

that the fine was for keeping drink for this soldier. She was not accused of buying drink for him; but he had brought it to her place, and it was found there with her.

1025. And they fined her, and not the soldier?—Yes; she was taken to the cantonment magistrate, and fined for furnishing drink to the soldier.

1026. What was the house in which she was living; was she placed there by the soldier?—She was placed by the soldier on Havelock-road outside the military lines, in the civil lines.

1027. She was what they call a "kept woman" at that time?—She was a "kept woman" at that time; and when she was fined she said the mahaldarni paid her fine.

1028. Did she pay it, or did she become surety for it?—Became surety for it. I should say she was taken into the chakla in the cantonment. This was further corroborated by a gentlemen who told me he was living next door to her on Havelock-road at the time this happened, and he knew it was just after this trouble that she went into the chakla; though he could not say about the mahaldarni paying the fine, only that he knew that it was then she went into the cantonment and into the chakla.

1029. Well, then you returned to the magistrate's court; was he sitting?—He was sitting when we returned, and we went into the court, and he received us very politely, and gave us seats.

1029\*. Did you ask for the required permit?—I asked for the required permit.

1030. What did you say to him?—We told him very plainly that this woman we had with us this morning as an interpreter represented a Mission there, and we explained very fully to him that we wanted to place this girl in this Mission, in a "home," and gave him every assurance that she would be taken immediately to this Mission and taken care of.

1031. Did you say anything about the police?—These same policemen that we had been talking with, and others with them, were gathered round in the court-room, or came in when we went in; I am not sure which; and the cantonment magistrate said we were labouring under a mistake if we supposed it was necessary to get a permit; that it was not. But I said to him, pointing to these policemen, "These are the policemen who told us an hour or two ago that it was necessary for us to get a permit." And then we told him, too, that the native physician at the Tenth Infantry had told us the same thing, that it was necessary to get this permit to leave before she could leave. Then the cantonment magistrate exclaimed that the policemen knew nothing about the matter; did not know that the law had changed, and that the old Contagious Diseases Acts had been done away, and that the girl was free to go if she wanted.

1032. Did he add that he would give her a permit, if desired?—Yes; he added then that he would give the permit, and he wrote it out.

1033. Have you got that document?—Yes; I have it here, as he put it in my hands. The first word is, "Rund"; "Rund Itwaria"; that is "prostitute." I want to explain here that he made a mistake by one month in the date; he has dated it 2nd January, instead of 2nd February.

1034. You say she was not in the chakla at that time; was she at that time the mistress of this soldier?—No, not then; she had been in the chakla for some time. What did you say was written in this document?—(*Document handed in as follows:* "Rund Itwaria is permitted to leave the cantonment. A. W. D. Campbell, Major.—Cant. Magt., Lucknow.—2/1/92.") There was a mistake in the date. It was impossible for it to have been 2nd January, because it was February when he handed it to me. It was simply a mistake in the first figure; it should have been "2—2," instead of "2—1." It is immaterial, only I thought the inconsistency might be shown some time.

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1035. And he would give her the permit. Did he say how that would affect her right to enter the cantonment again?—He said, "I will give you the permit; but I want it distinctly understood that she cannot enter the cantonment again under any circumstances." He repeated this again and again.

1037. Then you asked that her name should be taken off?—Yes; I asked for her name to be taken off the records, and he said he would have that done, and asked the clerk to do it.

1038. Did he look at her name on any of the records in possession of the court?—Her name was hunted for in some sort of records, I could not just say what.

1039. Did you then tell the magistrate of Itwaria's fear about the fine?—I did.

1040. Did he appear to know anything about it?—He seemed to know about it; and he explained that it was some criminal charge, and that it was a writ of cognizance. I cannot explain this in lawyer terms very well myself.

1041. That it was what?—A writ of cognizance.

1042. Had this lengthy proceeding in the meantime affected the girl?—It had. Twice she ran crying out of the court, and I went out and persuaded her to come back. The cantonment magistrate spoke very sternly to her.

1043. Did she say she had a mother and a sister in the cantonment?—When he repeated that she should not under any conditions return to the cantonment, she said her mother and sister lived in the cantonment, and she would want to see them.

1044. Did the presiding magistrate advise her to see them at once?—He advised us to go and talk the matter over with the mother and sister, and see what they said about her going away.

1045. Did you follow that advice?—We followed that advice.

1046. Did you find the mother and sister?—We found them, to our amazement, in the chakla. We did not know then that they were disreputable, that they were in the chakla themselves.

1047. What did the sister say to you?—Both the sister and the mother declared that she could not go away. The sister said she owed her money, and she would not let her go away; and then she began to beat the girl, but I stopped that.

1048. You stated distinctly, did you not, that her sister said that she owed her money?—Yes.

1049. And could not go till she had paid it?—Yes.

1050. This was an elder sister who said that Itwaria owed her money, and that she could not go away till she paid her the money. Then she struck her?—Then she struck her.

1051. And ultimately did you feel compelled to leave the girl for the time?—We did. A British soldier came up to them, and took the girl off on one side, evidently to persuade her not to go; and so her resolution failed her, and she gave up any thought of coming away then, and sat down hopelessly.

1052. You re-visited Lucknow on 7th March?—Yes.

1053. Did you see Itwaria again? What distance of time was that?—That was a little over a month; it was from 2nd February to 7th March.

1054. Did you see Itwaria this second time?—We did. Mrs. Andrew was with me this time; Itwaria had been ill almost ever since.

1055. Was she greatly changed?—She was greatly changed; she looked very badly, and she said she had been compelled to see too many visitors; that her sister had compelled her to; and that she was suffering in consequence.

1056. Who told you that?—A girl there, a friend of hers, told us that.

1057. In Itwaria's presence?—In Itwaria's presence.

1058. She said her sister had made her receive soldiers during what period?—When she was menstruating; and compelled her to take cold injections

afterwards. As a consequence she had fallen into fever, and was suffering a pain in her bowels. There was at this time a British soldier lying on the charpoy, the bed, in her room. We sat out on the verandah, outside of it.

1059. Was there anything in Itwaria's appearance which seemed to confirm this story?—She certainly looked very ill; and when it was explained to us that she had flowings very badly, she showed us stains that confirmed what she said, stains on her dress.

1060. Did you hear anything more about this poor girl from anyone that you saw?—We saw a girl at the Sitapur chakla who spoke of her, knowing our interest in the girl, and she said, "She can never leave a life of shame; she has more debts than the hairs of her head; and if she tried to go away the police would catch her and bring her back."

1061. (Sir James Peile.) This case of Itwaria, when you went to see the cantonment magistrate, is the case referred to by Mrs. Andrew in her evidence, Question 809. "(Q.) Yes? (A.) I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell in that, because there was a case in which she did place certain information which she had received before a cantonment magistrate"?—That was the case.

1062. You did not place information on any other occasion before any cantonment magistrate or doctor?—No.

1063. (Mr. Stansfeld.) I will bring you now to the hospitals. You visited the hospitals established in ten cantonments for the treatment of contagious diseases. In Lucknow and Benares what name does the hospital bear?—At Lucknow, on our first visit, there was a sign outside the cantonment, "Cantonment Hospital." This was in both English and Hindustani. On our second visit the sign had been changed, "Cantonment General Hospital, Female Ward." At Benares the sign of the hospital was "Cantonment Hospital."

1064. What did you find was the name by which the hospital was publicly known?—The hospital was known universally by the girls and mahaldaris as the Lock Hospital; the dhais universally, so far as I can recall, called it the Lock Hospital. The native physician usually called it the Lock Hospital.

1065. (Chairman.) Did they call it in these words in English or in some Hindustani equivalent?—Usually in English. Sometimes they said the Rundiyan-ki Hospital, the bad women's hospital, the prostitutes' hospital. But if our cabman did not understand the term Lock Hospital when we told him, or was not quite sure, then we told him the Hindustani name, Rundiyan-ki. Then we never had any difficulty in the cabman understanding what hospital we wanted, from either the English or the Hindustani name.

1066. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Then these hospitals were not female wards of the larger hospital?—Well, we might have said so in one case, perhaps. At Bareilly there was a ward for women, and a ward in which there were two or three men; that was the only exception.

1067. Now, when arrived at the cantonment, you told the cabdriver to convey you to the Cantonment Hospital; what did he say to you, or what would he say to you?—He usually remonstrated with our going there, and said, "No, we were making a mistake; that was not for respectable women at all."

1068. But when you asked him to drive you to the Cantonment Hospital, did he always apparently know the building to which you wanted him to drive?—He never understood Cantonment Hospital; he would say, "Which one in the cantonment?" There were perhaps a dozen hospitals in every cantonment.

1069. But if you said the Lock Hospital, or the Rundiyan-ki Hospital?—He always knew then which hospital of the hospitals in the cantonment we wanted.

1070. What did the dhais, the hospital nurses, call the hospital?—They called it the Lock Hospital.



1071. The native doctors?—The native doctors almost universally; if they did not in their first sentence, they did in their second or third. They very soon dropped the name of Cantonment Hospital as soon as we called it the Lock Hospital, and called it the same as we did when we were talking.

1072. In the official documents that you had an opportunity of inspecting, how did you find the hospitals were called?—The name was different in different places. At Meerut, in papers in the hospital, it was called the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases. At Meer, it was called the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, and also the Cantonment Hospital, in official papers. That was on the order for tickets. It said, "Give so-and-so a ticket, for she is enrolled to appear at the Voluntary Venereal Hospital," and it was signed, "—, surgeon of the Cantonment Hospital." So that the two names appeared on the papers at Meer. At Rawal Pindi, and at Peshawar, both those hospitals were called the Hospitals for Contagious and Infectious Diseases. At Amritsar, we did not get any official title for it; the dhai called it the Lock Hospital. At Umballa the records called it the Cantonment Hospital; at Bareilly, the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases; and at Sitapur, it was called the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases.

1073. For what purpose did you find that each Lock Hospital was used?—We found in every station the hospital was used almost wholly for the venereal diseases of women.

1074. Of what women?—Of degraded women.

1075. Of registered women?—Of registered prostitutes.

1076. Did you find that the Lock Hospital was used for the purpose of their periodical examination?—We did.

1077. Invariably?—In every instance.

1078. Did you find any instances in which the hospital was utilised for the treatment of other cases, or of similar diseases in other persons?—At Lucknow, we found there respectable women who were ill. One was a case of syphilis; the other two cases, one was dropsy, and one dysentery; these in addition to the venereal diseases of prostitutes.

1079. Were they in the same room as the diseased prostitutes?—They were in the same room, but there was a mat curtain between them and the other patients, making a separate ward for them.

1080. Have you any other instances to name?—At Bareilly, as I have said, there were some cases; a few male patients there; I do not know what their diseases were; in a separate ward from the women.

1081. Those were the only instances that you remember?—Yes; those were the only instances of others, except prostitutes in the hospital, that I remember.

1082. And they were, therefore, quite exceptional cases?—They were exceptional cases.

1083. Will you give us a seriatim account of your visits to each of these hospitals, and the information you obtained as to the use of the cantonment hospitals at Lucknow?—We visited Lucknow Lock Hospital on 25th January, 29th January, and 7th March. On 29th January we went through the hospital with the native physician, who explained the various cases to us. The hospital has a capacity for 10 or 12 patients. I have drawn a sketch of the building, a ground-plan.

1084. Well, then, will you just explain it?—Where is that hospital situate?—That hospital is situate a short distance from Sndder Bazar, in the cantonment of Lucknow.

1085. Is there anything painted on the outer gateway?—There was a sign at our first visit; that sign read, "Cantonment Hospital." At our second visit, "Cantonment General Hospital; Female Ward."

1086. Was that the only description or the whole of the description of the building on the exterior of

the building?—That was all on the exterior of the building.

1087. There was no part of the building with a different title affixed?—None whatever.

1088. Now will you give us some description of that building?—Well, it was a long low building, close to the roadside, excepting at one end, where it was two storeys high; and I understood the native physician lived in that part of it. It was doubly enclosed. There was quite a large garden, enclosed with a high wall. Then we went into the first enclosure, and turned to the left, and found a second enclosure, and within this second enclosure was a ward for the women.

1089. A long wall; were there several smaller buildings?—There were several smaller buildings about; by the gateway the watchman's lodge, just inside the gate; a little further on was the examination room of the hospital, and then, off to the right, was a small temporary grass house, where there were two or three men patients. It was outside of the enclosure which enclosed the Lock Hospital,—the women's hospital.

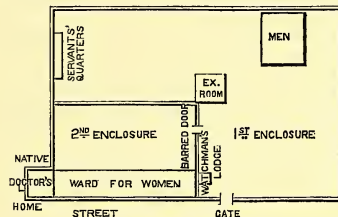
1090. Do you know what the nature of their illness was?—One of them had eye trouble; there were no contagious diseases among them. We went in there and saw these three men.

1091. Now, the women's rooms opened into what?—They opened into an inner court, I may say.

1092. And did their rooms open into the inner court?—The doors did; the windows opened out on the street; the barred windows opened out on the street.

1093. Were the windows barred?—They were.

1094. Now, will you produce that sketch?—I have it here; I have it also on a separate sheet; there is a copy of it on the separate sheet.—(See Plan annexed).



Lucknow Lock Hospital.

1095. What is that room in the centre; the small room?—That is the examination room.

1096. How is that lighted?—This large enclosure is just an open court.

1097. How is the examination room lighted?—I think, from a window behind and at the side.

1098. (Chairman.) Not a skylight?—No, not a skylight, as I remember we stood at the door at the time.

1099. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Who did you see there?—We were in company with the native physician; we saw six or seven patients.

1100. Did you see the dhai?—We saw the dhai at an earlier visit; we did not see the native physician; at our first visit we saw the dhai and six patients.

1101. Well, now, at this first visit, what happened?—We were not allowed at the first visit to go beyond that inner gate that barred the enclosure for the women. We stood there, and talked with those patients and the dhai. We asked what diseases were treated there, and they told us. We asked if any but prostitutes were taken here; they said sometimes soldiers' wives were admitted. We asked what diseases were treated; we asked, for instance, in order to make it plain, "Would you take in a case of measles or small-pox, or anything of that kind here?" and they laughed and said "No;" and then they

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said, "We will tell you the diseases," and then they unbuttoned on their fingers the various forms of venereal disease. They said those were the only forms of contagious diseases they would take.

1102. They said, "You must not go further?"—They said they thought the native doctor would be angry if we went further.

1103. If you went further without him, I suppose?—Without his permission.

1104. Why did they think he would be angry?—I do not think they said why they thought he would.

1105. Would it have any relation to his idea of the object of your work?—Well, our interpreter said she wanted to sing to the girls, and the dhai said we could not come in to do Christian work.

1106. Had they many patients? Did the dhai tell how many there was room for?—She said for 10 or 12 patients.

1107. Not more?—Not more.

1108. How was she paid?—She said she was paid 12 rupees a month by the Government.

1109. For doing what?—For taking care of the girls.

1110. When did the girls say they were examined?—They said they were examined on Tuesdays and Fridays; and, if they were ill, they would have to stop in the hospital.

1111. Did that mean if they were diseased?—If they were diseased.

1112. Did you ask them if they went voluntarily?—Yes; and they said voluntarily and involuntarily. They said if they did not go they would have to leave the cantonment.

1113. I think you said that soldiers' wives sometimes came there?—They said so.

1114. Was the statement as to examination days and detention in the hospital subsequently confirmed by other girls?—It was in the interview that we had with 35 girls at the chakla; and the two mahaldarnis, they stated the same thing.

1115. And did they tell you anything about their visitors, who they were?—They said that only Europeans were allowed to come to them.

1116. Did you afterwards have a conversation near this chakla with an old woman whom you saw at the Lock Hospital?—We did.

1117. What did she tell you?—She told us that the girl whom she owned, that is, the girl whom she kept, and who earned money for her, had gone to the hospital on account of her *meneses*.

1118. Gone that morning?—I think so; yes, that morning, and that was the morning of the same day that we had been there, and we saw her come and bring a napkin to the girl in our presence.

1119. On Friday, 29th January, you again visited the hospital; then you saw the native physician?—Then we saw the native physician.

1120. How long had he been there?—He said for one year.

1121. Did he speak English?—He spoke English.

1122. Did you tell him that you were yourself a physician?—I told him I was a physician, and he asked if I would like to see the hospital.

1123. And see the patients?—And the patients; and he took us through the wards, and explained to us each case as we came to it.

1124. Now, in the first ward, what did you see?—In the first ward we saw three or four women, and he said they were there because of their *meneses*, and added that that was done for safety; and when I asked him to explain further, he said to prevent women giving disease or getting disease at that time.

1125. Did you see patients screened off there?—We did; one was a case of ascites-dropsy, one of dysentery, and one of syphilis.

1126. You have already referred to these cases?—Yes; I have referred to them already.

1127. Well, he said these women were not disreputable?—These women were not disreputable.

1128. The syphilitic one was what?—Had contracted disease from her husband.

1129. Did he say whether any women but soldiers' wives would be admitted under these circumstances?—He said that any woman would be admitted, as it was for diseases in general.

1130. But confined to the cantonment?—For cantonment women generally.

1131. Did he show you other cases of primary syphilis?—He did.

1132. Were they all primary syphilis?—They were all excepting one, primary syphilis; one was a secondary case.

1133. Did he say that the decent women are separated?—From the others, because "the others are ashamed to be seen by them"; that is the way he expressed it.

1134. Did the other class of women pay anything?—He said it was all charity.

1135. What did he say about the Government?—He said, "I suppose you know about the other place, the chakla; and the women come from there, that is, the women of the Government." He said, "They are detained here when they are sick, for treatment," and then he added quickly, "That is, they are glad to come here for treatment."

1136. Did you recognise one of the women for one you had seen before?—We did.

1137. Where, and when?—We had seen her at the chakla before, on the Monday previous. The doctor also spoke of several patients that had come in that day; he said, "They came in to-day." This was Friday; so that that confirmed the statement of the girls, that Friday was an examination day.

1138. You revisited Lucknow on the 7th of March?—Yes.

1139. Was what you call the sign of the hospital replaced by a new one?—It was. This time it read, "Cantonment Hospital, female ward."

1140. Cantonment General Hospital?—"Cantonment General Hospital, female ward."

1141. I think you referred to the grass-house for male patients, did you not?—I did.

1142. In the enclosure?—That was within the first enclosure in this large garden; not within the second enclosure, that enclosed the women.

1143. Did the native doctor tell you anything about two other military hospitals?—Yes; he pointed to two others in different directions.

1144. At a distance, and separate from this?—At a distance, utterly separate from this.

1145. In the direction of any European Military Hospital?—No; this was in another direction, referring to hospitals for natives, as I remember.

1146. Did he say what they were?—He said they were hospitals for natives. He said there were two other military hospitals for natives, pointing in an opposite direction to the European Military Hospitals, and distinctly declared these were quite differently placed from those in the neighbourhood where we knew the European hospitals to be.

1147. Well, now, Meerut. You were there on 5th February?—Yes.

1148. You visited the hospital?—We did.

1149. How is that built?—Well, it looks very much like an ordinary Englishman's bungalow; a large square building with a verandah, enclosed in a garden.

1150. With a high wall?—Yes, a high wall, excepting in front, where the wall is lower.

1151. One entrance, or more entrances?—One entrance, near the police station.

1152. Is there any sign on the gateway?—There is no sign.

1153. Is it near the bazaar?—It is close to the Sadler Bazar.

1154. Whom did you see there?—We saw the native physician, and his assistant, and the dhai, and some patients.



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1155. Did you ask the women and the dhai who owned the building?—We did, and they said, "The Government."

1156. How did the dhai say she was paid?—She said she was paid 15 rupees a month, and they said they were all paid by the Government.

1157. Did you ask the native doctor what the hospital was?—I did, and he said it was the Cantonment Hospital. I think I ought to explain here that Government documents will show that formerly the Lock Hospital was called the "Cantonment Lock Hospital," and latterly it is spoken of as the "Cantonment Hospital," simply; a change in dropping out one word as far as the title is concerned.

1158. He could speak English, could he not?—He could speak English.

1159. Did he take you to the office?—He took us directly to the office, and produced the records.

1160. On hearing you were a physician?—On hearing I was a physician.

1161. What did you see that was noteworthy?—The first thing that we noticed on the table were little square pieces of paper: memoranda, evidently for the admission of women as patients, or for their examination. Those were rather blindly expressed. They were headed "The Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," and there were spaces for the name, the address, and the date of admission and discharge.

1162. Then you saw the records of the in-patients, and registry of the prostitutes, and the visitors' books?—We saw those three sets of books.

1163. These are three separate documents?—Yes, sir.

1164. A record of in-patients who are prostitutes?—Yes.

1165. One a registry of prostitutes?—Yes.

1166. Those who come there for examination?—Those who come there for examination.

1167. Giving particulars of their names, and the purpose of their examination?—Yes, sir; and the regiments to which they belonged.

1168. And there was a visitors' book?—Yes.

1169. Did he tell you what diseases were treated there?—He said that only venereal diseases were treated there.

1170. Did you find any traces in the books of any others?—We did not. No; except in one case that was entered leucorrhœa, and one case of pregnancy that was mentioned; the others were entirely venereal.

1171. For how many cases was there accommodation?—There was accommodation for 12 or 15 patients, so the native physician said.

1172. And how many were there there at that time?—I think there were six there at that time.

1173. Did you ask him how many girls came there for examination?—I did; and he said a hundred—sometimes 96 and sometimes 98—every Monday.

1174. Did he tell you about their coming?—He said they came on Mondays.

1175. You have told us of some hospitals where the women were sent during their monthly period. Did that apply here?—We asked if it was the case here, and he said no, that was no disease; that they did not take them for that.

1176. And the examination book?—That, of course, is the same as the registry of the prostitutes.

1177. Did he point out to you how the women were classified?—We asked him where the women lived, and he pointed out to us that they were classified in the book as living in the Sudder Bazar, the Infantry, Artillery, and Lancers Bazzars. I afterwards got the figures in regard to the numbers who lived in these various bazzars.

1178. The greater number in the Sudder Bazar?—The larger number in the Sudder Bazar.

1179. Did he tell you what the women received while in the hospital?—Two annas a day.

1180. Subsistence money. Did you remark to him that there were none but venereal diseases recorded?

—I did; and he said "Yes, they are all venereal." This was the second time that he said this.

1181. Was it here that you said there were two cases not venereal?—Well, there were two cases; one entered as leucorrhœa, and another case of pregnancy, which of course is not properly a case for hospital at all.

1182. Did he show you a visitors' book?—He showed us a visitors' book. It was so labelled, and it contained complaints, commendations, and instructions from various official visitors and others; one of them was the Inspector of Hospitals, I suppose.

1183. Did one of these entries refer to the women having come in?—Yes, there was a complaint that two or three women had been coming into the cantonment to practice prostitution in the cantonment; that they must be dealt with severely by the cantonment magistrate.

1184. Coming in independently?—Coming in from the city into the cantonment.

1185. And not resident in the cantonment?—And not resident in the cantonment.

1186. But coming in in the daytime and practising prostitution?—Yes.

1187. Did you visit the hospital again on the 6th February?—We did.

1188. Did you ask the native doctor to produce the books again?—And he did so.

1189. What did he show you?—He showed me first a book that was labelled "Diary and Visitors' Book;" it was different from the other one.

1190. And what did you find in that book?—Well, we found a diary, record of work, in the handwriting of the European physician in charge, Dr. B. Langley Mills.

1191. Recording what?—Well, it was a record of the entrance and discharge of patients. There was also an occasional note from Dr. Boileau; I do not know what his connection with the hospital was; I simply noted that he made occasional visits; and other officials.

1192. Was there any note about any women leaving the hospital before being cured?—There was a note made that a certain patient named — had left the hospital before being cured; this was in January 1892, on 11th January. She had been sent to the cantonment magistrate to stand trial for this offence under Section 4, 617, of some law. Doubtless it refers to this law we were speaking of.

1193. That is under the document which we have already upon our minutes of evidence?—Yes.

1194. Were you informed whether she suffered any penalty?—We were informed afterwards by a woman who knew her personally that she suffered imprisonment for two weeks for the offence.

1195. Did you see any entry as to a woman being brought in by the police for examination?—I saw an entry, 31st December 1891; a woman had been brought in by the police for examination; and on 23rd January 1892 a woman was sent to the cantonment magistrate because suspected of disease.

1196. You saw the register book?—I did.

1197. What did you learn from it?—That there were nine prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar; five in the Lancers.

1198. Is this the register of prostitutes?—This is the register of prostitutes which we saw at our previous visit; I saw it again.

1199. That was in the hospital?—That was in the hospital.

1200. Would that be the register of prostitutes coming up for examination, or the register of all the prostitutes in the chakla?—It would be the register of prostitutes coming up for examination. Whether it included all in the cantonment or not we did not verify.

1201. What did you find as to numbers?—There were nine prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar, five in the Lancers'.

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1202. Wait a moment. Did that read as if it meant the total number of registered prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar chakla was nine, or that nine of such women had come up for examination?—It would only show that nine came up for examination.

1203. And there might, therefore, have been more than nine registered women in the Artillery Bazar chakla, for aught you know?—For aught we know. This was, of course, those that were registered for periodical examination.

1204. But your assumption would be that the whole body, with some few exceptions, would regularly come up?—Would come up.

1205. Well, in the Lancers', how many?—Five in the Lancers' regiment.

1206. How many in the Infantry?—Thirty-two.

1207. How many in the Sudder Bazar?—Thirty-eight.

1208. What did the native doctor say upon the subject of women coming or not coming up for examination?—He said that if the women would not come to the examination they would be expelled from the cantonment.

1209. Now I have asked you about these numbers exactly what they meant, did you take notes at the time or only immediately after?—I took notes. I went right out, and got in my cab, and put the figures down. It would not have done, I did not think it would, to take them down there; but I did not wait to get home to my stopping place, but put them down in the cab. There might possibly be an inaccuracy, but I think they are perfectly correct, because I fixed them perfectly in mind, and put them down just as soon as I was outside the hospital.

1210. On the following Monday, 8th February, did you go to the Sudder Bazar?—I did.

1211. And did you see the girls assembling for the purpose of examination?—We did. We were told that they assembled at 8 o'clock in the morning. We went down at 7.35, about half-past 7, and we stood about and watched them coming to the hospital.

1212. About how many did you see?—They came in groups of half-a-dozen at a time. We saw nearly all the time perhaps about 20 out on the public street sitting by the gate, and a number equally large sitting inside nearer the hospital.

1213. Were there policemen about?—There were policemen there. The police station was right opposite, and there was one policeman who seemed to be there to guard the girls; he was standing with them, by them.

1214. Did you see any woman waiting for a girl who had gone in?—We saw an Eurasian woman who brought a girl there, and who waited while she went in, and then when she returned, led her away as though she were a prisoner.

1215. Then these girls were continually coming, and after examination going away?—Yes; they were coming and going as long as we were there.

1216. You were there how long?—An hour and a half, at least. We watched them until 9.30. We were there two hours lacking five minutes.

1217. I think I asked you just now if you saw a woman waiting for a girl?—Yes.

1218. Now at Lahore, 16th February, did you visit the Lock Hospital at the Cantonment Meen Meer?—We did.

1219. What kind of a building is it?—That is a square building, a red building, inside of a high wall, an unusually high wall.

1220. Is there a large gateway?—There was a large gateway.

1221. And a watchman's house?—A watchman at the gate.

1222. Is it near the Sudder Bazar?—It is close to the Sudder Bazar.

1223. And how did everyone of whom you inquired know it; by what name?—They knew it as the Lock Hospital.

1224. You went in and saw the books?—We did.

1225. Well, now tell us what you saw?—In a book that was not labelled, we saw copies of letters.

1226. Addressed to whom?—These were for the most part addressed to the cantonment magistrate. There was one recent letter noting the fact that Dr. Hudson had that day taken charge of the Cantonment Hospital, in place of Dr. Grainger; I speak these names because their initials appeared on the examination card G and H and the card will show the change from the initial G to the initial H as corresponding with this note.

1227. Did you see any copy of documents; they would all be copies, would they not?—They were all copies of letters.

1228. Did you see one?—There was one dated 1st January 1892, headed "Meen Meer Cantonment Hospital," and it read, "has the honour to inform the cantonment magistrate, that the under-

mentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requests that they be made to appear on the 8th instant", and then there were four names given. This was signed B. Grainger, Surgeon, M.S.

1229. Did you see a book of blank forms with counterfoils addressed to the cantonment magistrate?—We did, and this requested the cantonment magistrate to give prostitute —, a ticket enabling her to pursue her avocation, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspections at the venereal hospital of Meen Meer Cantonment. Signed Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital.

1230. Did you see tickets made out to that effect?—We saw tickets of registration, several of them that had evidently been in use for some time.

1231. Were these tickets similar in form to the one which you produced before this Committee?—They were.

1232. Have you got that ticket?—I have it here.

1233. At the back of that ticket there are certain letters; have you any idea what they mean?—Well, we secured this at the Artillery Bazar, from an Artillery Bazar prostitute. These letters are A.B.P., S.B., M.M.; and we concluded they meant Artillery Bazar Prostitute, Sudder Bazar, Meen Meer, from the punctuation. That is evidently three groups of words.

1234. How many women in-patients did you see there?—We talked with six women; I think they were all patients; I am not sure that we asked.

1235. Did you see the husband of the dhai?—The husband of the dhai was there, but not the dhai.

1236. Did they tell you anything about the European physician?—They said, "the European physician was there, and examined the girls yesterday."

1237. Did they say what the dhai received from the Government?—The dhai received 10 rupees monthly from the Government.

1238. Rawul Pindi you visited on the 20th February, and visited the Cantonment Hospital?—Yes, there we saw the annual report which called the hospital, the Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases.

1239. Will you tell me first with whom you visited this hospital?—We visited it in company with a mahaldarni of a chakla for native soldiers.

1240. Did you see the native doctor?—We saw the native doctor.

1241. Was he professional?—He was an M.D., a graduate of Calcutta.

1242. Was he a Hindoo?—He was a Mahomedan.

1243. What did he tell you as to the cases admitted?—He said that only venereal diseases were admitted there.

1244. Only women?—Only women: only venereal diseases were treated.

1245. Did he point out to you the examining room? He did.



1246. Did you examine the medicines kept there?—We examined the medicines kept there. They were disinfectants and washes, and local applications such as would be used for venereal diseases, but not for general medical cases.

1247. Did you or Mrs. Andrew read the hospital report for 1891?—We both read it.

1248. And examined the record of patients for the year?—We did.

1249. Was there any case of contagious or infectious disorder except venereal?—None at all but venereal that were contagious.

1250. Did the report give any case which was called by some other name than venereal?—Well, there was one case of rheumatism, but the native physician said it was rheumatism complicated with syphilis; that it was syphilitic rheumatism. There were 10 injuries and a few ulcers. Of course these ulcers were suspected of being venereal.

1251. Had any women or children been treated during the year?—None.

1252. Or any case of secondary syphilis recorded?—None; and we asked the reason why, and he said that all such were expelled from the cantonment.

1253. How was the page for surgical cases marked?—The page for surgical cases was marked "none;" surgical report for the year.

1254. Was the report written or printed?—It was a written report on three sheets of paper of foolscap size.

1255. Did all these reports that you saw appear to be written?—We saw three or four reports, and they were all exactly alike in form. These annual reports were all written; none of them printed.

1256. Can you describe to us the form of that report?—I have a sort of a sketch here which would indicate quickly, if any one wished to see it, how the report looked. It was headed, "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases for — Cantonment, for the year ending —," and then there were parallel columns down. These columns were headed with various diseases, beginning with small-pox, cholera, leprosy, and other diseases, then coming on to syphilitic diseases, venereal diseases. This was the first page of the report. The second page of the report was a scheme made out to report the surgery of the hospital, and the third was the financial statement.

Sketch Plan of Annual Reports of Cantonment Hospital.	Small Pox.
	Cholera.
	Leprosy.
	"
	"
	Dysentery.
	Bronchitis.
	Rheumatism.
	"
	Fevers.
	Ague.
	Hepatitis.
	"
	"
	"
Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases for — Cantonment, for the Year — &c.	P. Syphilis.
	Secondary Syphilis.
	Gonorrhoea.
	Ulcers.
	&c., &c.

1257. Then, on the first page, you saw no cases that were not venereal except one rheumatic case; is that so?—Yes, and this was explained.

1258. And on the second it was marked "none"?—It was marked "none."

1259. And the third page is financial?—The third page financial.

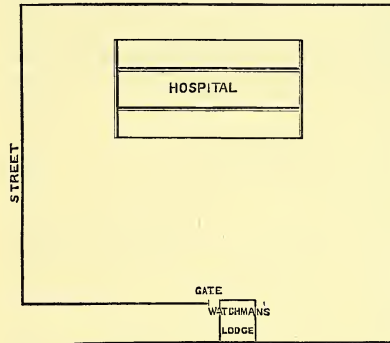
1260. Did you ask what the expenditure for the establishment meant?—There was the phrase "expenditure for establishment," and we asked what it meant, and he said it was the wages of the dhobi and the bhisti, and the matron and all those.

1261. How many women were examined there, regularly?—He said 45 were regularly examined, and that 35 of these were for the Europeans; that those 35 were obliged to come, and with the others it was optional.

1262. Did he tell you anything about the necessity of women consorting with European soldiers being registered with the cantonment magistrate?—He said they must be registered and regularly examined if they consorted with European soldiers.

1263. And the examination is every Friday; did he tell you that the examination was every Friday?—The women told us that.

1264. Did you visit the Lock Hospital again on the 26th February?—We did.



Raulpindi Lock Hospital.

1265. Did the dhai show you any of her certificates?—The dhai showed us some of her certificates.

1266. Of satisfactory service?—For satisfactory service for a number of years; 14 years.

1267. What was the date of the latest certificate?—The latest certificate was dated 14th February 1892.

1268. Did she tell you how many girls had been examined?—She said 26 girls had been examined that morning and that the English doctor came every eighth day. And, if I may explain here, as we drove up to the hospital this morning we saw the native physician whom we had met before in company with a European man come out of the hospital, and so we drove past, not wanting to encounter a European there, and came back in a few minutes, and the dhai told us that the European and native doctor had just gone off in company with each other.

1269. Did you visit the Lock Hospital at Peshawur on the 24th February?—We did.

1270. What kind of a building was that?—It is a large building with a high wall about it and a strong gate.

1271. Only one entrance?—A large gate, only one entrance. There were two large wards in it, and then two smaller rooms, the examination room and the drug room.

1272. Did the dhai show you the place?—I think we saw the native physician immediately. We went

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Bushnell.

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*Dr. K.  
Bushnell.*  
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in company with the dhai. She took us to the place.

1273. Did she tell you what pay she received?—She said she received at present 5 rupees a month. She had formerly received more.

1274. Had she formerly received 10 and 12?—She had formerly received 10 and 12, but now she only received five.

1275. Did you see the usual instruments and appliances in the examination room?—We went into the examination room and we saw there the instruments for examination, the speculum, syringes, sponges, &c.

1276. How many patients did you see in the hospital?—There were two patients there; I think we only saw one of them, I do not remember the other. The hospital had a capacity for 12 beds.

1277. Did you see what was written over one bed?—Over the small bed that was made up was a printed form for the record of the case, such as was usual in hospitals; under rank was written "prostitute;" under regiment, "Sudder Bazar;" age "26;" date "15/2/92."

1278. Did the women whom you saw tell you that all girls had to come up for examination every week?—They did.

1279. Twice a week?—Once a week. Well, let me explain, that formerly there had been women with regiments, and then women in the Sudder Bazar; they had now all been transferred to the Sudder Bazar, and yet the distinction of separate days for examination was kept up, and the Sudder Bazar patients came on Monday, and the regimental women, as they were called, came on Tuesday.

1280. You saw the register?—We saw the registration list.

1281. How many names did it contain?—It recorded 56 such cases.

1282. Besides the regimental cases?—We inferred besides the regimental cases.

1283. You mean by cases names?—Names, a roll of 56 names.

1284. Did you hear what subsistence money the girls received while in the hospital here?—They received three annas daily.

1285. And afterwards you saw the native doctor, I think?—We saw the native doctor, who came up then.

1286. To what purpose did he tell you the hospital was confined?—He said the hospital was wholly for venereal diseases; that he would not be allowed to treat any others, and that it was a hospital for women only.

1287. If a case of small-pox or cholera occurred, did he say what would happen?—He said they would open another place for that; he would not treat them there.

1288. Did he show you the annual report?—He did. This was a report very similar to that which we saw at Rawal Pindi, made up in the same form.

1289. Was it printed or written?—It was a written report, not printed.

1290. Did he explain why it was written instead of being on a printed form?—We asked him. I referred to the fact that in other hospitals they had printed forms to fill out for these annual reports, as I had seen them for successive years in civil hospitals. I had taken pains to look into the matter, and he said that this hospital was not strictly under the Government, and therefore that the report was not printed, but only written; that he himself wrote out three copies, one to keep in the hospital, one to go to the head surgeon, and one for a third person.

1291. Did you understand in what respect it differed from other hospitals, and was less strictly, to use the ordinary phraseology, a Government hospital?—He said that the hospital was not strictly under Government rule, and that it would not be included with the other hospital reports, and therefore that it was just written, and that he kept it. I

will say that these reports were signed always on each of the three pages by a European physician; in this case by a surgeon major.

1292. Did you see any entries of any diseases except venereal diseases?—There were no cases but venereal here, excepting one case of small-pox that had been recorded, but he said it was sent right away, and not allowed to stay there.

1293. The page for surgical cases was marked "none"?—Marked "none."

1294. The financial page showed the expenses?—As paid out of the cantonment hospital funds, and the statement that the patients received 3 annas daily.

1295. The financial expense page shows the expenses as paid out of the fund?—The "Cantonment Hospital Fund" it was called.

1296. What did these pages show the rate of allowances for the patient to be?—Three annas daily.

1297. How many patients had been treated during the year?—The report stated that 200 cases were treated during the year.

1298. Was there any case of secondary syphilis recorded?—No, there were no cases of secondary syphilis, and I asked, "Why?" "Because," he said, "we send them out of the cantonment to the civil hospital"; that they had no provision for treating them there.

1299. Did you ask him if the prostitutes were compelled to come to the examinations?—I did.

1300. And what did he answer?—He said, "Yes, they would not come unless they were compelled to come."

1301. Did you ask him what was done if they did not come?—I do not remember that I did. Yes—he said, "I send for them."

1302. Did you visit Amritsar on 1st March?—We did.

1303. Did you find the hospital open?—We found the hospital locked up; there were no patients there; the dhai opened for us and took us in, took us through the building.

1304. What pay did she tell you she received?—Fifteen rupees a month.

1305. And how long did she say she had worked for the Government?—She said for a long time.

1306. Did she say she had good certificates?—She said she had good certificates, but that they were at Lahore; she formerly was at Lahore.

1307. Did you see the examination room?—Yes.

1308. The usual arrangements and appliances?—Yes, we saw the usual equipment, table and instruments.

1309. Did she tell you of any recent examination there?—The examination had taken place that morning, and she said the European physician had locked up all the books; so we saw nothing but a book of expenses, a record of expenses there. This was signed by the European physician.

1310. Did she tell you the number of girls who had been examined that day?—She did; five girls had been examined that morning.

1311. How often did you understand from the girls in the chakla that the examinations were?—Bimonthly, I believe.

1312. You visited Umballa on 2nd March?—Yes.  
1313. You visited the Lock Hospital; where is that situate?—The Lock Hospital is situated, I should say, in the Sudder Bazar; it is not far from the Sudder Bazar chakla.

1314. Does it consist of two old brick and plaster buildings?—There are two buildings enclosed in a high wall, with a very strong gate; they are brick and plaster; one is one storey high, the larger building; the other two storeys high. The upper storey of the smaller building is the examination room.

1315. Was anyone on guard there?—There was a native policeman at the entrance of a very strong gate.



1316. Where is the examination room there?—The examination room is on the second floor of the smaller building.

1317. A separate building?—A separate building from the one where the patients are; they ascend to it by an outside staircase.

1318. Was it on this staircase that the pieces of paper having reference to the two regimental girls which have been produced to us were found?—Mrs. Andrew states so. I saw the bits of paper as I passed; but I did not stop to get them.

1319. Did you see the usual appliances in the examination room?—We did.

1320. Was the table specially constructed?—It was.

1321. How was it constructed?—Well, it was peculiar. The other tables were of the ordinary sort, for the most part; that is, a level top.

1322. A horizontal top?—This was an inclined plane; the top of the table arranged so that the woman would lie with her head several inches below her hips.

1323. And the higher end was near the light?—The higher end was towards the light.

1324. What else did you note there?—We saw some books there of interest. There was a printed diet list on the wall, and we saw the register.

1325. A printed dietary?—Yes, a printed dietary; and we saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them.

1326. Coming up for examination, is that?—Yes, the women coming up for periodical examination. There were six lists of them, and they were headed with the name of their regiment.

1327. How many names in each?—There were from five to 14 in each list.

1328. How were they headed?—They were headed Queen's, Infantry, Royal Horse Artillery, Hussars, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; and then there were some Guards; but I forget the first word, and then another that we did not recall.

1329. What did the daily journal record as to the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February?—It recorded that there were 28. At the last inspection in February, 28 women were examined.

1330. Did you see the correspondence book?—We did.

1331. Did you see a copy of any letter to the cantonment magistrate?—There was a letter to the cantonment magistrate dated 21st December 1891. This letter named six girls that were supposed to be diseased, and requested the cantonment magistrate to order them for inspection.

1332. And how was it signed?—It was signed by Dr. Wardrop, surgeon in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

1333. Did you see another copy letter dated 18th January 1892?—We did. This was addressed to the cantonment magistrate, saying that the prostitute named in the margin of that letter had been indicted by a soldier of a certain regiment named as having given him disease, and requesting that that woman be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

1334. Did you see any similar letters about other women?—We saw at least half-a-dozen letters of the same import, I think within the month. These were all written in January and February 1892, and they were all addressed by the surgeon in charge of the hospital to the cantonment magistrate.

1335. What was the heading of each page of the registration book?—"Prostitutes attending Voluntary Inspections."

1336. What did the dhai of this hospital tell you?—She told us her name, and that she received 10 rupees a month, and that she had an assistant a mahaldarni, who received 8 rupees a month.

1337. Did she say what the native women received while in the hospital?—Ten pice; that is 2½ annas.

1338. Any European girls receive more?—She

said that there had been European girls there, and that they had received 8 annas daily.

1339. Did the dhai speak English?—She spoke a little English.

1340. Did she tell you whether any cases but venereal cases were treated there?—She said that none but venereal cases were treated there, and when I questioned her about this, I pointed to a girl standing by, and I said, "But this is a case you say of abscess on the liver." She said, "Yes; but the doctors have pronounced it venereal." This she said in English to me.

1341. How many years did she say she had been a Government employée?—Twelve or 13 years.

1342. Did she refer to any European women who had been in the hospital for any considerable period?—I think she spoke of a sergeant's daughter.

1343. She would not belong to that class, would she?—She said there had been a bazar sergeant's daughter in that Lock Hospital at one time for treatment, 3 months.

1344. She did not say she was a prostitute?—I think she said, when we asked her about the European girls, that they mostly lived in bungalows with officers or officials. She told us plainly she was a prostitute, I think.

1345. (*Chairman.*) I think I elicited the last time we met, that as a rule the English officers, as far as your observations went, consorted with native girls; but now I think you speak of European girls, do you not? (*Mrs. Andrew.*) May I make an explanation as you asked me. I said there was one case which I could mention, where European women were spoken of as officers' women. This was the very case, the case that I offered to give, but you said it was not necessary.

1346. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did the dhai say what would happen if the women did not go to be examined. (*Dr. K. Bushnell.*) She said they would be taken to the cantonment magistrate and scolded severely, and be made to go.

1347. And if they left the Lock Hospital did she say what would follow?—She said they would be imprisoned for it.

1348. If they left without leave?—If they left without leave.

1349. Now, as to the girls being compelled to go, did she say whether they were ever punished for not going?—We asked if any of her girls had been punished, and she said "No, girls all go." We asked if any of these girls—I meant the patients under her—had been punished, and she said "No, girls all go."

1350. Did she refer to cases of girls who were detained for the monthly period in the hospital?—Yes, she did. We saw several such cases there.

1351. You visited the Lock Hospital at Bareilly on 3rd March?—May I, before we turn to Bareilly, make one more remark here. When we visited the tents of the girls with the Argyll and Sutherland Regiment we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us, and asked if we wished to see it. It was exactly like the page in this book that referred to the Argyll and Sutherland girls. It was evidently the same thing, in the same handwriting, in charge of the mahaldarni of this chakla: the registration of her girls, and entries made of the date of their examination, and all that. It was exactly similar to this registration list that we saw in the hospital, as far as it related to one regiment, the Argyll and Sutherland regiment.

1352. Did you hear how that was kept? Was this a mahaldarni?—This was a mahaldarni who had this book; it was kept in the same handwriting that we saw in the Lock Hospital; evidently by the European physician.

1353. I do not think I have asked you this question before: Did you ascertain whether the mahaldarnis went up to the examination rooms with their girls, to take them there?—I think we have some

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Bushnell,

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thing on that point. I know we generally inferred that they did; that they went with their girls, but I think we have something definite on that. It does not come to my mind just now; Mrs. Andrew might be able to answer that question.

1354. Did you visit the Lock Hospital at Bareilly on 3rd March?—We did.

1355. And saw the native doctor and the dhai?—We did.

1356. What did the dhai tell you she received?—She said she received five rupees a month.

1357. Did the doctor show you the visitors' book? He did.

1358. Recording the visits?—Recording the visits of various physicians, Dr. —, and Dr. Jones, and the visits of the cantonment magistrate, Major Annesley, and also of a doctor with a hard name to pronounce; he was evidently the one who had immediate charge.

1359. Was that a native doctor?—No, I think not; Geoghegan, or some such name as that, the native doctor was called Karim Bux.

1360. Did you see the register of patients?—We saw the register of all the patients that had been admitted into the hospital.

1361. All those admitted to the hospitals, I suppose, during that year; the first two months of that year?—Yes.

1362. Did it contain any other cases save venereal?—Yes, it contained a good many cases besides venereal; cases such as rheumatism and ague, dysentery, hepatitis and other diseases.

1363. Did the doctor say whether there were any cases of secondary syphilis?—He said they had no such cases, but there were recorded in the books, that is in the annual report, there were 16 cases reported.

1364. You saw cases recorded attributed to secondary syphilis?—We did.

1365. Or which seemed to be attributable to that?—I saw a number of cases which undoubtedly were attributable to secondary syphilis, such as bubo, the names of secondary syphilis cases.

1366. But the doctor had overlooked these cases?—Well, he denied their being there. The question in my mind was why he did it.

1367. You called his attention?—I called his attention to the fact that 16 cases were recorded in the annual report, and asked him what it meant. He simply refused to answer my question.

1368. Did you see the annual report for 1891?—I did.

1369. What cases did you see recorded there besides venereal cases?—I saw one case of small pox and one of leprosy, but the native doctors said they both had been treated elsewhere.

1370. They had been sent away?—He said there were small pox and leprosy hospitals.

1371. Was it there you saw this case of secondary syphilis recorded?—It was in this report that we saw these cases of secondary syphilis recorded.

1372. They were not under the heading of secondary syphilis?—They were in the report.

1373. Were any surgical cases mentioned?—There were a few minor surgical operations.

1374. Did you see the correspondence book?—We did.

1375. Did you ask if the women were examined there?—We did, and he said yes; but it was voluntary.

1376. The old woman; the dhai was present, was she not?—Yes; and she was very suspicious, and kept remonstrating with the native doctor for showing us anything. She kept saying "Bus, bus," "That is sufficient," "Put up the books," and things of that sort.

1377. Did she subsequently follow you on a visit to the matron of the hospital?—She did. There was a matron; they called her that name, Mrs. Barrett, the matron of this Lock Hospital.

1378. (Chairman.) An English woman?—She said her mother was Portuguese, her father Scotch; she

was living in the immediate neighbourhood, and she was connected with the hospital in some way. The girls said she examined them every other day. We went over to her home, and interviewed her; but this dhai so interfered with that we did not get a great deal of information. She said she received 15 rupees a month.

1379. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Did she say how long she had been in service there?—For 14 years; she was living with a Mr. Hyland, the clerk of the cantonment magistrate.

1380. Did she say that respectable women ever came to the hospital?—She said they sometimes came to the hospital to have their diseases diagnosed; but they never would stop, because of the other women there and the men.

1381. You visited the Lock Hospital at Sitapur on the 5th March?—Yes.

1382. Where is that situated?—That is situated not far from the Sudder Bazar, out in a field. The back part of the building is enclosed in a high wall.

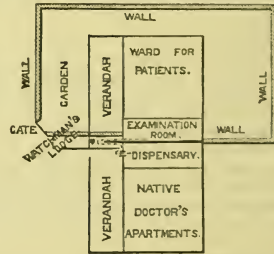
1383. I suppose there is a gate?—Yes, there was a gate with heavy doors and a lodge right at the gate, and a couple of watch-dogs inside.

1384. Did you see the native doctor?—We did.

1385. Did he live on the premises?—He lived on the premises in the unenclosed part of the hospital.

1386. Did he admit you to see the hospital?—He did. We have a plate here of the hospital, if any wish to see it.

1387. Will you put this in?—Yes. (The same was handed in.)



Sitapur Lock Hospital.

1388. How many patients did you find there?—There was one patient there the day we called.

1389. Did you see the examination room?—We saw the examination room.

1390. And the dispensary?—And the dispensary. There were no medicines there, excepting those that would be suitable for venereal cases.

1391. Were the premises at all of a peculiar construction?—We thought the examination room peculiarly situated.

1392. Will you describe the premises?—As I stated a moment ago, the front half of the building was unenclosed; the back half was enclosed by a high wall. The dispensary was in the front and unenclosed part; the examination room was at the back of the dispensary, and was enclosed.

1393. Then the examination room must have been lighted from the ceiling?—I think it was lighted from a window at the back end.

1394. Opening into that court?—Opening into the court. You went from the dispensary out on the verandah, and then in a sort of roundabout way into the examination room. There was no connection between the examination room and the ward of the patients that I can remember.

1395. Did the doctor tell you what diseases were treated there?—He did. He said that the in-patients were only venereal cases of women, the women who were at the chakla; it was for them only. There



were a few patients, outdoor patients, connected with the outdoor dispensary, but all the in-patients were prostitutes only, and that no other women would be kept there.

1396. Did you ask if soldiers' wives would be treated?—We did, and he said they would not. He spoke about a change that might take place, and that it would be changed into a followers' hospital. Then he said that men and women both would be treated in the unenclosed part, and that the enclosed part would still be reserved wholly for the prostitutes.

1397. You saw the dispensary?—We saw the dispensary.

1398. What kind of medicines were there there?—There were washes and disinfectants, and such as would be used for treating venereal cases.

1399. And instruments for the same purpose?—That go with an examination room of this nature.

1400. Did you see the examination table?—We did; we asked if it was an examination table, and he said it was.

1401. Did you see the annual report for 1891?—We did.

1402. Was it in writing or in print?—It was in writing, exactly similar to those I have already described.

1403. Under the column headed with names of diseases, was there any record, except for venereal?—No contagious diseases, except venereal. The report included, however, the outdoor patients who are not confined under the roof at all; the patients connected with the out-dispensary.

1404. Did they include all kinds of complaints?—They did.

1405. But I thought you told us there were no medicines in the dispensary suitable for other complaints?—There were not, and I do not understand how to explain that point; I only noted the fact that there were not.

1406. The page for surgical cases was marked how?—Was marked "none."

1407. And the financial statement, what did it show as to the receipt of funds?—It said the funds were received from the Government; that was the expression.

1408. That was the phrase used?—That is the phrase that was used in the report.

1409. That the payments shown?—Were for salaries, medicines, and supplies, and the average allowance for patients was put down as 2 annas.

1410. Was it put down as the allowance or cost?—The daily cost per patient.

1411. What was the capacity of the hospital?—For 12 patients.

1412. And was the report signed by an English physician?—It was, each page of the three pages by Dr. MacRobin.

1413. How many women were there on the register at that time?—There were 15 on the registration list.

1414. Was that what the doctor told you?—The doctor told us so.

1415. Did you ask him what would be done if there were too many?—I did. He said they would send some away; and we asked if there were too few what would they do, and he said, "Send and bring more."

1416. You visited Benares on the 12th March?—Yes.

1417. Is the Lock Hospital close to the chakla?—It is just across the street from the chakla.

1418. Is that surrounded by a high wall?—It is surrounded by a high wall, and the watchman at the gate.

1419. What was the inscription over the gateway?—"Cantonment Hospital."

1420. Who accompanied you there?—The dhai. As you will remember, there was one woman acting both as mahaldarni of the chakla and dhai of the hospital.

1421. Then at Benares the mahaldarni, or superintendent, of the brothel was the same person who was the dhai or hospital nurse?—Of the hospital.

1422. Were there any patients?—There were none.

1423. When the women are there as patients are they allowed two annas daily?—They are allowed two annas daily.

1424. Is there a dispensary for out-patients?—There is.

1425. Did you see the registration list?—We did.

1426. How many names did it record?—It recorded the names of 16 women.

1427. Going up for examination?—Going to examination.

1428. Did you see the list of indoor cases since the 1st of January?—We did; these were all women.

1429. Were they all venereal?—I think so; they were all venereal.

1430. Were there 34 names?—There were 34 names, and 25 of them were for *meneses*.

1431. And their duration was for an average of how many days?—From three to seven days.

1432. Were the remainder all venereal?—I do not think I quite understand your question.

1433. Were the remaining cases not menstrual cases, mainly venereal cases?—I think they were; but I see no record here; I think the other nine were venereal.

1434. Was there also a record of outdoor patients?—There was.

1435. Did that include male cases?—That included male patients; but there were no contagious diseases among these male cases excepting ringworm, if you want to call that contagious.

1436. Were there cases of rheumatism, dysentery, cholera, and ringworm?—Rheumatism, dysentery, cholera, and ringworm.

1437. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You were telling us about the case of Itwaria, and how you went to different places to see the native doctor, and the magistrate, and the police, and so on. Have you any idea how long that took altogether?—I think in all we were from 9 or 10 in the morning until four in the afternoon. It was about four, I think, when we returned home.

1438. And did I understand you to say that the magistrate to whom you applied, said that the police did not know the change of law?—I said so; he said so to me. He explained to me that in the old days, when the Contagious Diseases Act of 1868, as he explained it, was in force, it would have been necessary for a girl to get permission to sign an application to leave, but he said all that was changed now, and I said, "But your policemen, these policemen here told us that it was necessary still;" and he said, "But these policemen did now know that the law is changed."

1439. (*Sir James Peile.*) Do you think that generally speaking there was a great deal of ignorance of the intentions of the Government among the women?—Among the women themselves?

1440. Yes?—I think that the women for the most part had a clear notion that the Queen had forbidden the compulsory examination.

1441. And why did you gather that they thought it was continued?—They knew it was continued because the law had been brought down on them.

1442. Then what is their idea; that it was done contrary to the orders of Government?—We have a record of several conversations, in which they said, "The Queen is not at fault in these things; it is the officers here."

1443. Did they understand that if they were sent for to the hospital it was because they were supposed to be diseased?—I do not believe. I quite understand your question.

1444. Did they understand that the order of Government was that they would not be sent for to

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the hospital unless it was supposed they were diseased?—They told us at Meerut, for instance, that a native policeman came for them every Monday morning, and compelled them all to go up to the periodical examination.

1445. All of them?—All of them. Of course they knew they were not all diseased.

1446. Was that at Meerut?—That was at Meerut.

1447. Was that the case generally?—At other places they clearly distinguished being compelled to stay in the hospital, and being compelled to go to the periodical examination; they told us the difference in the penalty in the two.

1448. Do you mean that they were not compelled to go to the periodical examination?—They were compelled to go to the examination or leave the cantonment; so they told us plainly, and almost universally, whereas for the most part they told us that if they left the Lock Hospital they would suffer fine or imprisonment.

1449. I think you said in one case, the native doctor told you that the attendance for examination was voluntary, did you not?—At Lucknow the native physician told us.

1450. I think you said it is entirely voluntary; I think that was the expression you used in one case?—Yes, that was the native physician at Bareilly, Dr. Kurim Bux said that they came for examination, but he said it was voluntary, but the women did not say the same.

1451. Did the women understand that it was voluntary?—No, the women said that unless they submitted to the examination, they would be turned out of the cantonment, and this was said in the presence of the mahaldarni, who did not correct them when they stated it.

1452. And which do you think was right?—We think the women were right.

1453. (*Mr. Stansfeld*). Am I right in having understood from your evidence and that of Mrs. Andrew, which you heard, that you met with no evidence that the periodical examination was regarded as voluntary by the women who had to submit to it?—We got no evidence from the women of that sort.

1454. That it was voluntary?—That it was voluntary.

1455. They all treated it as compulsory?—As compulsory.

1456. The effect upon their minds was that it was compulsory, and that they had no choice?—They stated so universally.

1457. I think, in several cases, your joint evidence was to the effect that they said, "Girls all go; it is voluntary, but it is compulsory at the same time;" language of that kind?—Yes, that was contradictory. There was but one case in which they said, unqualifiedly, that it was voluntary, and that was the *chakla* for native soldiers at Rawul Pindi; but that was for native soldiers, not for Europeans.

1458. And there was a distinction drawn between the case of the women who were for European soldiers and those who were for native soldiers?—There was.

1459. And in regard to the women who were for European soldiers, was not the testimony universal that if they did not attend regularly the periodical examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment?—The testimony was universal on that point.

1460. And then besides that, here is a paper which I put in your hand, the Government General Order, No. 617, Official, which reads as follows: "If a medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment, that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder; the cantonment magistrate, may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in, or re-entering it, without the written permission of such medical officer." That is the rule laid down in this Government General Order. Does that accord with the facts and observations which you have intended to produce before us to-day, as the result of your visits?—It does. At Meerut in the diary and visitors' book, there is a case entered there, of who on 11th January, 1892, was sent to the cantonment magistrates' court, to stand trial under these rules, No. 617, Section 4.

1461. Well now, Section 5 goes on in these words: "If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment, without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days for every breach of the said prohibition." Are you conscious of that rule?—I think I had seen this rule, but it had made no impression on my mind until after our return to England. I think we may have seen it before.

1462. But you would now say of it that that is evident compulsion, would you not?—Yes, evident compulsion.

1463. And the existence of that rule would largely account to your mind for the feeling of the girls that they had no option?—It would. They universally stated that if they remained in the cantonment after leaving the hospital they would be fined or imprisoned, or if they were caught after leaving the hospital they would be fined or imprisoned.

The Witness withdrew.

[Adjourned till Friday, at Noon.]



## FIFTH DAY.

Friday, April 21st, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
Secretary.

MR. JOHN HYSLOP BELL, ex-Journalist, and Justice of the Peace, called in ; and Examined.

1464. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are and have been a journalist, and you reside in Darlington?—Yes.

1465. Were you for many years editor and proprietor of two newspapers published in Darlington?—Yes; I originated the "South Durham and Cleveland Mercury" weekly newspaper, and the "Northern Echo," a daily newspaper; the latter in 1869, the other about 20 years before that.

1466. Are both those papers now published by a Limited Liability Company, of which you are a director?—Yes, that is so.

1467. Let me take you back to the movement, some years ago, in this country, for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act; did you, both as a journalist and personally, take a deep interest and a somewhat active part in that movement?—I did; from very shortly after the commencement of it. At the commencement I was much prejudiced against it.

1468. But you took part very shortly after the commencement of that movement?—I was strongly interested in favour of it; at the first I was much prejudiced against it.

1469. You are a justice of the peace, I think, of Darlington?—That is so.

1470. Of the Borough of Darlington?—That is so.

1471. Have you taken a similar interest in the dealings by Colonial and Indian authorities with similar questions?—Yes; so far as I could obtain information.

1472. Are you familiar with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888, on the subject of the Cantonment Acts in India?—Yes, I remember it well.

1473. Now, in the beginning of November, of last year, did you receive any communication from what is called the British Committee of the Federation for the repeal of all such laws, the British and Continental Federation; did you receive a communication from them on the subject of the investigation which has been made by two witnesses who have preceded you into this subject in the Indian cantonments?—Yes; I did. I was asked if I was willing to go out there, and try to see with my own eyes the existing state of things in some of those cantonments.

1474. With the object of obtaining confirmatory evidence?—If the facts confirmed the evidence; yes.

1475. Confirmatory evidence, of course, of a later date?—Yes.

1476. Their evidence was taken in the three first months, January, February, and March 1892?—

Yes, I had the advantage of reading it carefully on the way, going out to India.

1477. On the way out to India, you had the opportunity of reading their journal, as I understand?—That is so.

1478. And when did you leave London?—I think on the 11th of November 1892.

1479. And their inquiry came to an end in March of that year?—In March of that year.

1480. Where did you land in India?—At Bombay.

1481. And you reached Bombay when?—On the 27th November.

1482. On the voyage out did you prepare yourself for your task by reading anything else except their journal?—I think I read what one might describe as the whole official history of the present state of things; that is to say, I read all the public papers that I could discover immediately before leaving had been published by Government authority on the subject.

1483. Did you study any Indian newspapers?—When I got there I read back some of the press articles, saw what one would call the journalistic view of the controversy.

1484. Did you read both medical and general papers?—Oh, yes; and I sought interviews with medical men—both military and civil.

1485. (*Sir James Peile.*) Did you read the rules under the Indian Act?—Yes.

1486. Published in July 1890?—Would you kindly assist me by a perusal of it before I quote the date of a printed paper.

1487. It is the rules under the new Act of 1889?—No, I encountered, as I will tell you a little later on, a copy of a reference to that statement at one of the cantonments and copied it.

1487\*. You have a copy of it?—I think so, here.

1488. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You heard of this General Order, No. 617, when you were in India, and you read it afterwards; is that what I understand?—Well, I am not quite sure that I said that. What I do remember about No. 617, having read it, is that I read a reference to it, which reference I found in one of the cantonments.

1489. (*Sir James Peile.*) In India?—In India; yes.

1490. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, when you were in India, did you interview a considerable number of people of various positions upon this subject?—Yes, necessarily, I conversed with doctors and military men, and civilians; a good many

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natives—but especially natives who took an interest in public questions.

1491. And a considerable number of people?—Yes; judges, barristers, vakheels.

1492. Members of the Civil Service?—Yes.

1493. Of the Bombay Municipality?—Some members of the Bombay Municipality.

1494. And missionaries?—Yes; fewer of these than one would have expected on a question of this kind. I early formed an opinion that I should seek information chiefly in other directions.

1495. Well, you landed in Bombay on 27th November 1892?—Yes.

1496. And how long did you stay in India?—I left the Hooghly on the 14th of January of this year.

1497. During your stay in India you visited four cantonments; and will you name them in the order of your visits?—In the order of the visits, first, chronologically, was Ahmedabad.

1498. On December the 7th?—Ahmedabad; yes.

1499. Second?—Meerut; on the 17th of December.

1500. Seventeenth or 18th?—Well, the time I arrived was the 17th. If I come to the narrative of what took place, I think I visited the cantonment on the 18th.

1501. Third?—Afterwards Lucknow, and Agra.

1502. Does not Agra precede Lucknow?—Agra, on the 21st; Lucknow, on the 25th of December; I arrived at those two dates.

1503. But the date of the visit to the cantonment, was it December the 23rd?—I think so. Yes, that is so; 23rd December.

1504. And the visit to the cantonment at Lucknow, was that December 26th?—Yes, that is so.

1505. Now, which of these cantonments had been previously visited by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, whose visits have been recorded in their journal?—I think, Meerut and Lucknow.

1506. And the other two were not visited by them?—I think there is no reference in their journal to the other two as having been visited.

1507. Now, will you refer first to those which they had visited, to Meerut and Lucknow; I understand that on the 18th of December 1892 you visited the cantonment of Meerut?—Yes.

1508. Were you accompanied by somebody?—Yes; the Rev. E. S. Busby, who has resided for sometime at Meerut, and whom I met at Delhi, and asked to accompany me there.

1509. What is the Rev. E. S. Busby?—He is a minister of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

1510. And he was living at Meerut?—He was living at Meerut, and was at Delhi, on the occasion when I went there to meet him, at a Missionary Congress.

1511. And did he undertake to act as your guide and interpreter?—He did.

1512. Well, now, what place did you first visit; did you go to the Lock Hospital?—We went direct to the hospital on the ground of the cantonment at Meerut, generally called in the neighbourhood the Lock Hospital, and straightway entered the doctor's room.

1513. There was no difficulty of admission, was there?—No. There was a person in charge, an assistant native doctor; and he was very civil, and opened the hospital room at once.

1514. Then the man whom you saw was the native medical assistant there, was he?—That is so.

1515. And were you permitted to see the register of cases treated in the hospital?—I asked him if I might see the hospital register, and he at once handed it to me, and I opened it, and examined it.

1516. Are you familiar with the nature of the information given from the year 1887 down to the date of your visit, or do you gather it from your inspection there?—I had at the moment no source of information on that subject excepting from looking at the regis-

ters; I found that from the year 1887 up to the moment at which I was present, there had been no change in the form in which the daily and monthly registration proceeded excepting one; one alteration in that period of time.

1517. What was that alteration?—That alteration was that the words "Cantonment Hospital" were substituted for the previous expression, "Lock Hospital."

1518. This document that you inspected—of what nature were its contents?—It was a register such as would be kept for entering, in the columns provided for the purpose, the number of the case, the name of the patient, the alleged disease of the patient, and other details of that kind.

1519. And what was the nature of the cases?—They were all of one character.

1520. All venereal?—Yes.

1521. And the character of the persons?—Well, the change in the register was the only change that had taken place from the time that there was a lock hospital; and, on asking—of course one asked questions of the gentleman in charge of the register—on asking him, he said it was used exclusively for venereal and syphilitic diseases.

1522. You saw no record of any other cases than venereal, did you?—He said it was supposed to be open to patients of both sexes, it is fair to say; but, during the time he had held his position there, only women—and only native women—had been admitted.

1523. Did he say the native prostitutes?—Yes; I think the book itself described the patients as prostitutes.

1524. Did he describe them by any number?—I have taken no special notice of the number column in that book. My impression was that it was simply a serial number adopted for their own purposes in the hospital.

1525. Was this a register of patients treated in the hospital, or a register of women examined in the examination room?—It was the only register of patients kept there, according to the native assistant; and they were all native women.

1526. Was it a register of examinations, or of treatment as patients?—In the column of the register headed "Diseases"—which was parallel with the column headed "Name of the patient"—the diseases were such as "ulcerated vagina," "syphilis," "leucorrhoea," "gonorrhoea"; those were the entries.

1527. And did you notice the length of their stay in the hospital, in those cases, at all?—I did not.

1528. But you inferred, I take it, that such columns stated the disease; that they were diseases under treatment, that these were patients being treated in hospitals, and not a mere record of prostitutes sent up for examination?—Oh, yes; especially as each register, complete in itself, was the register of a month's experience in the hospital; so that, for instance, when a month's record had lapsed, next month it would commence afresh. When February finished, the next month, March, would commence; and they would put in all the names again.

1529. That, in your mind, was a register of the patients, I understand?—Yes, so I understood.

1530. Not of persons simply examined, but of patients under treatment?—That is so.

1531. What did you find this hospital was now called?—The Cantonment Hospital, instead of Lock Hospital.

1532. Did you hear that it had been formerly designated by the latter name?—Yes; the register showed that it had.

1533. The register showed that?—Yes.

1534. It was still reserved exclusively for venereal cases; would you say that?—Yes; during the time of the native doctor's official connection with the place, only women, and only native women, and only for diseases of that kind, had been admitted.

1535. That was what he told you?—Yes.



1536. How long had he held his position?—I think he had only been there six months.

1537. That, of course, was the six months immediately preceding your visit?—Yes; the register went very much further back; back, as I said before, to 1887.

1538. Well, how many patients were there at the time you went?—There were 13 patients, inmates of the Lock Hospital department, when I was there.

1539-40. And their names would be in the register for the day you went there; and, therefore, the register would be a register of the patients?—Yes.

1541. And not of the women submitted for examination?—Yes, and they were all native women.

1542. Did the native assistant tell you who was the English medical man in charge?—Yes; that the English doctor in charge of the native hospital was Dr. O'Connor. He said that he visited the hospital daily, and sometimes on alternate days, and added, in his own phrase, "whenever he pleases, in fact."

1543. And the assistant was certain that none other than venereal diseases were treated?—That is so, excepting what he called syphilitic diseases.

1544. Excepting what he called syphilitic diseases?—He was quite certain that no other diseases, as matter of fact, except those of a syphilitic order, were treated there. That is the note that I took from his lips. He added that other contagious diseases were treated outside, and said that he meant that those suffering from these were out-patients; all other non-contagious cases taken in were treated at the general hospital. He added that to his statement.

1545. Did he say anything about infectious diseases?—Yes; that all that were non-contagious were taken to the general hospital.

1546. All that were non-contagious, and all that were non-infectious?—Well, yes, I suppose; I have no note of the distinction between these terms having been mentioned.

1547. When you entered the ward were there 13 patients there?—There were.

1548. Did you put any questions in the ward to the patients?—Yes; through the interpreter, and I took a note of the answers.

1549. Well, now, was there a very young girl there?—There was a young girl, apparently about 14 years of age.

1550. Did you ask her how she came to be there?—I did; and she stated that she was brought to Meerut with two other girls "by the regiment"; and, on my asking another question, through the interpreter, to make sure of her meaning, he replied, Yes; there was no doubt the girls were brought for immoral purposes.

1551. She did not say that?—That was the interpreter's explanation to me, after rather a pressing examination of the girl.

1552. Had the regiment been some time in camp?—It had been some months in camp, and returned to its quarters some three weeks before, and those girls returned with the regiment.

1553. It came back from the camp to its quarters?—Yes.

1554. Did you address questions to any other of the patients?—Yes; there were two of the young women to whom I addressed questions through the interpreter, and, in reply, they stated that they well remembered the visit, in February last, of Dr. Bushnell and Mrs. Andrew and another married lady. I asked that question; it was rather a leading question, but it did not affect anything more than personal interest.

1555. Whose name they did not know?—They did not know the name of the other married lady. They asked if I knew anything about them, and said they "could not but love these women." That is one of the many expressions of pleasure they used.

1556. Did they refer to the evidence they gave to Y 24265.

these ladies?—Yes; in answer to a question as to whether they had made statements to them, and whether those statements were true, they said what they had said to those ladies was true. There was eager corroboration of that statement, by two or three others, who had evidently understood it well.

1557. Did they tell you whether they had come voluntarily or unwillingly to the hospital?—There was a general declaration that they had come unwillingly to the hospital.

1558. Why did they come?—In fact they said they were compelled to come; and, varying the answer—the question was put in two or three forms—that they were commanded to come by the doctor; in another form, that when they showed reluctance, they were generally told by the officer, "Well, you must either come to the hospital, or leave the cantonment, or get married."

1559. Did you ask them whether they could not leave the hospital of their own accord?—Yes, I did.

1560. And what was their reply?—No, they could not; they would be brought back by the police, was one of the answers. They spoke with apparent honesty of manner.

1561. And did they generally appear to corroborate by their expressions the evidence which any one of them gave?—Yes; sometimes they would do so simultaneously, three or four at a time, and then there would be an eager corroboration on the part of the others standing round. I think the word eager may be understood as describing my own impression of their manner.

1562. And then after this visit to the ward and interview with the patients, I understand you left the hospital?—Yes, that was so. Just after I had left I turned back again to the entrance of the hospital, Mr. Busby with me, of course; I was under the impression at the moment that the note I had taken of the conversation was not satisfactory on one point, and that was to ask, if these women are ordered to leave the cantonment, and do not leave, are they punished. That question was put by Mr. Busby to the women on the door-step, so to speak, of the building, and the reply was that of course they would be punished.

1563. (*Chairman.*) Did you say punished, or banished?—Punished. The native assistant doctor was there; he answered the question really, and he said of course they would be punished, but during the time that he had been there there had been no such case, and therefore no such punishment.

1564. Do you know what sort of punishment he meant; fined?—I cannot speak for it in connection with that particular case, but it does come out in another visit elsewhere; I asked that question and got an answer to it.

1565. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you note on coming out of the premises as described by Dr. Kate Bushnell, an external wall which she mentioned?—Yes; I had a Kodak with me, and took a flash at it, because I recognised exactly from the description in her journal the locality I was in. Then immediately after getting out of the gateway we turned to the right, and round an angle of the road and reached the Sudder Bazar.

1566. Have you got that?—Unfortunately it has not developed satisfactorily.

1567. And that came to nothing?—No.

1568. A short distance from the building did you come to the Sudder Bazar?—That is so.

1569. Did you see several of the public women there?—Yes, there were several when we went into the place.

1570. And whilst you were there standing some little time?—Yes.

1571. Did some person go towards them at the same time that you approached them?—Yes. I had got surrounded, so to speak, by a small party of these women, and had not observed that there was a man present until one suddenly spoke from the ring of the women. He was approaching close to the ring when

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I saw him first. I was afterwards told that he had been there all along, but I had not observed him.

1572. Who did the women say he was?—That he was Ali Bakhs' chaukidar, "Hira's chaukidar," I think was the expression they applied to him.

1573. And what did that mean?—Well, Ali Bakhs was the servant of a Mahomedan of the name of Hira, and this Hira, the Mahomedan, was the owner of the premises in which I then was. I put some questions to the chaukidar.

1574. What was the relation of the chaukidar to Hira, the Mahomedan?—He was Hira's servant for the purpose of collecting rent and so forth.

1575. You said he was Ali Bakhs' chaukidar, and that Ali Bakhs was the servant of Hira?—I immediately corrected that slip of the tongue. The women said "he was Hira's chaukidar."

1576. (*Sir James Peile*.) Ali Bakhs is his name is not it?—Yes; Ali Bakhs' employer they said was one Hira.

1577. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Ali Bakhs is the name of the chaukidar?—That is so.

1578. Did Mr. Busby at your request address some questions to the chaukidar?—Yes; in reply the chaukidar said that the rooms within the cantonment were all let to the women we saw around us. I asked about the rents, and he said the rents of the rooms were from two rupees to six rupees a month.

1579. Were the rents charged to the women themselves?—Yes; and the rents were collected by him, the chaukidar, and regularly accounted for by him to the owner.

1580. Did he say anything about the income tax on the amount of the rent?—He volunteered a statement on that subject. I did not ask the question, but he volunteered an additional statement, to the effect that income tax on the amount collected was regularly paid to the cantonment authorities; and he seemed very anxious to contradict some rumour I had never heard of before, but that he seemed sensitive about as prevailing in the neighbourhood, and so added that "only in this way could it be said that the State participated in the revenue from prostitution." Of course I had never suggested any such idea.

1581. The Sudder Bazar, what kind of a place was it?—A most repulsive looking place; but one does not look for much more. It was a mud building, mud road, mud everything.

1582. Did you look into any of those rooms occupied by the women?—Yes.

1583. And can you describe their general appearance?—They were low cottages, flat-roofed mud-built apartments, open to the front, with a mere aperture for a doorway, that was all.

1584. Did they open to the street, or to an inner court, the doors and windows?—There is a kind of court, but really the court and the street are very much like each other.

1585. Well, then, what furniture did they possess? Little more than a pallet inside. Floor, and footway and roadway, were all sunburned mud, as well as the cottage.

1586. You have said the women crowded round you?—Crowded round; listened to every word that was spoken to them, with intense attention, apparently; they would answer sometimes all at once, and sometimes the person specially addressed would answer, and there would be a ready chorus of approval right round.

1587. Did they in that way speaking together say that they went to the hospital willingly or unwillingly?—They all said they went to the hospital unwillingly; that they hated inspection; that they were obliged to go or leave the cantonment.

1588. Did they tell you themselves that they paid rent?—Yes, they all paid rent for their rooms, each of these women.

1589. And they had no other place to go to?—They said there was no other place for them to go. That the magistrate had caused the rooms to be built

for their special accommodation, and they hated the life they led. They meant the cantonment magistrate clearly.

1590. Did they say anything with regard to the life which they led?—They hated it. Some of them explained with a downcast look that they led that life for mere subsistence; they were ashamed of it.

1591. And that there was no other?—There was no other way open for them. One of them rather pathetically said, "Who would ever look at us after we have led a life like this? There is nothing else in the world for us."

1592. Did they say whether they were still ordered to undergo examination?—They said they were.

1593. They were ordered?—Yes.

1594. And that they hated it?—Yes, one of their expressions was that it was ordered by the doctor.

1595. (*Sir James Peile*.) If they were diseased?—Presumably.

1596. Ordered by the doctor to go to be examined; I wanted to know if that is because they were diseased; he would not order them if they were not supposed to be diseased?—I suppose it would be only by examination that it would be settled whether they were.

1597. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Did you understand that only those soldiers' native prostitutes who were reasonably supposed to be suffering from venereal disease at the moment were sent to examination, or that they all were sent to the periodical examination?—I cannot say that they were all sent to the periodical examination, I cannot say that at that particular place I put a question that would bring out that distinction; I am sure that at another place I did so.

1598. And whenever you have put it what has been the answer?—Would you allow me to postpone that until I come to the exact place where it occurs.

1599. If they refused to comply what happened then; did they tell you?—Yes, they stated that that place had been specially built for them, was the only place in the world that they could go to, and that they would be expelled from the cantonment if they did not go.

1600. (*Sir James Peile*.) Did not go to the hospital?—Yes.

1601. (*Mr. Wilson*.) Do you mean to the hospital as in-patients, or to the examination room for this examination?—I think to the hospital as in-patients.

1602. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Suppose they refuse to comply with what they call the doctor's order to go?—If they refuse to comply, one of the statements was this—"then the policeman either forces them to go to the hospital or reports them to the cantonment magistrate, and well they knew there was no other place in the cantonment in which they would be allowed to live but that one place."

1603. What they felt was not merely that if they left the cantonment they did not know how to get a living?—Oh, no.

1604. But that they did not know where they would be allowed to live?—That is so; that comes out frequently in their statement, that "it is the one place set apart for them"; that "there is no other place in the world for them."

1605. Was there an old woman present whom you noticed particularly?—Yes; just outside the circle of where these women were I saw an old woman crouching over a small charcoal fire under the shaded foot-path of the street. She rose from her crouching position when that last-mentioned answer which I have just quoted was being given, and assented loudly by the many others round about, who were repeating the answer and approving it; this old woman came forward and said that it was quite true, and that she ought to know; she had lost three daughters in the same life and had only one now left, pointing to a young woman in the crowd, who was very profusely adorned with anklets and bracelets and gewgaws of that kind.



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1606. Did they say whether native soldiers came to visit them?—I asked the question distinctly, and they said no native soldiers came to these quarters—only Europeans; and, in answer to a further question, and “only European soldiers.” I also remarked that they meant private soldiers, of course; and they said they meant private soldiers, but two women added that European officers had also come sometimes, when “they had been drinking at their club,” was their expression.

1606\*. Did they say whether native soldiers would be allowed to come?—They said that no native soldiers would be allowed to come; that they were forbidden. And, following that, I asked another question just touching it, to which the reply was that there was no such thing as solicitation of women there; for the women were there, and the men came there to them.

1607. Did they say whether any people visited them except the European soldiers who visited them for that purpose?—One answer was this,—seldom indeed did either a man or woman visit there, but only European men came; and these only European soldiers; and only for one purpose.

1608. Now shall we pass to Lucknow? You reached the Cantonment of Lucknow on the 26th December 1892?—Yes.

1609. Had you a companion with you?—Yes, I was accompanied by an English resident who had lived in the country for over 30 years.

1610. And did he converse freely with the natives?—He spoke to them with great fluency. I had visited the cantonment hospital with him.

1611. At what hour of the day did you arrive?—It was a little after eleven o'clock in the forenoon when we arrived at the entrance.

1612. You have seen the ground plan sketch given in Dr. Kate Bushnell's journal?—Yes; I recognised the locality at once from my recollection of what that ground plan shows.

1613. Did you enter the building?—Yes, I entered by the front gate into the enclosure. I found the door of the inner premises was fastened, and that entrance was not to be had there.

1614. Did you see a native watchman?—A native watchman appeared in the triangular enclosure that is described in Dr. Bushnell's journal, coming from the angle furthest from the gate, and, in an excited way, lifting his hands and shouting against anyone coming in. He seemed as if he were afraid that I was going to force the entrance, because within that enclosure was the door leading into the Lock Hospital, the Lock Hospital forming one side of the enclosure.

1615. And what was the other side?—On the same side as the Lock Hospital presented one side to the roadway was the gateway leading into this enclosure; and from the angle of this enclosure furthest from the gateway the man came seeming as if afraid I was going to enter into the rear of that building.

1616. And did he point to you where you ought to go?—Well, he said that no one could be allowed to go into the hospital without written permission from the doctor.

1617. And did he point out the doctor's house?—Yes, by waving his hand towards the gateway.

1618. The English doctor's or the native doctor's house?—Before that he pointed out where the assistant doctor lived; and the assistant doctor turned out to be a native gentleman.

1619. And his house, was that in the position in which it was placed in Dr. Bushnell's sketch?—Exactly; that is outside the enclosure I had previously entered by the gateway. I had come back through the gateway, and round past the building containing the women; and at the further angle from the gateway of the enclosure was the assistant doctor's house.

1620. Did you go in search of the assistant doctor?—Yes; I went in the direction indicated; and had got to the door of the house which was said to be his residence, and had knocked at the door, when my

attention was called to two figures coming from the direction furthest from the gateway—the direction opposite to that I had pursued in getting to the point at which I was; and one of these was a man who was excitedly calling, and pointing to his companion, to indicate to me that he was the doctor that I was in search of.

1621. What did you understand to be the name of the native doctor?—Dr. Buxh, that spelling was his own spelling.

1622. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) He must have had some other name?—That I cannot speak to yet.

1623. There must have been some other name besides Buxh?—Buxh. Yes.

1624. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did he speak to you?—Before reaching him, I had passed the building where these women were, one window of which was crowded by them. The window was crowded with the faces of the inmates. They were in animated conversation with the interpreter as I was going towards the native doctor's residence, which was well within hearing distance. I repeated to the women some of the inquiries which the interpreter told me he had just been putting to them through the open window. I asked him to put the questions again, and I took a note of the replies.

1625. Will you give us those answers now?—The answers were to this effect: That Dr. Mollah Buxh (that is where the first name comes in, I had it from himself), was the resident assistant doctor; that he visited the inmates, as a rule, every morning at 5 and every evening at 6.40; that he was not then in the place; was probably at the general hospital, which was a long way off.

1626. Did they tell you that he spoke English, or did you understand that afterwards?—Afterwards, when I came to him. I am now repeating the replies I got to questions addressed through the window to these women. This building, outside of which we then stood, was formerly called the Lock Hospital; it was now called the female ward of the cantonment general hospital. The inmates were 15 in number, and they were all young women, with one exception, and that was a child born in the Sudder Bazar. In answer to further questions, they said that, when out of hospital, the Sudder Bazar was the only place in which they were allowed to live. Remembering what I had seen in Dr. Kate Bushnell's Journal, I asked if they knew a person whom they called Itwaria, and several of them said that they knew Itwaria well. She was now to be found in the Sudder Bazar. They said they had all been forced to go into that place, the hospital. If they wanted to go away they might, but where else could they go, except back to the Bazar?

1627. Well, then you passed round, did you, to the door of the assistant doctor's house?—Yes, as I have said; and when there the doctor himself, accompanied by another person, was seen approaching from the general cantonment hospital.

1628. And you introduced yourself to him?—Yes, and told him that the object of my visit was to see for myself what I could properly be shown.

1629. Then you found that he spoke English perfectly?—He spoke admirable English, quite fluently.

1630. And had you no need of an interpreter?—No, and his companion, as well as my companion, fell to the rear, and I joined the doctor, and walked with him to the general cantonment hospital, up the avenue from the place first visited.

1631. Did he tell you who was the chief medical officer in charge?—Yes, Dr. Hamilton.

1632. And he lived at a bungalow some way off, did he?—Yes; he said that Dr. Hamilton was medical officer for the native cavalry, for the Bengal artillery, and for that hospital; that his predecessor was Dr. Ranking, who had been recently promoted, and who he, Dr. Mollah Buxh believed, was now professor of chemistry and chief examiner for the Government in the Medical College at Calcutta. That was his belief.

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1633. Well, now, what did you see at the hospital?—I generally look for the register, but I didn't see one; but I saw a new-looking book, marked the "Visitors' Book," and numbered 13, and bearing on its first page the numerals of the current year 1892.

1634. What entry did you note in that book?—The principal entry in the book was this: "8th August 1892" (I copied it I should say). "I visited this hospital to-day in company with Surgeon Major Hamilton, the officer in medical charge; I was much pleased with the orderly and cheerful aspect of the hospital, and with the neat and tidy way in which everything was kept. W. R. Rice, Surgeon Major General."

1635. Now, what did the assistant surgeon tell you?—He stated that the hospital on its then present basis, was really commenced on the 1st of February last of that year.

1636. The present basis of management?—Yes; he said that, since that time, all the statistics were entered in one book. He meant by that the statistics of the Lock Hospital as well as those of the general hospital. He said, it might be said roughly that since the beginning of 1892 they had begun to work the hospital on the same lines as a civil hospital, eliminating compulsory examination and compulsory admission. The new system had virtually been introduced by Dr. Ranking, who removed henceto Calcutta, on 7th May 1892; I got the date there. I inquired whether such a thing could happen as that a person, suffering from an accident and having an open wound, could be carried into the female ward, which we had just left, for treatment there. Dr. Mollah Buxh replied that such an occurrence was quite impossible. They took the greatest care to keep such cases separate, that their antiseptic arrangements were carefully observed, and the instruments steeped in carbolic acid solution; they ran no risk whatever of that kind. Before I left, Dr. Mollah Buxh said, I must clearly remember, that since the hospital was placed on its present basis—the same expression again—no compulsion whatever had taken place. He also asked me to enter my name in the visitors' book.

1637. Did you do so?—I did, with just a sentence expressing my pleasure to hear that there were no risks of the septic kind at that hospital. I rejoined the interpreter outside after that.

1638. And you went with him to the Sudder Bazar?—That is so.

1639. Did you see any young women there?—Yes, several of the same class of women as I had seen before.

1640. Did you notice a very old woman there?—There was an old woman there, cooking something over a small charcoal fire, just outside the ring of the young women.

1641. And then did some of the young women answer questions put by your interpreter?—Yes. They gathered round just as they had done before at another place, and they readily answered questions that I put through the interpreter to them.

1642. As to inspection?—Well, I took a particular note of these questions and answers. Had inspection been abolished?—"No, no, no." Where does the inspection take place then?—"At the Lock Hospital." When?—"Every Saturday, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon." Who conducts the inspection?—"Sometimes the Native sometimes the European doctor." When did the last inspection take place?—"Last Saturday." How many native women were there?—"The whole of us were there, the dhai as well." About the persons who come here soliciting women; do any natives come?—"No, no natives; natives are not allowed." Who then come?—"The European soldiers." Is there any register of the women kept?—"Yes; they are all registered as before." Are you quite sure of that?—"Yes, yes, yes" (from many voices). Then where are your certificates?—"We have no certificates." How do you know you are registered then?—"We are told we must go as before, but we must go voluntarily." "We are not allowed to

keep papers now; they are all in the hospital." How are you distinguished then; how do they know one from another?—"They know us by the numbers of the houses we live in." Is it correct, that you have no other place to which you may live in but the Sudder Bazar?—"We have no other place but the Sudder Bazar and the hospital." But you go to the hospital voluntarily?—"We go to the hospital; we either must go or leave the Bazar." I also asked if any of those present remembered the visit of a lady doctor about a year ago? They answered, "Yes, yes" with brightened countenances. Some said they would send their salaams to those ladies; others that they were noble sisters, and that they told them all the truth when they were there.

1643. Did you ask for any particular person?—Having asked at the place I had just left at the window for Itwaria, I thought I would ask the same question here. I asked was there any one amongst them of the name of Itwaria? Two or three young women turned towards a member of the group, and with animated gesticulations told her that it was her sister I was inquiring about. Another young woman volunteered to go and fetch this Itwaria. In the meantime the collector of rents had come forward and joined in talking to the women while the colloquy was going on; and he made some remark to my interpreter. On my being informed by the interpreter who he was, and as to what the remark he had made was, I asked him, through the interpreter, a few questions, which he readily answered. He said there were 55 apartments lettable to these women. But eight out of the 55 were then empty, and that some of the tenants of the empty places were now in hospital.

1644. Of the 55?—Of the 55, yes. That the present owner of the property was Selig Ram. I took that down and asked particularly for the spelling of it. Selig Ram was the spelling given to me by the interpreter, and it was stated that he had purchased it from the Government. The landlord paid the taxes, but no ground rent; all land within the cantonment was free. Each woman paid the collector her rent. He accounted for it to Selig Ram, who paid income tax to the Government on the amount received, once a year.

1645. Well, now, after that did that young woman Itwaria make her appearance?—Yes, just at the point when I had had the conversation with this man, she arrived, surrounded by two or three of her companions who were telling her that she had been inquired about, and that her sister, one of the young women present, had explained to them (that is to say to the persons present, that the sister had prevented Itwaria from leaving them all and going away with the English ladies a year ago. This I had from the interpreter. The sister came forward, and vehemently confirmed the statement that had just been made, saying that she had nursed and loved Itwaria ever since she was so high, stooping down and indicating a very low stature with her hand, and how could she ever let her go? Itwaria herself spoke kindly to the girl, her sister, and to those round about her, and seemed to desire some kindly message to be sent to those ladies who had visited them before. She turned from the rest, who had evidently been telling her of the kind messages they had sent, and said would I send her salaam to those noble sisters. My interpreter before we left volunteered a question on his own account: Were they really obliged to live in the Sudder Bazar, and they again said they were.

1646. Well, now, we will pass to your visits to the two other cantonments not visited by those ladies who have given evidence already; on the 7th of December did you visit the City of Ahmedabad?—Yes.

1647. Did you drive over to the cantonment?—Yes; a little after noon on that day. I drove over from the railway station, Travellers' Rest, to the cantonment.

1648. Who was your companion on this occasion?—I was accompanied by a local native gentleman.



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Might I be permitted at this point to say a single word about the use of names in a case like this.

1649. Names are not going to be put in the evidence.—Even a description pointing to the position of a native zemindar is perhaps undesirable. Of course, if he had been an Englishman I would not have thought about it twice; an Englishman can always hold his own in India; but a native is in a rather different position.

1650. You were accompanied by a native gentleman, a zemindar; where did he reside, in that neighbourhood?—In that neighbourhood. His is one of the most considerable families in that part of the country, and he is an owner of land in that neighbourhood.

1651. Did he speak English well?—He was an excellent linguist, speaking English better than the average Englishman. He held the degree of B.A., which he got before he became the responsible owner of his estate, from the college at Ghoozerat. I suppose that will be better known by Indians than it is by me.

1652. Did you make your way to the native infantry barracks?—Yes, I drove right up into the native barracks, as far as I could go.

1653. And did you meet?—I met a private soldier there. After I got out of the gharri with my companion, a private soldier took us to a native sergeant-major, Subadar I think was his name, not his rank.

1654. You mean a native, or an European?—A native sergeant-major, a very intelligent looking man, a non-commissioned officer of beyond middle life; I would guess him to be between 45 and 50 years of age, and nearer 50 than 40.

1655. Did he direct you to the Lock Hospital?—Yes; we walked there over light sandy soil under a very hot sun. It is a small enclosure, surrounded by walls, having a gateway entrance, which was protected by a large dog, which barked loudly at our approach.

1656. Did anyone come to meet you at the gate?—A woman came out of the doorway of a small building on the right hand side of the gate. I asked her, through the interpreter, several questions.

1657. What did you gather from her?—Her name was Lalan Cusambi.

1658. What was her position there?—She called herself head nurse.

1659. Did you not say that a man came at the same time?—A man came from a building on the opposite side, the left hand side of the gateway, almost simultaneously with her coming out of the one on the right hand side.

1660. Did she tell you who he was?—She said he was the policeman.

1661. And did she say that they were the only officials there?—They were the only officials then on the premises. I was very sorry they were. I asked for the doctor, and the assistant doctor. She said the native doctor was Kisin Singh.

1662. Were two rooms pointed out to you on the right-hand side of the entrance?—Two rooms on the one side, and a room on the other side as well. The ones on the right side were said to be occupied by sick women.

1663. And the opposite one?—Was spoken of as the doctor's room.

1664. You did not enter those rooms?—I did not. Chronologically this was my first visit to a cantonment.

1665. Did you ask this head nurse, as she called herself, to explain to you through the interpreter how patients came to the hospital?—I did, and I took down at the moment the reply given through the interpreter to me. I asked her whence and how patients came there. Her reply was this: "Every week the doctor and his assistant inspect the European soldiers; their barracks are a considerable distance off" (with her hand pointed in their direction; they were not, however, at a distance visible to me).

"When any European soldier is reported as suffering from a bad disease, the doctor asks him the name and number, either or both, of the woman with whom he has been. These are given. Then the doctor gets a written order to send for the woman. Then the policeman (the man that was referred to before as the policeman) stood forward at this point, and by both words and nods confirmed the accuracy of the nurse's statement)—"then the policeman is sent to bring the woman to the Lock Hospital. This statement refers to European soldiers only. It is the European soldiers only who go to these women."

1666-7. This is the evidence of the head nurse?—These are still the answers of the head nurse, yes. "As for the native soldiers, if any one of them is found suffering from such a disease, I suppose he is too much ashamed to give any report as to who the woman was, for no more steps are ever taken with them." The statement was made with an artlessness of manner, and was concurred in by the man so openly, that I believe they were both speaking the truth.

1668. And that closed your interview?—Well, yes; under the circumstances of the doctors being absent, I did not feel that I ought to go any further with that matter.

1669. On the 23rd December 1892, did you visit the cantonment hospital of Agra?—Yes.

1670. Accompanied by whom?—At noon of the 23rd accompanied by a member of the municipality of Agra, and part of the way by Pundit Nath, vakheel of the district court.

1671. What is that, pleader?—Yes, vakheel. I visited the cantonment hospital.

1672. Did you meet there the native assistant doctor?—The assistant doctor was present when I got there, and he volunteered a statement at the outset before I had asked a question at all.

1673. What was that statement?—That that hospital was now a purely charitable institution, and that its title was no longer the "Lock," but the "Agra Cantonment General Hospital and Dispensary."

1674. Did you see the official register there?—Yes, I opened and examined it.

1675. What did you read and take a note of in that official register?—I looked at the designation along the head lines of the pages of the book, to see what recent alteration had been made therein.

1676. And what changes with the dates did you make a note of?—Successful headings with the dates I copied as under. The first is, "Monthly list of prostitutes admitted into the Lock Hospital, Agra, for the venereal diseases during the month of September 1888." The first change that had taken place after that, was this: "Monthly register of voluntary prostitutes admitted into the Lock Hospital, Agra, for the venereal and non-venereal diseases during the month of December 1889."

1677. That was a change from the first heading?—Yes, and the next change (I do not mention the dates, because the dates are included in them) was this: "Monthly register of voluntary women admitted into the voluntary venereal hospital during the month of February 1891."

1678. And the fourth?—"Monthly register of voluntary women admitted into the Cantonment Hospital, Agra, during the month of March 1891."

1679. Did you come across any correspondence copied into a book?—Yes; I saw some correspondence, and got sufficient view of it to know what it was about. I was told by the assistant doctor that I must not go into that, but it was as to the diet which women admitted to the hospital should be kept upon during their treatment as patients, and as to the rents of the women's quarters. I noted the words used in describing it by the assistant, but the details I was not permitted to see, and, of course, can say nothing about.

1680. What did the assistant say to you as to the title of this portion of the Cantonment Hospital?—He

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said that, as a rule, this portion of the Cantonment Hospital, formerly bearing the appellation of the Lock Hospital, was still kept exclusively for venereal patients, but there was one patient in now who was of another sort.

1681. As a matter of fact, was this Lock Hospital part of a larger building appropriated to general hospital purposes?—Not part of a larger building.

1682. I want to know whether this Lock Hospital was a building by itself, or part of a larger one?—A building by itself.

1683. What did the assistant tell you as to the name and use of this Lock Hospital?—He said that as to the official register of the hospital an old rule continued to be observed.

1684. Did the assistant tell you that this building was now called, or had formerly been called, the Lock Hospital?—Touching the alterations which had been made in the name of the Lock Hospital, he handed me a book called the circular book, so marked.

1685. What did you gather from an inspection of that book?—It contained a circular from which I took an extract, as it was a circular giving information as to changes that I had never seen in any of the other published papers before. I copied an extract at the time.

1686. Well, give us that extract?—Shall I read it?  
1687. Yes.—

"No. 5301. D. Sanitary Cantonment Hospital, Simla, 8th November 1892.

"From Major-General E. H. H. Collen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government, North-West Provinces and Oudh.

"Sir,—With reference to G. G. O., No. 617, dated the 4th July 1890, I am directed to forward for the information of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the accompanying rules in connection with the Cantonment General Hospital, and to request that the necessary orders may be issued so that immediate effect may be given thereto.

"II. I am to state that the object of these new Cantonment general hospitals is to remove the idea that hospitals of this kind are established exclusively for venereal diseases, by rendering them available for patients suffering from other infectious disorders, such as small-pox, &c., and generally for the treatment of all diseases. It is very desirable the rules should be applied in such a manner as not to give a legitimate cause of offence to respectable persons suffering from contagious or infectious disorders, or so as to lead such persons to believe that they are likely to be used as a pretext for compulsorily sending respectable persons and notably 'parda' females and children suffering from small-pox or cholera to a public hospital.

"The present rules with regard to the treatment of cholera or other epidemics appearing in the Sader or regimental bazar of a station are, that arrangements should be made for the treatment of all cases seeking medical aid, and that a suitable hospital accommodation should be provided for the patients; but that no persons should be forcibly taken from their friends or removed to such hospitals under any pretence whatever. The building for venereal cases should be at some distance from the main building and quite separate from the large hospital. It is obvious, therefore, that the matter is one requiring very careful consideration.

"III. I am at the same time to point out that the new Cantonment general hospitals, as originally proposed, regarding which the general order, No. 617, was published, inasmuch as they will be exclusively reserved for the medical treatment of regimental followers and other residents of military cantonments, and therefore His Excellency the Governor General in Council, after consulting His Excellency

"the Commander-in-Chief and the Surgeon-General, with the Government of India, has decided that management of the newly-formed hospitals should be placed under the control of the military (medical) department, and that consequently the responsibility of appointing medical officers in charge of these institutions should be entrusted to the general officers commanding, subject to the approval of the Commander-in-Chief."

1688. To whom was this circular addressed?—The book was kept for the purpose of copying into it circulars received there, and it had been received there. That is all the information I have on the subject.

1689. (General Sir Donald Stewart.) It was addressed to the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces?—No doubt.

1690. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Did you understand from the assistant whom you saw that the Lock Hospital which you had visited, though not now so called, was still kept exclusively for venereal patients?—Yes, that is so.

1691. Was there any one patient there of another sort?—Yes, I took a note of it as an exceptional case. It was a woman who had been there for nine days with a perforated wound in the back, a native woman; and the doctor, on referring to it, mentioned that although she had been there nine days the pellet had not been taken out yet, and she was amongst the venereal cases.

1692. She had been shot?—It was stated she had been shot accidentally by a sergeant in the lower part of the back.

1693. Was there any other case?—Yes, the other cases were venereal cases.

1694. Was there any other non-venereal case?—No.

1695. Did any non-venereal case come to your notice during these visits?—Only one other beside that now mentioned.

1696. When was that?—One at the Cantonment I first described, with Mr. Busby.

1697. Was that at Meerut?—At Meerut. After having had the conversation with the assistant doctor, which I have given to you, but before putting these numerous questions to the women, the questions and answers which I have detailed, this happened: there was a sudden noise outside the building, a crowd of people came towards the steps, and an English gentleman, half dragging, half carrying a native who had been injured, came up the three steps, and through the room occupied by the women, into the next apartment, which was the assistant doctor's apartment. The native who was brought along had just been run over on the left foot by a sharp-hooped wheel of a vehicle, which had cut him from the outer ankle to the joint of the big toe, and there was a deep gash. This man was carried through the two rooms into another room used for the purpose of bathing and washing patients, and there, on the floor, the native doctor got down on his knees, drew the lips of the wound together, and plastered it over. With that exception, and the case of the perforated wound, no other but venereal cases have been in the lock hospitals I have visited.

1698. I think you have at Darlington been connected with a hospital there?—Yes, I have taken a very active part in connection with our hospital there, and was more impressed with this particular case, as I was alive to the enormous danger of carrying anyone with an open wound into a ward where contagious diseases were being treated. In fact, we should regard such treatment in this country as sentence of death.

1699. So that these were the only cases which were non-venereal, and, according to your judgment and experience, neither of these cases ought to have been admitted?—Certainly not, I think.



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1700. This document, No. 617, that is referred to here, can you identify it?—It is pretty well known now I think.

1701. Known as a general order of a certain date?—Yes.

1702. July 1890?—Yes, I understood an honourable Member asked a question about that before, and (as the document itself was not produced) I waited till this reference to it should come, as I wanted to have it clearly in my mind which paper it was.

1703. Well, now we will come to your visit to Calcutta, before leaving India; did you interview several official persons there on the subject?—Yes, I was very anxious to get hold of copies of any existing Government orders which would throw light upon the nature of the change said to have taken place in the management of the Government hospitals during a stated period, and I went to every department where I could possibly have got any light upon that subject.

1704. To what departments did you go?—I think, first of all, to the Government Printing Department; the same as one would in this country if wanting Government papers.

1705. And what did you ascertain there?—That the Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, I think that is the title, was not obtainable for the last three or four years; that, in fact, that one for the year 1885-86 was about the last we could see, and that had been withdrawn from official circulation; that is to say, that the Government Printing Department had instructions not to let it out even to anyone who wished to buy it at its published price.

1706. Did you obtain any documents from that department?—Yes, but not anything throwing any light upon the intervening period (1888-92). I got, for instance, the official copy of the first Cantonments Act, and so forth.

1707. What other departments did you go to?—I went to the Legislative department. At the office of the secretary to the legislative department, I met the assistant secretary, Mr. Wigley. Mr. Wigley said that, so far as his department was concerned, there was no difficulty whatever, that any papers or information that had originated in that department were perfectly at my service.

1708. Did you obtain any papers from that department?—Yes, Mr. Wigley also volunteered a statement. He said that if I cared he would give me a short history, he having the references at hand, a short and accurate history of what had taken place in the legislative department in reference to this particular matter, and that I would see from that history what were the only documents the legislative department could possibly have to throw further light upon it.

1709. Did he furnish you with that history?—Yes, and I took a note of it, with his permission.

1710. It was already in writing?—No, I took a note of it. He had the references at hand, and there could be no inaccuracy as to the dates and other particulars. He said the history naturally began with the year 1868. The Act 14 of that year (with a copy of which I was furnished), was intended to provide for the better prevention of certain contagious diseases, and was really the Act about which all this agitation, probably known to me, had arisen. That Act was followed up by the Act 26 of the same year, which was passed to enable municipalities in India to provide lock hospitals within the limits of their jurisdiction. These enactments had been in force more or less these 20 years. Then came the Act of 1888, which was passed by the Governor General in Council, acting in his legislative capacity, on the 5th September of that year. That enactment swept away totally Acts 14 and 26 of 1868. And that was all. That was all that the legislative of India had done. There had been absolutely no other Act of the Indian legislature, excepting those he had named, up to the year 1889. The Cantonment Act, 13 of 1889, section 26, clause 21, conferred upon the Governor General in Council,

in his executive capacity, power to make rules for the prevention of the spread of various infectious or contagious diseases within the cantonments, and the appointment and regulation of hospitals or other places within or without the cantonments for the reception and treatment of persons suffering from any disease. And that was all. There had been positively no published correspondence on the subject, of an official character; but some regulations were made under the Cantonments Act last referred to; and these, no doubt, would be published—indeed, they were published—in the “Gazette of India,” 5 July 1890, part I. As to any further details, respecting the working of the hospitals, &c., these could only be obtained at the Surgeon General’s office.

1711. Now that last paper that he refers to, what paper was that?—That is the official “Gazette of India,” containing the regulations made under the last Cantonments Act, and setting forth the regulations themselves. I got duplicate copies of that.

1712. Is that identical with what we call No. 617?—I cannot speak to that question without looking at the documents. I expect that No. 617 is an extract from the “Gazette of India,” of the date now referred to, but I am not quite sure. I could not speak without having the two documents before me.

1713. What other departments did you go to?—I did not at all contemplate going to the Surgeon-General upon this subject, because of his peculiar relationship to the persons I had seen at some of the cantonments; but, as Mr. Wigley said that I could only obtain those papers that I had enquired for by going there, I went there. One of Mr. Wigley’s servants went with me, and left me in the doctor’s presence.

1714. What was the name of the Surgeon-General?—Dr. Rice.

1715. And what was the date on which you saw him?—On the 7th January I got the interview with Dr. Rice at his office, Government Buildings.

1716. Now will you give us an account of your interview with him?—Yes; I announced to Dr. Rice what was the object of my visit. It was to obtain the actual and well authenticated facts. He said with great alacrity that he would be most happy to supply any information in his power, and that if only the facts were wanted there would be some hope of fair play for the poor Indian Government. He said it would be to him a pleasure to explain the whole matter; it so happened that the general hospitals now in operation were the outcome of his own thought. Of course he said he did not wish to put that, which might to some people appear to be an egotistical aspect of the matter, prominently forward. With that reservation, however, he proceeded, “I wish just to tell you simply and plainly what has happened.”

1717. Did you take down this statement of his which you are now beginning to quote, at the moment of the time that he made it?—Yes; I took it down in shorthand, having his full permission to make what use of it I choose.

1718. But that is another question; you took a note of it?—I took a note of it in shorthand and have my shorthand notes preserved—“In deference to the feeling at home—especially as expressed in the House of Commons Resolution, I do not know of what date, but that is easily obtainable—the Government of India determined to adopt a system of voluntary general hospitals, where women should not be compelled to go either for inspection or as patients. You probably know what was the state of things that was to be thereby superseded? After the new Cantonments Act came into force, and under the bye-laws or regulations framed under the authority of that Act, it was provided that any person suffering from any contagious disease, or suspected of being so suffering, should, on representation to that effect being made to the cantonment magistrate, be ordered to be examined, and if certified to be so suffering, then she was ordered to go to the Contagious Diseases Hospital, failing which she would have to leave the

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cantonment precincts. Under the former Act the person was required to remain in hospital until the medical officer should certify that she was free from disease. To put it shortly, if the person failed to do either of two things prescribed—first, to be examined by the doctor, or secondly, if found to be the subject of disease and yet refusing to go into the hospital and there remain until cured—for the first offence a fine was inflicted, and in the event of that not serving then would follow compulsory removal from the cantonment. That was in substance the system formerly in operation, and that was so much objected to. The next thing was, it was found that there were various contagious diseases of women, and of men as well as women, that came under no regulations whatever; and it was represented to the Government of India that a voluntary hospital might very well be substituted for the old Lock Hospital system, and that new hospitals, like the ordinary civil hospitals, should deal with all contagious diseases. So they established the Cantonment General Hospital, by which they completely wiped out all trace of dealing with disease with any specific purpose whatever; the new hospital being laid out on the lines of any ordinary London general hospital, which is established and worked without any reference to this specific question; that is to say, that all diseases, for man and woman alike, will come there. Separate accommodation for females will, of course, be provided, as in all hospitals. A free female ward, like a prostitutes' lock ward, is established, as is done in all hospitals in London—well, in nearly all—all of that general comprehensive character I have alluded to. The purposes of the lock ward differ from the old Lock Hospital in this, that entrance is free and voluntary."

1719. The entrance is free and voluntary: what about the register? Did he say anything about the register; whether a register of them was kept or not?—The quotation continues: "There is no register kept of them when they are diseased; they come and go, have recourse to the hospital or not, as they think well. There is no one to hunt them up for that purpose. There is no coercion exercised. They may remain as long in the hospital as they like until well. When well, they will be dismissed; even if before they are well they wish to leave they can leave, no hindrance is put in their way; none whatever. They are treated exactly as pauper patients would be treated in any other hospital. Well, now, what is the result? The end of it is, that in my very recent tour this autumn I visited some of these hospitals, I addressed the women and asked them whether they were there of their own free will, and they replied, "Yes." I asked them to state whether any restriction was placed upon their leaving the hospital for good whenever they wished to do so, and they said, "No, there is no restriction." I put these women on a solemn declaration, a form of asseveration as binding as an oath, as to whether what they said was true, and they declared that it was, so as to remove the objection of cavillers against the system. It might be said that they gave these answers just to please me. There are many people who will say so, but so far as they knew I was simply a stranger to the cantonment, and no authority whatever. The women's testimony may, therefore, be taken as conclusive. There is not a vestige of the old Lock Hospital system in operation now. For seven years, from 1870 to 1878, or thereabouts, certainly for a period of seven years, I was an active administrator of the old Lock Hospital system. Under that system every woman desirous of practising prostitution in a cantonment was bound under penalty to have a name and residence registered in the cantonment magistrate's office. The Lock Hospital was opened for the very purpose of protecting soldiers visiting these women. A copy of the register was furnished to the medical officer, and if a woman was told to present herself for examination and failed to do so, it became his duty to report the fact to the cantonment magistrate, who took such

notice of it as the law allowed him—perhaps for the first offence an admonition, for the second a small fine, and so forth. Inspection was compulsory. Any woman found diseased at these inspections was compelled to remain in the Lock Hospital till she was pronounced well. If she left before, she was punished by the cantonment magistrate." Dr. Rice remarked incidentally that Lucknow was one of the largest and one of the most important cantonments, and the hospital there was one of the hospitals recently visited by him. In reply to a question as to when the various Lock Hospitals had been transformed in the manner he described, he said the changes had been effected for the most part during his Surgeon Generalship, and that it would be three years on the 29th of March next (1893) since his appointment. I told Dr. Rice that I had applied to the office of the Superintendent of Government Printing in Calcutta for the annual reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, desiring copies of the reports for the years 1885 to 1891 inclusive, and had been there informed that these reports were not now on sale, that they had been withdrawn from circulation, &c. Dr. Rice remarked that he had no control whatever over that department. He supposed he had a copy of his own, and he would gladly have lent his had they been available, but most of his official papers were at his chief office at Simla.

1720. Did you, after taking down this statement of Dr. Rice, inform him of your previous visit to Lucknow?—No.

1721. Or of what you had found there, or of what you had ascertained from the visits of Dr. Kate Bushnell and Mrs. Andrews?—No: I should like to state to the Committee why I did not. I felt, as soon as I was in the room, that as Dr. Rice had official control over persons I had previously seen, it was rather a ticklish question what one's duty was in reference to the information one possessed as affecting them. But I quickly, rightly or wrongly, settled that question in my own mind thus: "You are not at all bound to communicate to him anything that you have heard from his subordinates, and which you have heard from his subordinates for the purpose of carrying home information to England." So, on that particular point, I had my mind, so to speak, closed; and it was very well that I had. But after I had left it occurred to me as a question whether I was not bound to go back and say to Dr. Rice, "Well, really and truly, this information which you have given me is utterly opposed to details that I have from my own observation." But then, again, I settled that question as I had settled the other. The first was a point of convenience; this was a point of principle, that I must not, on any account, give information to him which could lead to his at once asking where I had obtained it, and put him, the superior, on the back of inferior officials whose information had been obtained for a specific purpose by me—namely to bring home the facts in reference to a far superior question than any mere matter of social or military etiquette.

1722. I take it that you felt it would be perfectly impossible to reconcile this elaborate description of Dr. Rice of the change that had been operated in the system within the cantonments, with the evidence already in your possession?—Quite clearly; he contradicts the facts on various points, points of date, points of person, and actual occurrences.

1723. And, therefore, as far as you were concerned, you saw no use in pursuing the subject further with him?—No; observe the main object I had in going to him was entirely frustrated. I went to get, if possible, printed documents, which would be documentary evidence of the change that had taken place. I obtained none of these, and none of any kind from him.

1724. (Chairman.) Early in your examination you spoke of the women being punished in the case of their not leaving the cantonment or going into the



hospital, and I then asked you in what way were they punished, and you said you would explain later on. If you did I was unlucky enough to miss it. Would you mind mentioning what the nature of the punishment would be, fine or imprisonment?—No; expulsion from the cantonment.

1725. I understood that all along; that if they would not go into the hospital they would be expelled from the cantonment. That was the form of punishment that you meant. I thought there was some other form of punishment?—There was something in my mind like this. At the cantonment reached when your question was put I specially asked the assistant doctor what would happen if they refused, and his reply was, "Of course they would be punished, but during the six months that he had been there there had been no such case and no such punishment." The women's statements have since been added.

1726. No; but by punishment you only understand that they would be turned out of the cantonment?—I see no evidence of other punishment in the existing system.

1727. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are not aware then that under the cantonment rules there is no other punishment?—I had it not in mind at the time I was there, or I should have named it.

1728. (*Sir James Peile.*) Have you in your mind the purport of the rules of July 1890; that No. 617 that we have spoken of, you said you had had a copy?—Yes; I have read it, but I would not like to answer any question as to its contents without reference to it.

1729. You have not it present in your mind?—No; it is the habit in a journalist's life that he has under his eye any documentary matter before he deals with it. This habit has an effect upon the memory.

1730. The purport of it is that if a person is suspected or known to have any infectious disease they must first go to the hospital; if they refuse to go to the hospital, or having gone they leave it before the medical officer has pronounced them free of this disease, the cantonment magistrate can order such person to remove from the cantonment; he does not punish them, but turns them out of the cantonment?

—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1731. There is a punishment, however, of fine and imprisonment, when a person so prohibited comes back into the cantonment?—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1732. You see there is no punishment for simply refusing to go to the hospital or leaving it too soon; they are merely turned out of the cantonment?—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1733. But if they come back again and break that prohibition, they are liable to fine and imprisonment?—That is so.

1734. I wanted to ask, is that consistent or not consistent in your opinion with what the women at Lucknow and Meerut said?—When what they said is qualified by the statement of the fact that no such case had occurred.

1735. No such cases of punishment?—No such case as expulsion from the cantonment; when that is taken into account it is consistent.

1736. Did you on any occasion meet with any register of prostitutes simply as a register to give their names and residences as prostitutes?—The only registers I saw were the hospital registers. [Witness desires to refer to his description of these registers as showing the character of patients and diseases dealt with in the hospitals visited.]

1737. Did you find any evidence of regimental regulations or regulations by any authorities for the use of prostitutes in cantonments; any documents, I mean, or orders?—No, my great quest was to get hold of any orders which had been issued during those three years, but I was unable to obtain them from any department whatever.

1738. You met with no evidence that any such regulation was in force?—I was told that there were such regulations, but I have not seen them.

1739. Told by whom?—The first time I asked Sir Edwin Collen on the subject he said that he had not the slightest doubt that he would be able to present me with a *précis* showing the nature of the orders which had been issued to bring this new hospital system into operation, and the dates of those orders.

[The Witness withdrew.]

#### Major General NEWMARCH, and General Sir DONALD STEWART, Examined.

1740. (*Chairman.*) PERHAPS this would be a suitable point to get on the Notes a precise definition of a cantonment?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) This is the definition which is in the Military Regulations: "A military cantonment is, as its designation implies, a locality set apart primarily for military and medical officers, chaplains, soldiers, subordinates attached to the troops, and the officers and subordinates of all departments connected with the housing and supplies of the troops, for whom houses, situated within such limits are by priority of right, available." 1741. That definition says nothing about the system of law in force?—The rules are all here, if the Committee would like to see them.

1742. Would you say in your own words what your opinion of the system of government there is; in what respect it is differentiated from the Government of the rest of India; in what sense is the government of a cantonment peculiar to a cantonment?—I do not know that I can answer that question off-hand; it is subject to these regulations, that is all. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) The general law prevails in a cantonment as it does elsewhere, but for the good of the inhabitants in a military cantonment, under the Cantonment Act the commanding officer has certain powers to deal with breaches of what are called cantonment rules framed under that Act, such as the maintenance of roads and bridges, and conservancy regulations affecting com-

pounds, bazars, water supply, and so forth. Inside the cantonment there are strictly defined regimental limits, and the commanding officer of the regiment is responsible for the cleanliness of his own lines and regimental bazaar. The Sudder Bazaar is under the cantonment magistrate and the officer commanding in the cantonment.

1743. (*Chairman.*) As respects our present inquiry, what is the difference between law in the cantonment and law outside it?—None.

1744. Do you mean, would it be possible anywhere, not a cantonment, for any official to order a woman to be examined or go away?—That I cannot say; in a city I suppose it would not.

1745. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Excuse me for a moment. When you say there is no difference in the law inside a cantonment and out, is that quite correct?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) None as regards the general law.

1746. Except the difference created by cantonment rules?—Issued under the Cantonment Act.

1747. Of course this also; but, as far as the soldiers themselves are concerned, they are under military law?—(*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Certainly.

1748. (*Chairman.*) These women, if they are living in a cantonment, are subject to a jurisdiction to which they would not be subject if they lived elsewhere in India?—Yes, in regard to cantonment regulations framed under a particular Act.

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1749. That is to say, if they live in the cantonment they place themselves under a system of rules which would not obtain outside a cantonment?—Yes; every civilian who lives in a cantonment must submit to cantonment rules.

1750. So I understand. You mean that a civilian man residing in a cantonment would subject himself to rules by which, if his conduct was considered detrimental to the interest of society in the cantonment, he could be turned out?—Only if he committed breaches of cantonment regulations.

1751. Then there is some difference between the treatment of a man and a woman, because a woman can be turned out in this case.

1752. (*Sir James Peile.*) Under this special regulation?—(*Major-General Newmarch.*) Under the rules issued under that Act, not under any other law.

1753. (*Chairman.*) I mean, does a woman residing in the cantonment subject herself to some more coercive jurisdiction than could be applied to a man residing in a cantonment?—No.

1754. I thought in the one case she could be turned out and a man could not?—A man could be turned out under that Act.

1755. Persons living in the cantonment place themselves subject to that Act, and are subject to certain coercive jurisdiction that would not apply elsewhere?—Yes.

1756. When I say "person," that applies to both sexes; a woman would not be subject to a more coercive jurisdiction than a man?—A woman would not be under any more coercive jurisdiction than a man.

1757-8. Then it does come to that, that the man could be turned out?—Under the rules issued under that Act. What I meant was that there were no general powers of expulsion from cantonment, except under this particular rule about the contagious diseases.

1759. And that a woman could not be turned out, unless she was suspected of contagious disease; and

a man could not either?—(*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) No, you could not turn out either, except for breaches of the law affecting cantonments.

1760. Not for any other misconduct, what I call police misconduct, of any kind?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) No, that is the point.

1761. So far as they are suspected of disease, they are both on the same level, and subject to be expelled?—Certainly.

1762. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But differently treated, as matter of fact?—That is the point the Committee has to consider.

1763. You make no statement on that subject?—I make no statement but as to the law.

1764. (*Chairman.*) I merely asked these questions in order to leave in the minds of the readers of the evidence a fair notion of what a cantonment is, and how it is distinguished from any other place not a cantonment. Am I right in stating the case thus, that a person, man or woman, who lives in a cantonment in India, by doing so, subjects himself, or herself, to a coercion in respect of these contagious diseases, which he, or she, would not be subject to if he, or she, lived outside the cantonment?—I think so.

1765. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I ask if I understand rightly the land in the cantonment belongs to the Government?—(*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes.

1766. They permit houses to be built there, or other buildings, as it may be?—Yes.

1767. Subject always to the convenience of the military authorities?—Yes.

1768. That is to say, if any person builds a house there, it is really on the understanding that it is in some way to conduce to the general convenience of military purposes, and I understand that if a house is let to a resident, if I were to go and take a house in the cantonment, I take it subject to the understanding that I must turn out if it should be wanted for an officer for military purposes?—Yes, under the rules.

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL called in, and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL further Examined.

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1769. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Dr. Kate Bushnell, you sent to me a more detailed list, did you not, of the records that you inspected, and which you think, if they were produced before this Committee, would corroborate your evidence?—Yes, I did.

1770. The same as the original one, but in greater

detail?—In rather more detail—rather more definitely defined.

1771. That is the only difference?—That is the only difference.

1772-3. (*Chairman.*) Only for the purpose of facilitating the reference this list is a little more specific?—Yes.

The Witnesses withdrew.

[Adjourned.]



## SIXTH DAY.

Friday, August 4th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
*Secretary.*

GENERAL LORD ROBERTS, V.C., G.C.B., called in and examined.

1774. (*Chairman.*) My colleagues and I who have been conducting this painful inquiry consider ourselves very fortunate in the accident that we have in England at the present moment so distinguished an Indian official as yourself, and one whose evidence on this distressing subject must carry so much authority. We should probably in any case have asked the favour of your attendance here, but we were the more emboldened to do so because we saw that you had been approached on the subject by the editor of one of the newspapers, and had given your views. I should say, with regard to the time when we asked you to come here, that we were very anxious to consult your convenience. Of course, it is not an easy part of the year to get anybody together; everybody is tending in some opposite direction, and we could not ask you sooner because the evidence which we understood that you wished to have delivered before you were examined only arrived from India three or four days ago; and Mr. Stansfeld has very kindly come up, at some inconvenience to himself, from the country because we were anxious not to interfere with your movements in the direction of Scotland. All the questions I ask you will be of rather a general character, and I do not myself propose to ask you any very detailed question, but in the first place I may say this, as being a member of the Supreme Government of India, I suppose we may take for granted that everything in regard to cantonment regulations which was done in India would be under your official cognisance?—Yes, certainly.

1775. And it was on the strength of that official cognisance and official knowledge that you made the statements to the editor of the "Christian Commonwealth," or whoever he was. I mean you spoke from your official knowledge?—Yes. I do not remember what the questions were now, but what I told Mr. Stead I believe it was—

1776. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) No, it was not Mr. Stead; the "Christian Commonwealth"?—Mr. Stead did come to me at one time, and I said, I preferred not to be cross-questioned in these matters, as they had been referred to the Government of India, and as I had been a member of the Government of India I would rather wait till the Report was received from the Government of India, when I would be prepared to answer any questions which Mr. Russell's Committee might wish to put to me.

1777. (*Chairman.*) I had purposed to ask you, by way of shortening the examination, if you would allow us to take your answers in this printed interview in the "Christian Commonwealth" as being your evidence here but you do not commit yourself?—

No, I do not. Mr. Stead came to me first, and this gentleman came to me afterwards, and I prefaced my remarks to him by saying that I preferred to wait till the Report by the Government of India was received, as I understood from the India Office that it had been sent out to the Government of India for inquiry.

1778. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Mr. Stead has not published a report?—I told this gentleman the same as I had told Mr. Stead; I was not aware that anything I was talking to him about would be published.

1779. You are not familiar with the system of interviewing?—I was not.

1780. (*Chairman.*) Well then, Lord Roberts, without referring to the printed matter there, I will put a question or two that occurs to me, some rather general questions. Of course you were aware, officially aware, of the Resolution of the House of Commons on this subject, carried in 1888?—Yes, of course.

1781. And you were conversant also with the steps which were taken in India to carry that Resolution into effect?—Certainly. I was in India when the Resolution arrived, and in consultation with the Viceroy it was decided that we should look over the rules then enforced and see what orders were necessary for changing these rules to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and it was done. Almost immediately afterwards orders were issued, in the sense of the Resolution, and as far as I am aware those orders had the desired effect at the time. I have now read the Government of India's despatch, and I have also read the Report of the Committee, Dr. Cleghorn's Committee, and I have been much interested in reading both these documents. I agree with the Government of India's despatch; in fact, if I had been a member of the Government I would have signed that despatch. It entirely deals with most that I was cognisant of. I read it, I may say, with great satisfaction as regards the action in India in meeting the Resolution of the House of Commons, and no one can regret more than I do that in any way there should have been any shortcomings in carrying out the instructions which were issued immediately on receipt of the Resolution of the House of Commons to give effect to the Resolution. I think that the Government of India has explained in one of the paragraphs the reason why there have been sundry shortcomings; and as regards myself, I can say that when each of these came under my notice, orders were invariably issued in view to their being remedied. I travelled about every winter, and I always inquired

General Lord  
Roberts.

4 August 1893.

General Lord  
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how the rules were worked in the different stations and hospitals. The last winter I went round, in 1892-93, certain matters connected with the revised Regulations were brought to my notice; after the necessary inquiries had been made, I issued an order in July 1892. This was the last order I issued on the subject; and I am glad to find from the Report of the Committee that that order practically removed all the shortcomings that had previously existed. These shortcomings, I think, were chiefly the result of the orders being misunderstood or misinterpreted; or, as I found in some cases, these were owing to new regiments having come to the country, the officers of which did not understand what orders had been issued. The staff, too, in India, is very often changing, and officers have to be put into positions, as a temporary arrangement, who previously have had little experience in carrying out orders. I found that that was in a great measure the cause of the shortcomings. There was no great blame attaching to anybody. It was owing to circumstances which were scarcely under control. There was one other reason which, I see, the Government of India notices, and which is really, I think, perhaps the most powerful reason why there were at the commencement of the new order of things slight shortcomings. Natives of India live guided by habit and by custom, and this makes it very difficult to carry out any change. It was certainly not the case, as the Committee apparently imagine it was, that the local authorities did not wish, or did not intend, to carry out the orders issued in compliance with the Resolution of the House of Commons. I am sure throughout the country there was every wish to give effect to it, and I had, of course, myself quite determined that it should be given effect to. In fact, in the very last memorandum I ever wrote before leaving India I referred to that point. I have the memorandum in my pocket, and I will read the expressions I used if you will allow me. It is dated the 1st of April, and I left on the 8th. The paragraph I allude to runs as follows:—"Time will show whether venereal disease can be materially reduced by the establishment of cantonment hospitals where complaints of every kind are dealt with, and where efforts are being made by gentle and considerate treatment to induce the voluntary attendance of sufferers from this class of disease. At all events, it is our obvious duty to follow the policy which the Home Government has laid down, and on the score both of humanity and the well-being of the Army to try every means of lessening the disease and its terrible effects."

1782. What you have now said really forestalls the answer to the question which I was going to put to you, which was this: that, from your official position in India, and your experience, you are able to say that there was a full and *bond fide* intention, on the part of the Government of India, to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, irrespective of what they might think of the wisdom of it?—Most certainly.

1783. And if any deviation from what the House of Commons laid down can be proved and established, you would say, I think, it is not due to any indifference to the subject on the part of the Government of India, and that it is still less due to a deliberate intention to defeat the House of Commons; but that it is due merely to a failure by subordinate officials to carry out orders from the Government?—Most certainly. On the part of the Government there was no doubt; there was no question. The Viceroy frequently spoke to me about it; and everybody was clearly of opinion that this was a Resolution, and whether we liked or whether we did not like what it embodied, that we were bound to carry it out. This was actually done. With subordinate officers there may have been shortcomings; but I should be very sorry to think that they did not intend to carry out the orders. As I have told you, I think the orders were misinterpreted or misunderstood; and from this

cause, and from various causes connected with India, which it is almost impossible to explain, there were shortcomings at the commencement of the change; but from time to time, as these came to notice, they were always corrected without any delay.

1784. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Lord Roberts, I must premise by saying that, owing to unavoidable absence from town, I have not even read the Commissioners' report, and therefore I am at a disadvantage; and this meeting is a hurried meeting, therefore my disadvantage is double, and I may not be able to put my questions as clearly as I should wish; but I shall put them as well as I can. Now, with reference to a remark that you have just made, you referred to one explanation of the intentions of the Indian Government with reference to the Resolution of the House of Commons not being thoroughly carried out in some instances; you have referred to what you call the habits of the Indian people which render them averse to the conception of change; a thing once established they adhered to?—My reply is that it is very difficult to eradicate the habits of the natives; in fact, the whole country is a system of custom, of habit.

1785. Then, would you tell us, with reference to that proposition, what means were officially taken to inform the Indian people of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and of the new rules intended to give effect to that Resolution?—Orders were published in the same way that military orders are published, they go to the generals of divisions and districts, and from them are communicated to the officers in command of regiments and to the staff, and the people who are concerned. I do not say they are published specially to the people of India; I am only speaking of the people whom this subject concerns.

1786. Then to your own knowledge, were any special steps taken to make the Resolution known, and the proposed modification in the system consequent upon the Resolution to the women concerned?—The orders were issued in the usual way, and the people concerned must have been told what these orders were; that they were no longer to be examined; they were no longer to be made to go into hospital or to stay unless they wished; I have no doubt this was done.

1787. But as a matter of fact?—As a matter of fact, I believe the orders were generally carried out; why they were not always I have already explained. In some of the hospitals I visited, no women had been treated for venereal during the year.

1788. What date?—My last visits were made in December 1892 and January 1893.

1789. Are you prepared, on your own knowledge, to traverse any statements of fact of our witnesses. You have read, I presume, the evidence of the two ladies, the American missionaries?—Yes, I did look it through.

1790. Are you, of your own knowledge, based on your comparatively recent visitations, prepared to contravene any statement of fact on their part?—I can certainly say, that last year when I went round those things that they complain of did not exist.

1791. Those?—The complaints they made did not exist.

1792. What complaints; I do not quite follow you. What complaints may I ask?—I mean the complaints alluded to in the report signed by Mr. Hbleston, Dr. Cloghorn, and Maulvi Sami-Ullah Khan. I did not, of course, visit every hospital.

1793. I will put my question in a more definite way to make it more understood; I am not now referring to hearsay evidence, to what they were told for a woman; I am speaking of facts which came within their perception, the places they visited, the chaklas, the hospitals; whether they found any patients in the hospitals or not. You have read their statements, have you not?—I have read the statements made by the ladies. No doubt in some hospitals women were to be found; in others, again, there were none.



I found some at Lucknow, and at Rawal Pindi I found none.

1794. Whatever the truth may be with regard to their evidence, as far as you are personally concerned I understand that you are not prepared, from your own experience, to controvert any statements of fact on behalf of these witnesses?—I do not remember the facts stated by the ladies sufficiently accurately to enable me to give a direct reply to your question; but taking the statements as enumerated by the Committee in the “summary of conclusions” of the report, I am prepared to say that I believe the replies to these statements to be correct.

1795. What paragraph of the Committee’s Report is that that you refer to?—Paragraph 14 of the Report of the Committee, page 42.

1796. What paragraph?—Paragraph 14. They deal with all the statements made by the ladies, if you will look at that page.

1797. (*Chairman.*) Summary of conclusions?—Yes. They say: “We shall take the individual allegations therein contained in the order in which they occur, and affirm, contradict, modify, or explain each one, following, as far as possible, the language in which it is stated.” All I can say in reply to your question is, that I agree with the opinions expressed by the Committee.

1798. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) General Roberts, I must refer you to the particulars of my question. You told us of some visitation of yours approximately near the time of these ladies’ visits?—I am talking about 1892–93, my last visit.

1799. I thought you said 1891–92?—No, 1892–93.

1800. Your visit, then, was about a year later than their visit?—Yes, and in the meanwhile fresh orders had been issued in July 1892.

1801. What I asked you was whether, out of your own personal knowledge consequent upon those visits, you were prepared to refute any statement of fact upon the part of those ladies, to your own knowledge?—I have stated I agree with the opinions expressed by the Committee, and some of these, I notice, refute the statements made by the ladies.

1802. I understand you endorse the summary of the conclusions of this Commission consequent upon the whole of their examination?—Yes.

1803. But that you cannot base this upon your personal knowledge as to the period of visits to which you refer?—I beg your pardon.

1804. You could not possibly base that upon the mere strength of your observation during the visit?—No. I was reading this over; had I been a member of this Committee, from what I know, I should willingly have signed this summary of conclusions.

1805. Yes, but my question to you was whether you were prepared, upon the strength of your own observation, during those visits to which you have referred, to refute any of the statements of fact. I do not say the opinions, but the statements of fact laid down by the witnesses?—Where the Committee refute the statements, I would refute them.

1806. Lord Roberts, you cannot possibly, from your own personal knowledge of those visits of yours, justify supporting the summary of the conclusions of this Commission?—My opinion is, that the Committee has stated correctly the true state of the case, as regards the carrying out of the orders issued, consequent on the resolution of the House of Commons. I have not read the ladies’ statements over for some time, but, as I have said before, I believe these statements have been correctly dealt with by the Committee. I could not answer that.

1807. From your own experience you cannot traverse any statement of fact on their part?—I cannot without having the fact laid before me.

1808. (*Chairman.*) You cannot at this moment, without having it laid before you?—No.

1809. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I do not want to commit

you to an opinion from which you cannot withdraw at any time?—No.

1810. But at this moment you are not prepared, from your own personal experience, to refute any statement of fact, so far as they are concerned?—

1811. (*Chairman.*) Because you have not got the statements of fact that they make fairly before your mind?—That is my answer, yes.

1812. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, allow me, then, to go back a little. We know, and you have told us already, that, of course, you are as familiar as any man to-day with the state of things in regard to this question which we are studying before the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888?—Yes.

1813. I want you kindly to follow me through a number of questions which I wish to put with the view of enabling us clearly to understand what were the essentials, in fact, of the system at that date. Then after we have done that we will come, if you please, to consider the changes which have been since made. Now, as to the main features of the system before the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888, one was, I take it, was it not, the segregation, and residence in appropriate quarters called chaklas, of women reserved for the exclusive use of British soldiers. That was the system?—Certainly there was a place; yes.

1814. They were all segregated together, and residing in certain chaklas, and they were for the exclusive use of British soldiers; they were not allowed to be visited by native soldiers?—The women were, in all probability, visited by natives, though not by native soldiers; I much doubt if this could be prevented; but they were there for the use of British soldiers.

1815. But it would have been against the rules?—I am not aware of any rules. There was no doubt a regimental practice.

1816. It would have been against the practice?—Against the practice.

1817. And against the fact; as a matter of fact they were only to be visited by British soldiers?—I do not say that. I think the Committee’s Report states that they do consort with natives as well as British soldiers, although that was not the reason of their being there.

1818. As I understand, the intention of the system was that they should be reserved for British soldiers?—There is no doubt they were there for that purpose.

1819. Well, then, another feature of the system was their registration?—Yes.

1820. They were registered?—Yes; I cannot say as to the details, but they were there for the purpose of being used by British soldiers.

1821. You can answer these questions just as easily as you can express your general concurrence in the summary of the conclusions of the recent Commission?—No, I do not think I can. If you take any point, and ask me, I will reply. I believe there was registration.

1822. I propose to take you point by point; well, there was registration?—Well, there was a certain number of women? I am not aware whether a certain number was always kept up or not; the women had, I believe, numbers; they were kept in that particular place generally for the use of European soldiers.

1823. And there were records of those numbers?—Well, I never saw any.

1824. You did not see them?—No.

1825. Did you ever see a registration ticket?—No.

1826. Well, we can show you one. You have no reason to doubt, have you, that the women were registered, and that registration tickets were issued to them?—I have not; very likely that is so.

1827. I do not wish to pin you to greater knowledge than you have. In your position you cannot have knowledge of every detail?—I never visited these places or saw them at all.

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1828. Then another essential of that old system was the periodical examination?—Yes.

1829. And what was the object of that periodical examination?—I presume to see whether they were healthy.

1830. To see whether they were healthy, free from disease?—Yes.

1831. And if they were found to be healthy, what followed?—I suppose they were let go.

1832. They were let go, and returned to the chakla?—Yes, I suppose so.

1833. And if diseased?—They were put into hospital.

1834. They were detained, because they would be examined, in all probability, in the same building?—Yes.

1835. They were detained in the hospital till cured, and then they were released?—Yes.

1836. Well, then there were penalties, were there not, for disobedience to the rules of this system?—I cannot say; I never heard of any penalties.

1837. You never heard of any penalties; I am referring to the old time?—No, I never heard of any penalties. I must tell you that before the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 came out, I never knew much about the details of this system at all. When the Resolution of the House of Commons came out, we examined the cantonment rules, but these had nothing to do with regimental arrangements.

1838. Well, now, that system was administered under certain rules. This is a return which Mr. James Stuart obtained in 1887, in fact before the Resolution of the House of Commons; and here is a copy of the rules in force under Section 19, clause 7, of the Madras Act of 1866: "Extract from Rules and Regulations for Military Cantonments in Madras Presidency, under Clauses 4 to 11 of Section XIX. of Act I. of 1866." The sections of these Acts dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases are, in substance, identical with the corresponding sections of Madras Act I. of 1866; that is, the India Act III. of 1880 (Cantonment Act), Bombay Act III. of 1867 (Cantonment Act). Therefore the Madras Act was the precedent, and we have here Rule 3 in Chapter 5, which was adopted under the Act of 1888: "The public prostitutes in every military cantonment to which these rules have been declared by Government to be applicable shall be divided into two classes, viz., 1st, public prostitutes frequented by Europeans; 2nd, public prostitutes not so frequented." So that there was that practice to which I have referred?—Yes.

1839. (Chairman.) But if I may interrupt you, as far as your general observation or information goes, you do not think that rule was strictly observed.

1840. (Mr. Stansfeld.) No, but before 1888; I did not understand Lord Roberts to deny that it was not strictly observed before 1888?—I say generally it was so, but I gather from this Report of the Commission, and I believe it is the case too, from my knowledge of the natives, that they did not strictly confine themselves to European soldiers.

1841. (Chairman.) Mr. Stansfeld is asking you about what has occurred since 1888, and I was asking you before 1888, before the alteration in the rules?—Yes.

1842. (Mr. Stansfeld.) No, I was asking what was the state of things before 1888. Well, we get it here. Here is Section 9: "A register of public prostitutes shall be prepared in the form prescribed in Schedule A. In these rules, or in such other form as Government may from time to time prescribe, and shall be kept in the office of the cantonment magistrate, or the officer charged with the execution of these rules. The register shall, from time to time, be revised, so that it may at all times show correctly all public prostitutes residing in the cantonment. A copy of the said register, and of all the entries and alterations which may from time to time be made therein, shall be furnished forthwith to the officer in charge

of the Lock Hospital, who shall at all times keep in his office a register corresponding in all respects with the register prescribed in the last preceding rule. When any public prostitute applies to be registered under these rules, the abstract of regulations prescribed for her observance, according to the form given in Schedule C. of these rules, or in such other form as the Local Government may from time to time prescribe, shall be read and explained to her; and if she shall signify her assent thereto, she shall be registered." And you have no reason to suppose, that that rule was not fairly observed?—No.

1843. Then there is Rule 14: "Every registered prostitute shall be furnished with a printed ticket, to be renewed annually, in the form prescribed in Schedule B. of the rules, or in such other form as the Local Government may from time to time prescribe. She shall also be furnished with a printed copy in English and inter-vernacular language of the abstract of regulations prescribed for her observance, and referred to in Rule II." You have no reason to suppose that that rule was not fairly observed?—I never saw the ticket; I suppose the rules were carried out.

1844. Rule 16: "Every registered prostitute shall present herself with her ticket for medical examination at the Lock Hospital or other place appointed for the purpose, at such times, not less than once in every fortnight, as may be appointed by the officer in charge of the Lock Hospital, unless she shall have been specially exempted by such officer, or by some person duly authorised by him, or by the sub-committee, from so presenting herself." You have no reason to suppose that that rule was not fairly observed?—I suppose it was fairly observed.

1845. You are not able to say that that rule was not practically in operation before 1888?—Yes.

1846. Well, now, that is an elaborate system which no doubt must have had a definite object; how would you define what was at that time the understood and accepted object of that system?—I suppose to preserve a certain number of women, that they should be available for European soldiers.

1847. And in a healthy condition?—Yes.

1848. (Chairman.) May I here again put my own question. The question I asked you was that I understood you to say that although the rule and theory was that they should be kept for European soldiers, you did not feel confident that that rule was always observed; my impression is, that natives occasionally visited these women, because the latter are much more likely to be intimate with natives than with European soldiers. This would not be peculiar to this class of women.

1849. There was a question present to my mind in connection with this, and it arises from the extraordinary difference in the amount of disease of this kind among native soldiers and European soldiers?—I do not think that these women were visited by native soldiers, who come from a very different class, but I should think that amongst their own class they would have friends and associates.

1850. You do not think that the native soldiers became their customers?

1851. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Not customers.

1852. (Chairman.) Their customers, those who resorted to them for prostitution, were of a different kind?—I mean their own friends, amongst their own people, but they are not the class of people that native soldiers come from at all. Native soldiers are almost all married, and they certainly have very little disease amongst them. I should say a native soldier is the last person to go to a place frequented by a European soldier.

1853. When you spoke of men, you meant men of their own class?—Yes. I see it here mentioned that it would be impossible to say that they did not do so; I think they very likely did so.

1854. (Mr. Stansfeld.) I think you told us here



that the object of the system of examination was to ascertain that the women were healthy?—I presume so, yes.

1855. Now that was not a system, was it, in your opinion, likely to lead to the diminution of sexual vice on the part of European soldiers?—I do not think that is a question that I should be called upon to answer. I am here ready to answer questions whether these rules are being carried out.

1856. You do not wish to answer that question?—I do not see that it is our business at all. I understood I was desired to attend this Committee to give evidence as to whether the Resolution of the House of Commons had been carried out in the spirit and letter. That is what I am prepared to come here and answer.

1857. You do not wish to express any opinion?—I would rather not. I may agree with you perfectly; but I do not think it is a matter to express an opinion about.

1858. I have no wish to press it at all. But, now, with regard to the question of the effect of a system of this kind upon the soldiery; I think I may fairly put this question to you: The first effect of it would naturally be, would it not, to induce the young soldier to believe that he could indulge himself with safety to health?—The system was in force many years before I went to India. I imagine it owed its origin to the desirability of preventing British soldiers getting diseased from mixing with the women of the country, as so frequently happens now, and also from getting into trouble with the natives generally. I feel sure that the system was not established to let soldiers think that they could have sexual intercourse with impunity.

1859. I was not referring to the original idea. I take it the original idea must undoubtedly have been to guard their health?—And also I should think—

1860. And also very likely to keep them out of trouble?—To keep them out of trouble.

1861. But my question is quite a different question; and you can answer it if you like, because it is not a medical professional question put to a soldier; but it is this: What effect upon the soldier himself do you think that this provision was likely to have? Would it not tend to induce him to believe that he could indulge with safety?—No; I think I would rather not answer that question. You must understand, by my not answering, I do not say I do not agree with you. That is not a matter at issue as far as the present is concerned.

1862. I do not wish to press that question if you do not wish to answer?—No.

1863. But, I gather, then, speaking of facts only from your experience, that a periodical examination was absolutely indispensable?—I imagine so.

1864. I think it has been called the keystone of the system?—I do not remember that.

1865. I think it is called so in some of these documents that we have before us. However, it would be a very applicable term to the view in which it was regarded?—Yes.

1866. And that periodicity would have to be ensured, and it could not be ensured except by some method of compulsion?—No.

1867. I take it that that is your opinion?—No; of course it could not.

1868. I understand that is your opinion, and that is the opinion of your successor in office?—Yes.

1869. Well now, did that system, as administered before 1888, satisfy you as Commander-in-Chief; did you desire its extension?—You mean its continuance or its extension? No; I certainly did not desire its extension. I should have been very glad to have had it put a stop to.

1870. I have here a circular memorandum of 17th June 1886, of the Quartermaster-General, addressed to the general officers commanding divisions in districts. The second paragraph is in these words:

"At the present time his Excellency," that is your-  
self, I think?—Yes. *General Lord Roberts.*

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1871. "At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points which appear to be specially deserving of consideration by the military and medical authorities in every command. The treatment of venereal disease generally is a matter calling for special devotion on the part of the medical profession. To mitigate the evil now experienced, it is not only necessary to deal with the cases of troops in hospitals, but to arrange for a wider-spread effort which may reach the large centres of population, and, in this view, His Excellency has suggested to the Government of India the desirability of establishing a Medical School from which native practitioners trained in the treatment of venereal disease may be sent to the various towns throughout the country"?—Yes.

1872. Was that paragraph issued under your instructions?—Yes. It originated from my having heard that disease was terribly rife among the natives of India, and I thought the Government would be wise if they put it within their means to get treated—officially treated—by practitioners who understood the disease; not with any idea of extending (as you put the question to me just now), the practice among European soldiers, but to give the natives of India the benefit of medical treatment.

1873. You had no idea of an extension of the system?—No, certainly not; my wish was that the natives of India generally should have medical treatment. I believe the native practitioners are not at all well up in the treatment of venereal disease, and I heard that this disease was on the increase among the people of India.

1874. (*Chairman.*) You are not speaking of soldiers at all; the civil population?—Yes, the civil population.

1875. (*Mrs. Stansfeld.*) Well, it goes on:—"Whether or not the Lock Hospital system be extended, it is possible to encourage in every cantonment, and in sudder and regimental bazars, the treatment of those amongst the population who are suffering from venereal disease. The bulk of the women who practise the trade of prostitution are willing to subject themselves to examination by dhais or by medical officers, if by their so doing they can be allowed to reside in regimental bazars." I will not read the next paragraphs, because I am convinced that you repudiate them?—Yes; the other part that alludes to the examination of women, is not the women who consort with soldiers only, it was to check disease amongst the native population.

1876. I clearly note your difference. May I draw your attention to this fact, that everything that I have read is a part of paragraph II, which is begun in this way: "At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points"?—"His Excellency" is used as a general sort of expression in all official documents issued from Army Quarters in India, as "His Royal Highness" is in this country. Of course, the Commander-in-Chief is responsible for every document so issued, but he cannot and does not see all which bear his name.

1877. Probably you did not see that before it was issued?—No; probably I did not see it.

1878. Well, I will not examine you upon it?—As to the other part, I quite remember talking the question over with General Chapman as to the desirability if we could get it arranged in the various parts of India of having medical practitioners who understood this terrible disease scattered about the country.

1879. That is an absolutely different thing?—That was the origin of the first paragraph entirely.

1880. Here is a précis of circulars issued from the Quartermaster-General's Department with the Circular Memorandum of June 1886 regarding the adoption of stringent measures to reduce the chances of venereal disease spreading more widely

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amongst the soldiers of the army. No. 35, dated 8th of May, 1876, is in these terms: "The Commander-in-Chief in India, having had under review the annual reports on the working of the Lock Hospitals at certain stations, His Excellency regrets to find that the results are not satisfactory when compared with those of previous years. (2) The Lock Hospital rules, as they stand, appear to meet all requirements, but it is considered that much greater vigilance and interest on the part of the local authorities is required for their efficient working: (3) The authorities most concerned in working out these rules are commanding officers of regiments and batteries, their medical officers, and the sub-committees, and their attention is called to the following points:—This is all under your authority?—No document could have been under my authority which was issued in 1876.

1881. 1876; yes, this is before 1888?—The system was the same as was dealt with up to 1888.

1882. Lord Roberts, you were not Commander-in-Chief at this time?—No, not in 1876; Lord Napier, I think, was.

1883. I take it that as far as these are records of Quartermaster-General's circulars before 1888, they may be accepted as correct?—I think undoubtedly. The system which was in force then was the system which the Resolution of the House of Commons put a stop to in 1888. Of course, it was built up year after year.

1884. May I ask you when you did assume the Commander-in-Chiefship?—November, 1885.

1885. Well, my only object in putting those questions was that we might get it in the notes that there was a series of circulars issued by the Quartermaster-General in the name of the Commander-in-Chief for a series of years down to the very eve of your term of office, urging greater vigilance in applying the rules, and recommending further measures to ensure the success of the system; and then we have in your time the circular of Major-General Chapman, containing all of those circulars covering that, so to say?—Yes.

1886. And conveying them as intelligence and instruction to those who are concerned, and that was issued under your authority; but I quite understand how difficult it must be for a man in the position which you hold to be able practically to control all the minutie of such a vast undertaking?—Yes. The system had been in force for generations, and its object was to prevent the spread of venereal disease, and as reports were received of venereal disease being on the increase, these reports were treated, as the Government would have treated any other matter, till 1888.

1887. Let me hand you a Report. That is a Parliamentary Report dealt with as correct, and the letter of Quartermaster-General Chapman in 1886 with the précis of previous similar circulars enclosed?—It must be; I see it is a Parliamentary document.

COPY of a CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM by the QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, dated 17th June 1886.

(No. 21.)

CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM. — Addressed to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

Cantonment Lock Hospitals.

Office of Quartermaster-General in India,  
Army Headquarters, Simla.  
17 June 1886.

In former years His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has frequently impressed on General and Commanding Officers the necessity for adopting

stringent measures to reduce the chances of venereal disease spreading more widely amongst the soldiers of the army.

2. At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points which appear to be specially deserving of consideration by the Military and Medical authorities in every command.

The treatment of venereal disease generally is a matter calling for special devotion on the part of the medical profession.

To mitigate the evil now experienced, it is not only necessary to deal with the cases of troops in hospitals, but to arrange for a widespread effort which may reach the large centres of population, and, in this view, His Excellency has suggested to the Government of India the desirability of establishing a Medical School from which native practitioners trained in the treatment of venereal diseases may be sent to the various towns throughout the country.

It can no longer be regarded as derogatory to the medical profession to promote the careful treatment of men and women who are suffering from a disease so injurious, and in mentioning the step which His Excellency has taken, he desires me to indicate the extreme importance in the first instance of medical officers being prepared to study and practice this particular branch of their professional work, under the assurance that their doing so must certainly result in the recognition of their efforts.

Whether or not the Lock Hospital system be extended, it is possible to encourage in every Cantonment, and in Sudder and Regimental Bazaars, the treatment of those amongst the population who are suffering from venereal disease. The bulk of the women who practise the trade of prostitution are willing to subject themselves to examination by Dhais or by Medical Officers, if by their so doing they can be allowed to reside in regimental bazaars.

Where Lock Hospitals are not kept up, it becomes necessary, under a regimental system, to arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazaars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march.

The isolation of women found diseased, and their maintenance while under treatment, becomes also a question to be dealt with regimentally.

In the regimental bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses, and above all to insist upon means of ablution being always available.

If young soldiers are carefully advised in regard to the advantage of ablution and recognise that convenient arrangements exist in the regimental bazar, they may be expected to avoid the risks involved in association with women who are not recognised by the regimental authorities.

The employment of Dhais, and insistence upon the performance of the acknowledged duties, is of great importance.

The removal of women who are pronounced to be incurably diseased from cantonment limits, should be dealt with as a police question in communication with the civil authorities.

In regard to the soldiers themselves, there are means at the disposal of Commanding Officers to enforce a more careful avoidance of contact with women who are diseased, where venereal is largely prevalent, the increase of the regimental police in controlling the movements of the men is imperative.

Frequent medical inspections should be ordered, and every endeavour should be made to make the men realize their own responsibility in assisting their officers, by indicating the women from whom disease has been acquired.



Much may be done to encourage a feeling amongst the men that it should be a point of honour to save each other where possible from risk in this matter.

The medical inspection of all detachments before leaving or entering a cantonment should be enforced by General Officers.

In conclusion, His Excellency desires me to impress upon all concerned the necessity for meeting the present difficulty by increased individual effort.

However much legislation may be desired to check the spread of disease, it is necessary to abandon a sense of false modesty in dealing with the matter in question, and to recognise that, as in the case of all other diseases, its open treatment, and the widespread knowledge of its disastrous effects, are the surest means of effacing it in each locality.

(By order)

E. F. Chapman, Major-General,  
Quartermaster-General in India.

*Précis of Circulars issued in the Quartermaster-General's Department regarding the adoption of stringent measures to reduce the chances of Venereal Disease spreading more widely among the Soldiers of the Army.*

Number and Date of Circular.	PURPORT.
No. 90, dated 8th July 1875.	<p>Calls attention to Circular No. 87 of 1871, and strongly impresses upon Officers Commanding Divisions, Districts, and Stations, the necessity for strengthening the regimental police of corps when venereal is on the increase at a station, it being the general impression that the disease is not, as a rule, contracted from the registered women, but from unlicensed prostitutes who wander about the lines as hawkers, or are employed as coolies by the Public Works Department.</p> <p>2. Requests that it may be pointed out to regimental Commanders, and the Lock Hospital Sub-Committees, whose special duty it is to supervise the working of the Lock Hospital rules, how important it is that they should more actively exert themselves to check the prevalence of this disease.</p>
No. 35, dated 8th May 1876.	<p>The Commander-in-Chief in India having had under review the annual reports on the working of the Lock Hospitals at certain stations, His Excellency regrets to find that the results are not satisfactory when compared with those of previous years.</p> <p>2. The Lock Hospital rules, as they stand, appear to meet all requirements, but it is considered that much greater vigilance and interest on the part of the local authorities is required for their efficient working.</p> <p>3. The authorities most concerned in working out these rules are Commanding Officers of Regiments and Batteries, their Medical Officers, and the Sub-Committees, and their attention is called to the following points:—</p> <p>I. The number of women on the register is not in proportion to the number of men who visit them.</p> <p>II. The improvement of the conditions under which the women ply their trade, such as greater privacy, facilities for ablution, &amp;c.</p> <p>III. The kind treatment of the women, and every reasonable inducement being held out to them to attend the Lock Hospital when suffering from disease.</p> <p>4. Commanding officers of regiments and batteries are to report at once to the general officer commanding, when any increase of venereal disease occurs amongst their men. Such reports to show the supposed causes of the increase, and the measures adopted for its suppression, and after remark by the Deputy Surgeon General to be forwarded to the Quartermaster-General's office.</p> <p>5. The Lock Hospital sub-committees are to be assembled at least once a month, and their reports forwarded to General Officers Commanding.</p> <p>6. It is considered that a careful attention to these points will contribute considerably towards checking the spread of venereal disease, and His Excellency hopes that no effort will be spared by either regimental, medical, or local authorities to ensure more satisfactory results than have hitherto been obtained.</p>
No. 43, dated 20th July 1870.	<p>I. Officers commanding troops on the line of march to ensure the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to their regimental bazars.</p> <p>II. When any women is found to be diseased, measures are to be adopted for her isolation on the march, and her transfer to the first or nearest Lock Hospital for treatment.</p>
No. 87, dated 20th November 1871.	<p>Forwards a copy of report by the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, reviewing the working of the rules for the prevention of venereal disease amongst British troops for the year 1870, and calls special attention to the necessity of officers commanding stations affording more efficient and energetic means for preventing the admission of casuals to the vicinity of the barracks.</p> <p>Any increase of disease should at once be met by increased energy on the part of Station and Regimental authorities, and especially of Regimental Police.</p>
No. 51, dated 23rd August 1872.	<p>Forwards copy of a communication from the Government of India to that of Bombay, regarding the disposal of incurable women attending Lock Hospitals, in which the former approves of a proposal to employ an incurable woman on small wages in the duties of the hospital at Mhow.</p>
No. 80, dated 30th September 1873.	<p>Directs that the practice of levying registration fees from prostitution be discontinued.</p>

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Number and Date of Circular.	PURPORT.	Number and Date of Circular.	PURPORT.
No. 67, dated 19th August 1876.	The annual reports on the working of Lock Hospitals during the year 1875, show that much venereal disease was contracted when on the line of march; Commanding Officers' attention should therefore be called to Circular No. 43 of 1870, and to the Medical Regulations which direct the medical examination for venereal disease of every unmarried soldier on the day of his arrival at a new station from the line of march; and the effective inspection of the prostitutes accompanying the regimental bazars.	No. 69, dated 26th November 1883.	their walks outside the bazar, and the diseased woman has thus been allowed to practise her trade in this state for some time without detection.
No. 11, dated 28th February 1878.	As it would appear that the great increase which prevails in a regiment on the line of march is attributable in a great measure to illicit prostitution, requests that the necessity for the exercise of greater care and vigilance on the line of march may be urged upon regimental authorities.  2. If necessary, some restriction should be placed on the men going out of camp, by posting pickets in different directions, and strengthening them in cases of venereal increase.		5. Every house should therefore be numbered outside, or in some conspicuous spot inside, and a soldier on reporting himself sick should not be required to personally point out the woman from whom he contracted the disease, but merely to give the number of her house.  6. If the Dhui does her duty, these measures should lead to the early detection of disease amongst registered women.  7. Each house should be provided with a urinal and means of ablution; and such other preventive measures, within the means of the Cantonment Fund, as suggest themselves to local committees should be freely resorted to.  8. His Excellency will be prepared to sanction any reasonable expenditure from cantonment funds on the measures therein suggested.
No. 68, dated 24th November 1880.	Draws attention to Circular No. 67 of 1876, and requests that the instructions therein contained regarding the medical examination of unmarried soldiers on first arrival at a new station may be carried out, care being taken that the examination of the men is conducted with the utmost decency.  2. These medical examinations are of importance in detecting the existence and arresting the spread of venereal disease.	No. 42, dated 12th July 1884.	Requests that the attention of Officers commanding stations may be drawn to the desirability when constructing free quarters for registered women of providing houses that will meet the wishes of the women.  2. Unless their comfort and the convenience of those who consort with them is considered, the results will not be satisfactory.
No. 23, dated 23rd April 1883.	Forwards for information and guidance an extract from a ruling of the Chief Court, Punjab, regarding the registration of women convicted of practising illicit prostitution.		
No. 69, dated 26th November 1883.	The Commanders-in-Chief requests that careful attention of Cantonment Committees and Lock Hospital Sub-Committees may be directed to the following points, wherever free quarters for registered women have been, or may hereafter be, established:—  2. Where cantonment lands can afford it, experienced and reliable Dhuis should be employed to supervise the registered women.  3. Such Dhuis should be well paid if the fund can afford it, and they should be held responsible that:—  I. The women under their charge consort with none but Europeans.  II. That they do not entertain a man in any house but the one allotted them as quarters;  III. That a woman is sent to hospital immediately she is found to be diseased;  IV. To ensure the latter, the Dhui should examine the women daily between the periodical inspections of the medical officer.  4. Soldiers who have been diseased by registered women have been frequently known to attribute it to women not in		1888. Did the same quartermaster-general afterwards, in 1887, make a report denying that Government or its officers encouraged prostitution either directly or indirectly, and asserting that it is not the practice of prostitution that is legalised by it. We have put in his letter of 1886, with which you are familiar, without reading every part of it now. In August, 1887, I find he says this: "From Major-General Chapman, Quartermaster-General, India, to the Secretary of the Government of India, Military Department.—In reply to a certain letter dated 14th July, 1877, intimating that the Bishop of Lichfield had called attention in the House of Lords to the existence of official regulations for the provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars, both British and native, and asking for a full report on the subject, together with a copy of all orders and regulations bearing on it: I am directed to invite a reference to this office, No. 6502, of 22nd October 1873, on the same subject, and to say that for many years past increasing efforts have been made to control prostitution, and to mitigate, so far as may be, its attendant evils; but neither the Government nor its officers, either directly or indirectly, encourage prostitution. It is not the practice of prostitution that is legalised, but the attempts to avert its consequent and accompanying disease"?—Yes.  1889. Do you consider that statement consistent with the memorandum you have just read?—Well, hardly, but that is certainly what guided the Commanders-in-Chief, my predecessors in office, not to encourage prostitution, but to keep the women with whom British soldiers associated free from disease.  1890. So that that may be taken in your opinion as a fair statement of the general wishes of the



Commander-in-Chief whilst the Quartermaster-General's memorandum of the preceding year is an indication of the way in which they were carried out?—Quite so. I may say all my predecessors, as well as myself, found a system in force which was to prevent the soldiers, as much as possible, from getting disease, and it was not to encourage prostitution at all, or to extend it, but to ensure that when women were within the regimental precincts, that they should be kept as far as possible free from disease.

1891. I think you admitted, did you not, to me that the letter of Major-General Chapman of 1886 was an unfortunate illustration?—I say so; but I am rather afraid from the way in which the answer is given here that it would appear the other way.

1892. (*Chairman.*) Lord Roberts was under the impression, as I understand him, that by your question you implied that the Commander-in-Chief wished his instructions to be carried out in that way. But really you were making a contrast between the instructions and the way in which they were carried out?—I was not sure from the way in which it was put down.

1893. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And did not the India Office take the same view in May 1888?—I have here a copy telegram to the Viceroy, dated 8th May 1888: "Your telegrams received. As document quoted is authentic perfectly inconsistent with the report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887." That document being the circular of 1886?—Yes.

1894. It is perfectly inconsistent with the report of the Quartermaster-General of 2nd August 1887?—Yes, I remember that telegram.

1895. "And strict inquiry is necessary, utterly indefensible?"—Yes, I remember that telegram.

1896. "Strict inquiry is necessary." Now what inquiry was made at that time?—What is the answer from the Government of India to that telegram?—There must have been an answer to that telegram.

1897. As far as I know, there is no reply, telegraphic or otherwise, to that telegram?—There is a despatch of October, 1888. That would probably deal with it.

1898. Well, now, notwithstanding the opinion of the India Office, and your opinion, is it not the fact that similar views to those in the Quartermaster-General's circular of 1886 have been from time to time expressed by our medical officers and others?—I do not remember.

1899. Lord Roberts, I am not examining you upon this document as if you authorised it, because I quite understand your opinion upon it. But my question now is: notwithstanding your opinion and that of the India Office, is it not the fact that similar views to those in the Quartermaster-General's circular have been from time to time expressed by Army medical officers, and others? Now, for instance, take the report of the Lock Hospital at Sialkot, and the report of the year 1888. "The number of prostitutes would be sufficient if all the women were moderately young and attractive; but, unfortunately, a considerable number are old and unattractive, which increases the liability of the men to seek unregistered women." Yes, that is the medical officer. I suppose his notion was that there were more venereal amongst men in consequence of their seeking women outside cantonment limits, and it was the object of the Lock Hospital system to prevent them doing that.

1900. Still the view of this medical man is that "the number of prostitutes would be sufficient if all the women were moderately young and attractive, but, unfortunately, a considerable number are old and unattractive, which increases the liability of the men to seek unregistered women"?—Yes.

1901. And in that circular of Major-General Chapman, he announces the same rule that young and attractive women must be provided?—Yes.

1902. We have met with other similar statements of view on the part of medical officers. I do not

suppose you have any reason to doubt the fact?—Yes, I have no doubt of that.

1903. Are you familiar with the terms of the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888; I mean have you looked at it carefully at all of late?—Yes, I have looked at it this morning.

1904. Well, I will ask you this, Lord Roberts: I think you will agree with me in the view that the meaning and intention of that Resolution was that the entire system of the recognition and regulation of prostitution for the benefit of soldiers in India should be abolished?—Quite so.

1905. The periodical examination is the central fact of all the regulations and practice connected with, or relative or incidental to such examination?—Yes.

1906. Now, have the rules which have been framed since that Resolution, and which are now in force, been intended absolutely to abolish the system and produce this result, or merely to modify it?—To abolish it, not to modify it.

1907. And all your view and efforts, as long as you remained in India, were directed to the abolition, and not to the modification of the old system?—Certainly to the abolition, not to the modification.

1908. Now, as far as India has gone, either in the modification of Cantonment Acts, or rules under them, or the practice under those rules, or the practice without much regard to those rules (which is a possibility), to what points have those modifications—have the modifications which the system has undergone—been limited. I do not understand from you that you claim that the system has, as a matter of fact, so far been absolutely abolished?—Yes; the order was that we should abolish it entirely, and all I said was that occasionally shortcomings were brought to notice, either from the subsidiary orders having been modified locally, or misinterpreted; but I have never heard anybody say that these Rules were not to be carried out.

1909. Well, now, the Resolution is in these words: "That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures, ought to be repealed;" and they will not even have legislation which permits?—No.

1910. Therefore, in the view of the House of Commons, it is not to be henceforth permitted that there should be compulsory examination of women, or the licensing or regulation of those women?—Most certainly.

1911. And if the changes that have been made fall short of that, you would say that they need further alteration?—Yes, certainly.

1912. I will just ask you, Lord Roberts, a question here, because I think I can throw some light upon it if necessary. The phrase in the Resolution is: "measures for the compulsory examination of women." In your view does that permit of the idea of any method of compulsion?—No.

1913. "And for licensing." In your view does that permit of any licensing provided it is not in the shape of a licence ticket?—No.

1914. "And regulating prostitution." In your view it is inconsistent with the Resolution of the House of Commons for the Government or military authorities in India to attempt to regulate prostitution?—Certainly. When the Resolution was first received Lord Lansdowne spoke to me and said: "This must be carried out implicitly, every word of it." This was my intention too.

1915. In spirit as well as in letter?—Perfectly.

1916. Has it come within your observation or knowledge that when certain changes began to be effected, whether they have been completed or not we need not for the moment discuss, in August, 1888, both military and medical officers concerned in the administration of that pre-existing system expressed their general opinion that the substituted voluntary

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system would be useless?—I remember many men said that they thought it probably would not answer. I think we mentioned that in the despatch. Is it not mentioned? That was the idea amongst many men that it would not answer.

1917-8. Now take the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab. In 1888, in his Report on Lock Hospitals for the year 1888, he says: "I have very little doubt that if prostitutes are not induced to present themselves for examination and for treatment when they are diseased, by means which may not be termed compulsory, but are virtually so, the number that will be examined and treated will in all cases be exceedingly small." That is evidence that in his opinion without a system of compulsion it would not work. "If, therefore, the system introduced in September last is to be continued, Lock Hospitals generally may, in my opinion, be closed; thus relieving Government and cantonment funds of a considerable outlay." I do not imagine that you would agree in that view?—Certainly not. Lock Hospitals as Lock Hospitals were closed, and instead we have now general hospitals to which anybody in the cantonment can come who suffer from any disease, whether it is venereal or any other disease.

1919. I think there is a little confusion on that subject, but I will come to it by-and-bye?—Very good.

1920. By "lock" I really meant venereal?—Yes.

1921. They might be compulsory or voluntary, but I merely meant simply venereal?—I think I could give you one great proof that that anticipation was not without some foundation. I visited Rawal Pindi, which is the largest cantonment we have got in India, in the month of December last year. This new system had been absolutely in force. The Lock Hospital had been shut up at the time the order was issued, but the general hospital I am speaking of was opened in February 1892; but when I was there in December 1892 not a single woman had been into it.

1922. Into which?—Into this general hospital in Rawal Pindi.

1923. But the Lock Hospital might remain?—No, there was no Lock Hospital. The general officer went with me, and the officer in medical charge. I said, "Where are the women's wards?" He said "There they are," and he added, but not a single woman has used them.

1924. I will not pursue that for the moment, it might confuse other questions arising; but I think we have evidence by that statement that the voluntary system had failed?—It certainly had failed so far as Rawal Pindi was concerned, but the new system of a general hospital had not been very long in force. Formerly there was no such thing in a cantonment as a general hospital. There was the regimental hospital, and the lock hospital, and a small hospital in the civil part of the station; but there was no place in most of the military cantonments where the people living in the bazars could all go and receive medical attendance. Lord Lansdowne and I started the general hospital system, and I found that, whereas in some places it was going on fairly satisfactorily, there had not been a single woman in the hospital at Rawal Pindi for at least ten months.

1925. Now, I will take you to Delhi. The report of the medical officer states:—"The Lock Hospital is at present carried on on the lines just mentioned, and its practical use is none." That is the voluntary system; according to the medical men in 1888, a voluntary system is useless?—Yes.

1926. Well, there is a report from Jullundur. The condition of things there, according to the medical officer, shows the absolute futility of the present system of voluntary attendance?—Yes.

1927. That is in Paragraph 2:—"The report speaks for itself. It shows that disastrous results have eventuated from the cancellation of the old Lock Hospital rules, and the absolute futility of the present

system of voluntary attendance"?—Yes. I think, you know, a great deal depends upon the medical officer himself.

1928. Precisely. That is an opinion?—If a man, gentle and kind, understands the language, women will very often come to him; I have found, in some instances, they did come.

1929. Well, but permit me to say there, Lord Roberts, that I have some experience upon the subject in this country, and I entirely agree with you in that opinion. I have known venereal hospitals here in this country for prostitutes, absolutely voluntary and absolutely successful?—Yes, but there is one difficulty in India, that some of the doctors do not understand the language or the people about them, and they cannot deal quite so satisfactorily with diseased women, as would be the case in this country. I have found that where doctors are sympathetic and know the language, natives will go for treatment, otherwise they will not.

1930. Now, here is the case of Ferozepore:—"I should strongly recommend the re-introduction of compulsory registration and periodical examination, conducted on an even more stringent scale than heretofore"?—Yes.

1931. Well, then, Murree: "I am of opinion, however, that prostitutes, as a rule, will not voluntarily apply for treatment at the Lock Hospital when diseased"?—Yes.

1932. Well, now, to come to facts. Since 1888, in the various cantonments—I will take the ten cantonments as to which we have given evidence—steps have been taken for the purpose of continuing as far as practicable the periodical examination, and, of course, the treatment?—No; they were strictly forbidden—that is to say, anything like compulsory

1933. No; but anything like periodical examination?—But that would be compulsory, would it not?

1934. Well, I think it would?—The orders were quite clear; there was to be no compulsory examination; and if there were, it was carried out in defiance of the order.

1935. But there was periodical examination?—No; I do not think there was periodical examination.

1936. Excuse me, Lord Roberts, there is no inconsistency between voluntary and periodical examination. I am speaking now of the periodicity of the examination?—Yes.

1937. And is it not true that it is a necessary part of the system and the conception of preventing disease being communicated to soldiers by examining the women that the examination, by compulsion or without compulsion, should be regular and periodical?—Of course that was the old system.

1938. That remains the idea?—It may remain the idea, but not the regulation.

1939. I am speaking of the regulations, if you are to rely upon this system of examination, it must be periodical?—But the examination is absolutely forbidden.

1940. (Chairman.) Yes; but I understand Mr. Stansfeld to mean, that supposing that there was no regulation on the subject, but there was the practice of the place, of a community, to have voluntary examination for the sake of the health of the army, that voluntary examination must be periodical—at stated intervals—in order to be worth anything?—I quite agree with you. I thought Mr. Stansfeld meant that the system in force at Murree was a system of periodical examination.

1941. (Mr. Stansfeld.) I did not address my question to that point; but now the evidence we have had—I have not read the evidence of the Commission, remember?—No.

1942. But the evidence we have had goes in that direction, that there has been a practical continuance of periodical examination in many places, the regular attendance being practically enforced by



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a certain compulsion, but the compulsion being exclusion from the cantonment?—Ay! That was not non-attendance at periodical examination; but if the woman was suspected to be diseased and would not allow herself to be examined she was expelled from the cantonment.

1943. Now, let us deal with that. There is a certain number of women, we will say, in a chakla, under a mahaldarui, and so long as the mahaldarui in charge, or it may be the commanding officer, believes hygienically in the system of periodical examination in order to secure the health of the soldiers, they will endeavour, and I have no doubt they have endeavoured, to secure that regular periodicity, if they can, without offending against the rules which have been laid down; that would be true, would it not?—They could not do so now without offending against the rules. This matter is fully gone into by the Committee, who state that all such practices have been discontinued.

1944. This is the Report, paragraph 73: "We have shown that the rules of July 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But, in addition to these occasional examinations, we found that in all the three cantonments which we visited, periodical examinations of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth"—That is quite true. I told you that we did find there were shortcomings, that what you said did occur, that they did either evade or read the rules in some other kind of way, and they did carry on a certain amount of compulsory examination.

1945. In every one of these cantonments visited?—That is what I told you, but in July 1892 I issued that order which they say stopped it, and as far as I know the orders, one after the other, issued were all to meet the very point to which you allude to. No doubt there was a difficulty at first; medical officers probably thought that they were doing right to prevent soldiers getting diseased; the orders were consequently in some few places evaded; but, as I have before stated, whenever these things were brought to notice instructions were immediately issued to prevent a repetition of them.

1946. Am I right in believing that I understood you to say that you so thoroughly accepted the Resolution of the House of Commons in your own mind that you condemned, and the Government of India would condemn, any method of compulsion, direct or indirect?—Perfectly so, and we distinctly ordered that compulsion should not be resorted to.

1947. Now I will just ask you this question *à propos* of the methods of compulsion. I refer you to Major-General Collen's Despatch of the 21st October 1891, Confidential Return 134, page 9, that is addressed by the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General, I find the expression there, "whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to"?—I suppose he means by that, that if a woman is believed to be diseased she can be required to be examined.

1948. Supposed to be?—Supposed to be diseased, or reasonably believed to be diseased. It is a most difficult thing to find out, because soldiers seldom or never point out the women who may have diseased them; but if a woman is believed to have venereal, according to the regulation she must either leave the cantonment or allow herself to be examined. Sufficient proof is that a man says, "I am diseased by that woman."

1949. That, of course, is a method of compulsion?—Well, I should not define it as compulsion. The woman is told, You have the option of going away, you need not stay here, but if you stay in a certain place you must be examined. Mind it is only a cantonment; it is the barrack square; the cantonment,

1950. I thought a cantonment might contain 50,000 people?—So it does; but it would not exist were it not for the soldiers.

1951. Under this rule, a medical officer can say to a woman in the Sudder Bazar Chakla, "Now you must come up for examination, and you must remain in the hospital and be treated and cured, or you must go out of this place of 50,000 inhabitants?"

1952. (*Chairman*.) In other words "You need not do it, but you will be sent away if you do not."

1953. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) I would put this question to Lord Roberts because we certainly had it in the report of our witnesses. Is it not true, with regard to these poor girls and women, that their choice is simply between the chakla and starvation; to what can they go back if they have been in the chakla?—These women are not prostitutes like there are in this country; they are prostitutes from their birth; they live with prostitutes, they are brought up with prostitutes.

1954. The prostitutes who are in the chaklas subject to examination for the use of the British soldiers do not belong to that class of prostitutes?—I think they certainly do belong to that class of prostitutes.

1955. I think not.—Where do they come from, then?

1956. They are largely recruited out of unfortunate women who have no means of livelihood.—I should say myself that there never was a woman in a European chakla who had not been a prostitute herself for years before she came there.

1957. Suppose she was under 17?—It must be remembered that girls in India are lawfully married at 12 years of age. It was only the other day that the age was, with great trouble, raised to 12; girls are, I believe, frequently married at 10 or 11. I think it most improbable that any woman in a European chakla went there for the first time.

1958. That is precisely it; they drift to the chakla?—They are prostitutes beforehand you know.

1959. Their misfortune ends in prostitution, they drift to the chakla, once in the chakla they have no release?—I think you will find that they are prostitutes at the commencement and that they went there afterwards; I am sure you will find that they were prostitutes before they went there.

1960. (*Chairman*.) Mr. Stansfeld says they are prostitutes but they drift into the chakla.

1961. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) They drift into the chakla, and once they are there it is a prison from whence they cannot escape, no one will take them if they go out again, they get into debt with the mahaldarui. That is the whole history of prostitution in this country. The moment you plunge a woman into the degradation and misery and vileness of a brothel she is ruined?—I am not defending the brothel, I am only questioning about these women. I understood from you that those women were brought there as fresh women and prostituted in the chakla.

1962. No; they drift there then as unfortunate women?—I think they are.

1963. Sometimes they are brought in, no doubt, by their friends and relatives?—I should doubt it very much.

1964. We had evidence of some cases, shocking cases?—I have never heard of them.

1965. The Quartermaster-General in reply to the inquiry from the Secretary to the Government of India said that there was no compulsion except what was authorised by Rules 4 and 5, and that you see were simply the rules that a prostitute—?—May I read them to you?

1966. Yes?—Number 4 is this: "If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is

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supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer." No. 5 says, "If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days for every breach of the said prohibition."

1967. Do I rightly understand that you agree with me that there is compulsion in those rules, and that you would not propose to continue those rules?—I did not say that, but I said that what the compulsion referred to was those rules; I did not give an opinion upon them.

1968. But this is compulsion, is it not; this is a certain method of compulsion?—It is compulsion upon a woman being known to be diseased.

1969. Being supposed to be diseased?—Yes.

1970. Does it not occur to you, Lord Roberts, that a medical officer in charge of such an institution, would suppose any woman to be diseased who did not attend examination regularly?—I do not think so; he could not do so under the present regulations. I think the supposition would be that a soldier came and said, "I have got diseased from so and so."

1971. Are you bound to say there is nothing in the evidence of this Commission which I have to read to that effect?—I think not. The Committee say, that such things had occurred, not that this is the case now. See paragraph 73.

1972. Have you read the whole of the evidence or only the conclusion?—I have read this Report.

1973. You have not read all the evidence?—I have not read the addenda. The Report is very clear on this point.

1974. (Mr. Wilson.) May I just remind Lord Roberts that that Report only relates to three cantonments?—Yes, but then the Government of India have read all that relates to the other cantonments, and

they send home this Report. But all the Report says is: "But in addition to these occasional examinations, we found that in all the three cantonments which we visited periodical examination of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth." But then it was discontinued, and I do not believe for one moment that that could be carried on; it could not be under existing regulations.

1975. (Mr. Stansfeld.) But do I understand that you would object or not in future to that method of compulsion?—Well, the word "supposed" is rather a wrong word there. I think if a medical officer is told distinctly by a soldier that a certain woman is diseased, he would be perfectly justified to require her to leave the cantonment, if she objected to be treated in hospital.

1976. That is your position?—Yes.

1977. If he is informed and believes she is diseased?—If he is informed.

1978. I understand that it was desiring attendance, and compelling it by expulsion, and that expulsion would only be exercised if there was definite information on the part of the medical officer that a certain woman was diseased?—Yes.

1979. But he does not say that that is the opinion of all the medical officers?—No; I cannot say what their opinion is; that is impossible.

1980. I will repeat that question, I believe I have put it to you before. Supposing that a medical officer on the strength of the fact that a woman did not come up periodically for examination, supposed and believed that she was diseased, would that justify and enable him to have her turned out of the cantonment?—Most certainly not, and moreover there can be no such thing as periodical examination under existing regulations.

1981. But now, however mild the compulsion may be; however much it may take the form of invitation, it cannot be carried out in any degree or method unless you keep a register, or else all the women come to it?—Certainly, anybody can come up for examination.

1982. Oh, no; but I mean, supposing you apply a gentle method of compulsion?—No; but I say there is now no compulsion, gentle or not gentle; that has all been forbidden.

1983-95. And that you accept?—Quite.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Monday next at Half-past Two o'clock.



## SEVENTH DAY.

Monday, August 7th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
Secretary.

LORD ROBERTS, V.C., re-called ; and further examined.

1996. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) The Report of the Commission of the evidence taken by them refers, does it not, to three cantonments, namely, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow?—Yes.

1997. And the separate reports of the Generals Commanding refer to the other seven cantonments?—Yes.

1998. Those two making together the ten cantonments which were visited by the American lady missionaries?—Yes.

1999. I want to ask you to see if we can agree as to the net results, judging the matter by all the evidence before us, of the official efforts for carrying into effect the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888. That Resolution, as you know, Lord Roberts, and have told us, meant the entire abolition of the whole system?—Yes.

2000. Well, now, I propose to go into this question. But to begin with, one of the cantonments which the Commission did not visit, that is the important cantonment of Meean Meer. Are you not aware that the whole system was practically maintained in that cantonment up to May 1892?—No, I am not.

2001. I have here a summary of the Reports of general officers commanding under the heads partly of the Statement of Facts which was presented to the Government by Mr. Stuart and myself, and also under the heads of the cantonments in question. And now with regard to Meean Meer; have you got that summary of Reports before you?—No; I think the Commission give a fair account of how things have been carried on since 1888, and the reasons for the omissions and shortcomings. Of course, it is very difficult for me to give an answer to questions about all the different stations. I have not visited them all recently.

2002. I quite understand that you felt you were in general accord with their summary?—Yes.

2003. But the case of Meean Meer is different. It is not included in their summary?—I have not read it. Let me see what it is.

2004. We have the summary of the reports of the general officers commanding, and we think that the summary throws great light upon the question of how far and at what time the intentions of the House of Commons were carried out?—I have said before that till July 1892 I admit there were shortcomings, and in July 1892 I issued orders, and I believe from that time there have been none.

2005. I take the case of Meean Meer, and my proposition is, that the old system was practically maintained up to May 1892. Now, I will put my first question. Will you kindly look at the Summary of Reports, the first page; look down the page until you come to Meean Meer. On the left-hand side of the page you will find a head "Charges," and among these charges a paragraph taken from what was called the Statement of Facts, to which it was referring, and these are the answers. Then when you come down to Meean Meer, will tell us what the answer is to the charge that there was systematic provision, with the sanction of the military authorities, for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers. Now, take Meean Meer, what is the statement in this summary?—Yes; I see that from the summary it would appear that the orders were not obeyed.

2006. My question is, what is the statement in the summary; has your Lordship any indisposition to read it; will you read it to us, so as to get it on the Minutes?—Perhaps you will read it.

2007. I will read it if you like. Meean Meer, paragraph 18, line 892, "It is admitted that prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars; that there were three chaklas, and that the women were registered contrary to orders from Army head-quarters, in two of these for the exclusive use of British soldiers." Do you find that there?—Yes, I do find it.

2008. Well, I pass from their residence in regimental chaklas; then I come to the head of "For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or native medical officers," and I ask you to run your eye down to page 2, and to say whether this does not appear, "Meean Meer, admitted." Compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods is admitted in this summary of reports of general officers to have taken place at Meean Meer?—Yes.

2009. Then I go down to the subject of the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the orders of the examining officers, and I find under Meean Meer "Admitted"?—I see it is.

2010. Then I come to the heading, "With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment," and under the heading "Meean Meer" I find no arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from the cantonment were the punishment; that you find there?—I see; yes.

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2011. Then the next question is: "That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and Regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonment. That these hospitals are used exclusively for the treatment of venereal cases, no other medicines being kept there or other cases treated," and under the heading "Meean Meer" I see "Practically admitted"?—I see that.

2012. Then the next heading is "That in each cantonment a registry of chakla women is kept; in some places the women's rooms bearing their registered number; that the chakla is in some places guarded; that the chakla is in almost every instance in charge of a mahaldarni, whose wages in some cases are paid from cantonment funds." Then under the heading "Meean Meer" I find this: "A register was kept; the mahaldarni had no connection with the cantonment hospitals, nor was she paid by Government. No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel"?—Yes.

2013. Then "that there is a low tariff paid by the men, which in case of non-payment is stopped from the men's pay," and at the heading, "Meean Meer" I find "Such payment is in no way regulated by the State, it is a matter of custom. No cases of recovery by stoppage of a man's pay is known"?—Yes.

2014. The next heading is, "That when a regiment changes its station, the women associated with that regiment accompany it." Under the heading, "Meean Meer," "prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march"?—Yes.

2015. (*Sir James Peile*.) Would you kindly look at the end of that summary; there are some letters printed there, one from Major-General E. Stedman, in which he says, with reference to the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer, that it had been explained after the date of the first reply, that the officer commanding the British infantry denies that prostitutes were, at the time under reference allowed to reside in the regimental bazar or to accompany the battalion on the line of march. That is paragraph 2 of Major-General E. Stedman's letter?—I see that, yes.

2016. And in the next paragraph, "The officer commanding the Royal Artillery, while denying all registration and all compulsory examination, states that five women were residing in the Royal Artillery bazar at the time under reference, but that they have now left, and that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the line of march"?—Yes, I am glad to see it.

2017. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Since when?—

2018. (*Sir James Peile*.) Well, he gives no date, but the letter is dated 6th July 1893. Then with regard to compulsory examination, Lord Roberts, you will find at the end of these papers a letter from the cantonment magistrate explaining his proceeding. He says at the top of the last page of all, "No woman has appeared for examination since August 1892"?—Yes, I see.

2019. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Since after the date of the visit of our witnesses?—That was my contention; that in July 1892, the order was issued.

2020. I quite understand that. Well, I take, of course, the Summary of Reports, subject to any qualification which may be fairly suggested by the evidence of which that Report professes to be a summary. But I was dealing with that Summary itself. Now I pass on to the question of registration. Part of the old system was formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively. A part of the old system, as your Lordship knows, was formal registration of prostitutes; the old system before 1888 was the formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively, their residence in regimental chaklas, and the actual licensing of these women by tickets in the form prescribed by the rules

which had been repealed, and of their being allowed to accompany troops on the march. Now, I will ask you to look at the Report, page 20, line 991. I find this statement: This is a report from Lieutenant Colonel Douglas, R.A., commanding at Meean Meer, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District?—What page is that?

2021. This is page 19, and then I go over to page 20, and, running down the page, I come to this paragraph: "The registration of prostitutes was stopped in August 1888, and recommenced in March 1890"?—Yes.

2022. "The issue of tickets also ceased between September 1888 and March 1890, and was commenced again on receipt of Quartermaster General's, No. 283-B., dated 28th January 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment for Meean Meer Lock Hospital. From September 1888 no inspections took place, but on receipt of the above quoted circular, women were re-registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly examinations made, so far voluntary, that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examination, she was told she must either be examined or leave the station"?—I see it.

2023. Now, that is a record of a very considerable infraction of the intentions of the authorities?—Certainly, very clear.

2024. Will you go back to page 18, Lord Roberts, for a moment, No. 5. This is from Major-General Viscount Frankfort, commanding Lahore District. What he says is this: "Regarding the Report from Meean Meer it is plain therefrom that the orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances. Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses. Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way. From some extraordinary mis-conception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate (see last paragraph of Report from officer commanding Meean Meer) women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made, between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the discontinuance of the practice once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continued." Well, that of course is indubitable as a matter of evidence. Does it not appear somewhat strange that the officer commanding in this district should have no knowledge of these transactions, long as they have continued, until the American lady missionaries visited the place and obtained one of these tickets?—I am very sorry to see that.

2025. That is somewhat surprising, I take, it to you?—Quite.

2026. You expected that the thing would have been more strictly supervised. In fact, did you not convey the impression to the Indian Government that, on the whole, you thought the rules had been fairly carried out?—To the Indian Government?

2027. Yes, I think so, including that place, Meean Meer. Your general impression?—You mean at the meeting here the day before yesterday?

2028. Yes?—Yes, of course, I was unaware of this; quite unaware of this, and much regret it.

2029. I see here is a letter from Major-General E. H. H. Collen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India, No. 3,034 D., dated Simla, 29th June 1892, in reply to some inquiries in which he is directed to express the satisfaction of the Government of India at finding that the Commander-in-Chief is, upon the whole, convinced that the Act and the rules are being duly observed. In one or two instances the action of the military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary; but the Government of India observe that his Excellency has taken immediate



steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders, and to insist on the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which have been issued?—That is quite true.

2030. But that phrase which I have just read, "in one or two instances the action of the local military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary" can hardly be an adequate description of the case of Meean Meer?—No; it would appear not, certainly.

2031. This document is "Confidential" in the Military Department, No. 134 of September 1892, and it is a communication to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, with various enclosures, including reports from the different cantonments upon the very subject, reports to the Commander-in-Chief and the Quartermaster-General. I find it is from Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India (No. 537C., dated Meean Meer, the 17th November 1891). "In reply to your No. 5,378B., marked 'strictly confidential,' and dated 31st of October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, from all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the Rules is anywhere resorted to. I can state definitely that it is not true that anything which can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality is countenanced in any of the cantonments under my command." Would it be partly upon the strength of that communication that you expressed your general opinion?—Exactly.

2032. So that at this very time, Lord Roberts, as we have already seen, the whole of the old system previous to 1888 was in practical activity at Meean Meer, and yet you were advised by the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Lahore District that the contrary was the case?—Of course I reported according to what I heard.

2033. But somebody should be responsible to the Government of India, and, through the Government of India, to this country for obedience to a Resolution of the House of Commons?—Certainly.

2034. However, as far as you are concerned, I take it that you base your general proposition upon the strength of reports such as these?—Certainly.

2035. Why were not the Commissioners sent to Meean Meer? It turns out, as far as I know, to be the place where there was the greatest possible misapplication of the orders of the Government?—I did not know where they were going, they had not time to go to all the places; they went to the three principal ones.

2036. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Had you left India before the Commission was issued?—Yes, I did not know anything about it.

2037. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now I come to the Blue Book, the Report of the Committee?—

2038. (Mr. Wilson.) You are aware that Meean Meer is the very place where that ticket which has been produced to this Committee came from?—So Mr. Stansfeld told me.

2039. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now, General Roberts, this Blue Book, the Report of the Special Commission, refers to three places, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow?—Yes.

2040. And my view is, that in all these places the system existed up to May, 1893, somewhat modified from the system existing before 1888, but containing many of its principal features. For instance, and I think that the Report will sustain me in these propositions, and you may agree with them as you have read the Report; if not, it would be advisable to discuss them with the Commissioners, perhaps, because we could not get through every paragraph of  
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that Report to-day—I want to see, if I can, how far you are prepared to agree with the conclusions at which I have arrived, first as to residence in the Sudder Bazar, and in one, in Umballa, within the regimental bazar of prostitutes used by only British soldiers, the names, &c., of such prostitutes being known to the authorities by lists kept at the hospitals. My view is that the Report and evidence sustains the proposition that in all these cases there was this residence practically assigned, and there were practically these lists. Are you prepared to offer any opinion upon that subject?—In the Sudder Bazar?

2041. In the Sudder Bazar?—They must live somewhere. They were turned out of the regimental bazar.

2042. I will exclude Umballa; it is in the regimental bazar in the evidence?—That, of course, was wrong.

2043. I will put that aside for the moment. You will agree with what I state to be the effect of the Report of the Commission, that at the Sudder Bazar there were prostitutes known to the authorities by list, and kept there for the purposes of the British soldier?—Do you remember where that was? Was that put down here?

2044. No. In various parts both of the Report and of the evidence. I wanted merely to know whether you could or could not assent to that proposition, because if not I shall go into it in detail with the Commissioners?—I agree to what they state here, that that was the case.

2045. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Can you give any opinion of your own knowledge on that point?—I know nothing about it; I have read it here, I know nothing about it.

2046. (Mr. Stansfeld.) All you can say is that if my view of what the official Report and the evidence confirms is accurate you accept that view?—Quite so.

2047. Well now, with regard to the periodical examination of these women who could be "induced" to attend at prescribed intervals (weekly or bi-weekly) either as a condition for living in the cantonment or for fear of expulsion. Have you gathered from a perusal of the Report that these conditions have existed down to the most recent period. I will put it in this way, down to a period later than the visit of our lady Commissioners?—What is that question?

2048. I will refer you to one question. You have the Report there, page 30, heading 11, "Periodical examinations of prostitutes"?—Yes.

2049. Paragraph 73: "We have shown that the rules of January 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But in addition to these occasional examinations we find that in all the three cantonments which we visited periodical examination of prostitutes has been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth"?—Yes.

2050. (Sir James Peile.) That is not compulsory examination?—No, it says so here.

2051. (Mr. Stansfeld.) "Periodical examination" is what I said?—Yes.

2052. There is quite a distinction between periodicity and compulsion?—Yes, quite.

2053. (Sir James Peile.) I entirely agree; that is the point?—Yes, I read that.

2054. (Mr. Stansfeld.) You read that?—Yes.

2055. And that, you understand, is the result of their inquiry, that a periodical inspection has been continued with regard to all these prostitutes who could be induced to attend on the ground of the fear of expulsion or refusal of admission, and that continued down to very nearly the present time. Well, then, as to compulsory detention in hospital under the new Rules, what do you understand to be the view of the Commission practically speaking, is not the effect of their Report to show that patients admitted into the hospital for treatment were detained until cured?

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—I do not think that. I visited Lucknow myself in January 1893.

2056. Is it your impression that at any period any of these prostitutes admitted to hospitals for cure would be allowed to leave unless she were dismissed the cantonment?—No; I did not say that. I visited the hospital in January 1893, at Lucknow, and was assured by the medical officer in charge that the women could go wherever they liked; could leave the hospitals whenever they liked.

2057. I will take you to paragraph 99 of the Report, the marginal note of which is, "Restraint not exercised over the patients," page 40. Have you found that?—Yes.

2058. "As in all hospitals, or, at any rate, in all military hospitals, the patients while in a Lock Hospital are not free to go in and out at pleasure at all hours. So long as they stay in the hospital they must observe its rules, without which discipline would be at an end. But the discipline is of the mildest. Leave is freely obtainable, and the women make constant visits to their houses to look after their property and to see their friends; visits often purposely arranged at hours when the soldiers will be on duty, so that the chance of disease being spread may be minimised. On one occasion, indeed, in June 1892, the medical officer in charge of the Meerut Lock Hospital stopped the leave of all patients for a week. But the reason was that one of the women who had gone out had returned home drunk. But while, so long as a woman elects to remain in hospital as an in-patient she must conform to the discipline of the hospital, the moment she elects to leave hospital she is free to do so. Before the issue of the Rules of July 1890, she was absolutely free to do so. Since the issue of those Rules, she does so with the knowledge that she will not be allowed to remain in cantonments."

2059. That you understand; that you accept?—Yes, that is the Order by the Government of India, sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

2060. (*Sir James Peile*.) If she leaves before she is cured?—

2061. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Does not the Report of the Commission show that in all these places a woman in hospital was compelled to remain in hospital until cured, or, if she insisted on leaving, that she should be compelled to leave the cantonment?—That was the Order of Government, sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

2062. I only wanted to ascertain the fact?—Yes.

2063. And is it or is it not true that there was the penalty of expulsion for the disobedience of any of these Orders?—Of that Order.

2064. The Orders either to submit to inspection or remain in the hospital?—No.

2065. Was not a woman subject to expulsion from the cantonment for refusing to attend?—No; a woman that was known to be diseased, and did not attend hospital, had the choice of attending the hospital or leaving the cantonment; that was the regulation.

2066. The regulation is "supposed," not "known." It was a phrase altered after the original draft. We have heard it in the evidence that a woman refusing to attend examination would be supposed to be diseased?—No, I do not know that.

2067. You are not prepared to say that my impression of that Report and evidence is incorrect; you merely do not know?—I do not know; that is all I say.

2068. Well, I have done for the moment with the three places visited by the Commission, and I go to the other six cantonments mentioned, Benares, Bareilly, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, and what I say of the reports of them, as I understand them, is this: that the periodical examination has been regularly maintained up to June 1893?—Where do you see that?

2069. Under the new Rules; I see that in the

Summary of the Reports, the Summary from which I read, the account of Meer Meer, the periodical examination has been regularly maintained up to June 1893, under the new Rules which, although intended to be applied to a purely voluntary system, are admittedly capable of being interpreted, so as to be "dangerously near to compulsion." That is the phrase used, I think, by the Commission themselves, is it not?—Yes; they use that. I see Benares, "no compulsory examination of the prescribed period since October 1891"?

2070. Not "compulsory," periodical I say?—I do not know.

2071. Sitapur; no compulsory or periodical examinations since passing of Act of 1889. Bareilly, no compulsory examination held; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed. Amritsar, examination was voluntary, not compulsory. Rawal Pindi, there has been no compulsion of any kind except in the case of any person suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women. The examination is purely voluntary. Peshawar, there is no compulsory examination whatever. I spoke of six cantonments, I did not mention Sitapur. Bareilly says, "no compulsory examination held; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed."

2072. That is not the point, the point is "periodical"?—I cannot say.

2073. If I say this is the effect of them, you are probably not disposed to say I am incorrect?—Incorrect.

2074. I find this in the Summary: "In all the five cantonments mentioned, Benares, Bareilly, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar, periodical examination has been regularly maintained up till June 1893?—I do not think it is so drawn up in the Summary. Page 2, "Benares. No compulsory examination of the prescribed period since October 1891, Sitapur, not compulsory or periodical examination since passing of Act of 1889. Bareilly, not compulsory examination here; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed. Amritsar, examination was voluntary, not compulsory. Rawal Pindi, there has been no compulsion of any kind, except in the case of any person suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women. The examination is purely voluntary. Peshawar, there is no compulsory examination of women."

2075. I was not asking about them?—No, about the others. I am only answering what the Report says.

2076. Precisely. The Report continues that there was no compulsion; the Report admits that there was periodicity?—Not here.

2077. My reading of these Reports is that they deny compulsion, but not periodicity, except at Sitapur?—The word is not used, I imagine, they all mean that, besides they said at Bareilly a date was fixed for voluntary inspection.

2078. I am practically right, I think. But we must not confuse compulsion with periodicity; I am not meaning compulsion?—I understand you to mean that they could come on a certain day to be examined if they wished it.

2079. And that practically they did come?—Very likely, yes; I do not know about that.

2080. With regard to the action of the great body of military and civil officials our witnesses have dealt with ten cantonments; the Commission directly with three, and the officers with the remaining seven. How many cantonments are there altogether in India?—I could not tell you.

2081. There is a great list?—Many more than ten. Those are the largest ones in Bengal.

2082. There are more than 100 cantonments besides some stations which are not cantonments?—



2083. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) They are all cantonments?—

2084. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I understand there are over a hundred?—

2085. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Certainly. If you would like the exact number you can get it out of the Army List?—I do not think there are a hundred for European troops.

2086. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, with regard to the way in which the rules of the higher authority have been received and dealt with by the officials of the cantonments. May I refer you to the cantonment of Umballa. I find that the documents, new rules, &c., which were sent at the time of the intended change of system being marked "Confidential" were read and then locked up in a "Confidential" box, so confidential that they were never seen by the succeeding commanding officers?—Where is that stated?

2087. Report page 79, line 4065. This is a communication, a report, from Brigadier-General Prettyman, commanding in the Sirhind District, to the Quarter-master-General in India, dated 27th June 1893. "I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulations contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram, now under reply, were duly observed. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the cantonment magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the officers commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival at Umballa in December 1891, and January 1892. I am unable to say how this oversight arose; it was probably due to the constant changing of staff officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject, being marked strictly confidential, were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General." That is rather how not to do it, is it not, that way of dealing with a confidential despatch, not to report it to your successors. Now I will take the case of Rawal Pindi: the all-important circular of July 1892 which was not locked up in a special box?—What page are you looking at now?

2088. That is page 63, 3270 to 3290; Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, K.C.B., commanding Rawal Pindi district. "Quarter-Master General's Circular, No. 20 of 11 July 1892, which may be considered as one of the most important in the whole series, is not entered in the confidential register. It was duly received on the 8th August, two days subsequent to Colonel Anderson's departure on two months' privilege leave, and while Major Coxhead was in temporary command. This latter officer had only a few days previously joined from England. Captain Leslie had proceeded on 10 days' leave of absence, and Lieutenant Pack-Beresford was acting for him. The communication is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note to the effect that it is confidential; the action taken is marked 'Copy to batteries and companies, received 15—8, and copy filed.' The copy was filed in the ordinary file. This is the last document which would be communicated to regiments until the two communications of last month correcting this circular. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson is not now in this district; but it is reasonable to conclude that Circular No. 20 did not come to his notice on his return from leave, as Captain Leslie, who had immediate charge of the office, remained in ignorance of it, though it is difficult to understand how it could have escaped this officer's attention. Major Coxhead was so new to the country and to the subject that the importance of the subject may well have passed unobserved by him, although it was incumbent upon him to have seen that its provisions were complied with; moreover, the fact of the presence of the pres-

titutes in the lines, though perhaps unknown to him at the time, must later on have come to his knowledge." Therefore here it was not put in a confidential box, but it was put upon the file. It would be the last document to communicate to regiments, and was only discovered after some period of time?—The paper is marked "Copy to Batteries and Companies;" each battery should have got a copy at once.

2089. This statement is made to account for the fact that attention had not been paid to it. The orders had not been carried out, and in paragraph 9 it goes on to say: "It is difficult to apportion the blame, but the examination of the record shows that sufficient care was not taken systematically with confidential correspondence. Such documents are usually kept by the commanding officer himself in a special box, but in this case they remained in the custody of the adjutant, and were insufficiently protected. In a well-regulated office it should have been impossible for a confidential document of this kind to have escaped observation or record in the confidential register and box without without speedy detection of the error?"—I understand by that that these orders were sent by the general to the regiments and batteries, and then there was some mistake with the regiments about them.

2090. The mistake arose here from the communication being wrongly filed, and in the case of Umballa it arose from it being locked up in a confidential box, and it was never even seen by the succeeding commanding officers. I simply cite these two cases to show how these things happen?—Quite so.

2091. These were called "confidential" communications. Why should these be considered confidential; they were on ordinary military business?—Well, it was rather of a delicate nature; it is not like a General Order; they were not published in General Orders like everything else, as we were dealing with rather a delicate subject.

2092. That would be the reason of it?—Yes.

2093. They are as surely official as if they had not been headed "Confidential"—Perfectly.

2094. (*Mr. Wilson.*) But what is meant by the term "Demi-Confidential" that frequently occurs?—I never heard of "Demi-Confidential," but "Demi-Official." That means I may write a letter to the general officer, "My dear so and so;" it may be an official letter, but not a letter brought on the records of the office.

2095. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) We have evidence now of some danger attending the marking of such communications as "Confidential." In consequence, in one case of one being marked "Confidential," it never even became known to the succeeding commanding officer by a slip, and I will ask again why should they be confidential? The Resolution of the House of Commons was not confidential?—I would have to go back to see whether it was received confidentially from the Secretary for India. I imagine that the correspondence must have come to me as confidential from the Military Department of the Government of India, and carried on by me as confidential.

2096. And why they did treat it as confidential, and call it confidential, you cannot give an explanation?—I suppose we followed what had already been done. I certainly agree with you that there is no reason why it should be confidential.

2097. All these rules and regulations did not only affect persons under military rule, but a portion of the Indian public, the women who were to come under these rules: and you have indicated, if I am not mistaken, to us that your desire was that the changes determined upon after the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 should be generally and widely made known; but this was not the way to make them generally known?—It would be the channel when not marked "Confidential." They would be communicated if they were marked to the general officer, and by him to the officers commanding regi-

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ments and batteries, and from them to their immediate subordinates, who would communicate with the women concerned.

2098. Would you not be prepared to agree with me that it would have been better that some means should have been deliberately and systematically taken to bring the new arrangements to the knowledge of all parties concerned, and not merely to the commanding officer, and from him to his subordinates?—But that is the channel of communication.

2099. Those channels very largely failed?—They seem to have failed, but you could not communicate with the women direct? there is no means of doing that.

2100. I will give you one illustration; you have told us, and we have heard otherwise, of the great habit from what has ruled in the past, that the Hindoo population will obey a command after the command has ceased to require obedience, from their habit of passive obedience; do you not think it would have been better to have posted up in their vernacular some instructions on the subject in the chaklas and hospitals?—I do not suppose that any of them could read.

2101. Other methods might have been taken; the mahldaris might have been communicated with, and informed?—I have no doubt they were; they must have been informed, and the women must have been told of it.

2102. Take the cantonment magistrates, who have a good deal to do with this business, particularly under the old system, and where it remains, and did remain, at Meean Meer, might they not have announced, so to say, proclaimed the change in open court?—They might have.

2103. And the police might have been distinctly informed and made to understand that the change had to be given effect to?—I think that would have been desirable.

2104. (Sir James Peile.) The new Act came into force on the 1st January 1890—the new Cantonments Act?—Yes.

2105. Before that date it is stated by the Government of India that the Rules proposed to be made under the Act had been drafted in communication with the Secretary of State, and published for general information and criticism on the 20th December 1889. These Rules were finally published on the 4th July 1890, under General Order Number 617. That is within your knowledge is it not?—Yes.

2106. And those are the Rules which are the principal manifesto under the Act, the Rules 4 and 5, which were quoted on Friday?—Quite so.

2107. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now, Lord Roberts, I will take you to the minute of the present Commander in Chief; you have read that minute?—Yes; but I would like to see a copy of it.

2108. Do you believe yourself to be in general accord with the views expressed in it?—Let me read it again.

2109. I will take you through certain paragraphs which I will read, that will be the easiest way. I did not understand you to answer my general question whether you were prepared or not to express a general concurrence in these views?—Yes, a general concurrence.

2110. Now, will you come to paragraphs 5 and 6, "In the evidence given at Umballa, on the 7th June, before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission, the population of Umballa cantonment is given as 51,020 souls. This constitutes a large city, to which laws specially excluding a whole class could not be applied without hardship and great interference with the liberty enjoyed by individuals everywhere under British rule. It may be instructive here to quote cities in Great Britain, with populations of about equal numbers, with a view to realising the actual conditions under which we are working in India, as opposed to the impression of those conditions which it is the attempt of the opponents of our system to convey to the minds of the British public. In looking over a table of popu-

lation in Great Britain in 1881, I find the city of York contained 59,596 souls, Bath 53,761, and Paisley 55,642. It cannot be doubted that a certain number of these populations are prostitutes plying their trade with the cognisance of the municipal authorities. Yet the Mayor of York is probably not accused of making official and systematic provision of prostitutes; nor is it conceivable that the municipal authorities in these three towns could exclude all prostitutes." Now I would ask you whether there is in your mind any analogy between the case of an English town or city and an Indian cantonment of equivalent population with regard to this subject?—I do not know how Sir George White takes it up in that case. I suppose he wants to show that you must have prostitutes in every city, in every place, and without even the cognisance of the officials; put in that way there is an analogy.

2111. May I point out to you the differences between the two; we will take the city of York; in the case of the city of York, the whole population is civil, and what prostitutes there may be reside where they like throughout the city, but in the case of a cantonment like Umballa you have a considerable military population as well as the civil population which gathers around it, and you, the military authorities, distinguish between the prostitutes to whom the civil population generally resort and those to whom you wish the British soldiers to confine their attention. Do you divide them into two classes? You take care that they do not mix in the same place?—No, not now; the order is not to do so. I do not say that they do not do it, but the orders are not to do so, that they are not to be separated.

2112. Do I understand you to mean that the orders that have been given now are to do away with all the chaklas?—I do not say do away with all the chaklas, because the women will live in them and call them chaklas; but the orders are that they are not to live in the regimental bazars; they go to the Sudder bazars.

2113. I understand that the orders are not to have regimental bazar chaklas, but only Sudder bazar chaklas?—The chaklas are the places where the women live.

2114. But the Sudder bazar chaklas, of which we have been speaking, and in regard to which most of the evidence, official or non-official, is concerned, are the chaklas of women, who, practically speaking, are visited by British soldiers and not in any ordinary way of business by natives?—Yes.

2115. That is so?—Yes.

2116. Well, now, does not that constitute such a difference between an English city of the same population as the cantonment of Umballa as to make comparison an analogy of very little value?—I do not think Sir George White meant an analogy in that way; however, I cannot answer as to what he meant.

2117. Well, then, I will go on to paragraph 7. Sir George White says that prostitutes are not regarded with contempt in India, and, as a class, are rich. Well, but have we not evidence of a different character? He says here, "Prostitutes are not looked upon by the natives of India with the contempt which attaches to them in other countries. They are accepted as safeguards to society, and are not themselves ashamed of their calling. As a class they are rich." Well now, does that apply to the British soldiers' prostitutes?—I cannot say.

2118. That appears to be the view of the present Commander-in-Chief, but have we not evidence in this Report, and the evidence taken and put before us, as well as in the evidence of our own witnesses, the American ladies, that the prostitute to whom the British soldier resorts is looked upon as having lost caste?—I cannot say.

2119. Will you turn to the Report, page 6, paragraph 15, "We now turn to consider certain circumstances which are special to the prostitutes of our Indian cantonments. The question of how far they are reserved exclusively for the use of our troops will



be discussed later on. But there is little doubt that a native harlot does to some extent lose caste among her fellows by consorting with British soldiers." "The British private soldier is looked upon by the natives as an Englishman of low caste; a woman who receives him suffers in estimation accordingly; and *gorā kamandā* (to earn one's living from the British soldier) is used as a term of reproach." Have you no evidence, or any other evidence, on the subject of the usual rates of pay given to these women by the British soldier?—No.

2120. You have no opinion to express on the proposition that they are generally rich?—No.

2121. You would not think it likely, would you, Lord Roberts?—I really could not answer.

2122. Paragraph 8 runs thus: "The charge of systematic provision for the residence of native women has been supported by evidence that the police are employed in watching the neighbourhood of the prostitutes' quarters. This is not official countenance. It is merely the precaution which is taken in every well-ordered town to take special precautions in neighbourhoods where breaches of the peace are most likely to occur." Now is it your impression (if you have one upon the subject) that the only object of the employment of the police in watching prostitutes' quarters is the preservation of the peace?—I should think so.

2123. Do not the police and regimental guards prevent natives resorting to British chaklas?—I do not know.

2124. Do you not know that we have some evidence to that effect; you do not know that there is evidence in the Report itself?—I do not know.

2125. If I am right in saying that the Report, and the evidence accompanying it, go to prove that they are there partly for that purpose you would not be prepared to deny it?—No.

2126. This is the evidence annexed to the Report. Have you got that. Page 8, line 465, with reference to Umballa; "There is no chaukidar. If there is a row the policeman in charge of the bazar is called in. He is not specially in charge of the chakla. Besides this, military police of the British regiments visit the chakla occasionally during the night, partly to turn out British soldiers staying after hours, and to see that no natives visit the place. If they find one they turn him out. Till lately this rule was not insisted upon strictly; but since 20 or 25 days they turn out even the male cooks and tailors. This is after 7 p.m. The door (a big wooden gate) always stands open at night." You will probably take it from me, Lord Roberts, that there are some other passages to the same effect?—Yes.

2127. And that there are passages in which it is reported and stated that they sometimes make the soldiers pay if they have neglected or refused to pay, or report them to their officers. Has that come within your knowledge?—No.

2128. Yet you would not be prepared to deny it?—No.

2129. This is Umballa. The Commission apparently examined Sergeant T. George, a sergeant in the Military Police, and he says: "The police visit the chaklas every night to take drunken soldiers into custody, to turn out men after hours (ten p.m., without, and 12 p.m., with passes), and to see that no men come in after hours. They also visit the place occasionally in the daytime. They allow one male native cook for each woman, and up to a reasonable hour at night. After that they would be turned out, and male natives at any time who have no business in the chakla, e.g., native police. Men working for the women would not be interfered with in the daytime. The women are free to come and go, and are not interfered with, except that a custom of sitting on chairs at the gateway, and quarrelling for the men's custom, has been stopped. If a woman was seen driving in the bazar with a soldier, they would be stopped; but if the woman was alone she would not

be interfered with. I have complaints of men ill-treating the women, generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case, I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the Commanding Officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself." Now, do not these details give an aspect of official, I will not say sanction, that may be a doubtful term, but of official recognition and regulation of the conditions of prostitution in connection with British cantonments?—I do not think of official regulation; it is a regimental arrangement apparently; if a drunken soldier commits himself he is punished for it.

2130. If he does not pay the woman he is made to pay?—Yes, apparently.

2131. The natives are kept out, and the soldiers made to pay?—So it appears from that.

2132. Is not that a regulating of prostitutes within the British cantonments of India?—Well, not in the way that I think it was originally; it is a regimental arrangement to keep the peace in the bazar.

2133. But not only to keep the peace, because we have it in evidence that the soldiers are made to pay; the condition of the prostitute is to be looked after; she is not to be allowed to sit outside and tout—on the other hand, the soldier is not allowed to cheat her, but is made to pay her?—Yes, it has that appearance, undoubtedly.

2134. It has that appearance?—Yes.

2135. Within the limits which these instances indicate, it is a certain attempt to regulate the system of prostitution in the British cantonments?—

2136. (*Sir Donald Stewart*.) Has a sergeant of military police any power to insist upon a man paying a prostitute?—No, he could not have power to make him pay. I suppose he might say to a drunken man, "you must pay up, or I will report you"; that is probably the way he would do it.

2137. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) This is the evidence; the sergeant makes them pay?—Of course, the sergeant has no authority to do it.

2138. (*Sir Donald Stewart*.) Has he authority?—No; certainly not.

2139. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) But practically he does that; that is his evidence?—I suppose he says to the drunken man, "If you do not pay up I will report you for being drunk here and making a noise."

2140. Well, now, at paragraph 9, the Commander-in-Chief says: "I therefore maintain that charge No. 1 has not been proved. Certain instances may be shown where the action of individuals has been condemnable, but such persons have acted *ultra vires*, are individually responsible, and have laid themselves open to disciplinary censure; but neither the law nor the Rules can be justly blamed for this." That, surely, is not a very relevant remark with regard to that first charge. The Resolution of the House of Commons condemns the whole system of measures by which it is carried out, and these are some of the measures, and it has been shown clearly, we have seen it clearly as far as Meer Meer is concerned, and upon the statements of the Commission in their Report, that (in a degree not so absolutely) in many other cantonments the system to which the House of Commons objected has been maintained. Now, Lord Roberts, I do not myself see what the Commander-in-Chief can mean?—I imagine he alludes to certain instances.

2141. By saying that the charge has not been proved; you can throw no light upon his meaning?—No, except that he admits that in certain instances the regulations have been infringed.

2142. The first charge to which the Commander-in-Chief refers is that the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers, and he says that that charge is not proved, because, though many persons have committed actions which

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have been condemnable, yet such persons have acted *ultra vires*, and are individually responsible for those actions. But do we not agree that in the case of Meean Meer, the whole system existed down almost to the present day?—I suppose he alludes to certain instances, probably, to Meean Meer.

2143. And that in some other places it continued to exist until after the discoveries made by the American lady missionaries; that is so in point of date, is it not, Lord Roberts?—What I say is true in point of date, that these irregularities have continued down to a period posterior to the visit of the American lady missionaries?—Yes, in certain places.

2144. Paragraph 10. The next charge is of "compulsory examination at prescribed period." This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. Do you agree with that proposition?—No.

2145. Then the next is, "If it is abolished all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it." You do not agree with that?—I agree with the rule that has been published in India by the Secretary of State, that a woman, the phrase is who is "supposed" to be diseased, but who was, practically speaking, known to be diseased, must be examined or leave the cantonment.

2146. Yes. Your view then, I understand, is that a woman who is known, not merely supposed, I should imagine not a mere supposition, you would mean reasonably supposed?—I mean reasonably supposed.

2147. That she should be dealt with, confined, and treated?—That she should be obliged to attend the hospital, or leave the cantonment.

2148. But that would not be the system of a general periodical examination of prostitutes in order to ensure their being fit?—No, of course not.

2149. Therefore you do not agree with this view. Then the Commander-in-Chief goes on to say: "The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Robertson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory." I am sure you do not agree with him in that proposition. The charge addresses itself to the general system, the presence of prostitutes specially appropriated to the use of British soldiers; and the essence of that charge by no means lay only in the proposition that the examination was compulsory?—He takes it up as compulsory.

2150. He takes it up on the ground of compulsion, yes. What the present Commander-in-Chief, therefore, desires is something inconsistent with the Resolution and view of the House of Commons; what he requires is periodical examination; and I think I shall be able to show by-and-bye that he would add compulsion if necessary; but a periodical examination of all these women is what he desires to have. Well, then, he goes on to say, "The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them." In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will, it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion." But now, Lord Roberts, I will ask you, with reference to the particulars of that case, whether this is an instance, properly speaking, of free will. The case is this; in the Report, page 31, paragraph 75, examination by the President of Umballa: "It was not only the women of the regimental bazars and camps, however, that Dr. Ward examined. On several occasions some of the women of the Sudder Bazar came up with one of their number, who had been taunted by her fellows with being diseased, and asked him to examine her to show that the taunt was unfounded. And on two occasions, after his examinations had been discontinued, they came to him in a body 30 or 40 strong, and not only asked

him to examine them, which he did, but also begged him to re-establish weekly examinations for all the prostitutes in cantonments, saying, what was no doubt true, that there were a great many women living about the places, casual prostitutes, and many of them foreigners, who were diseased. That these women diseased the troops, while they, the proper Umballa prostitutes, were blamed for it." Well, now, the free will which they appear to have exercised in that case seems to be of this nature, that they thought they saw in the system the advantage to themselves, as traders, of a system of a certificate of health, and what they wanted from this doctor, the reason why they wished him to examine them when he had not intended to do it, was that he might give them a certificate of health in this respect, in effect a certificate of health in order that they might pursue their calling, and get, of course, the pull over the other women. Now that may be an instance of free will, but I take it that their view of the matter was not one which you would adopt, and certainly the House of Commons would not adopt it unless it changed its view absolutely on the whole of this subject. Am I not right, as far as you can judge from what I have read, in saying that their object was to procure, practically, a certificate of their fitness to carry on their trade, and that they might have the monopoly of the custom of the British soldier. "Allegations of disease having been made against them, I find, by other women, which no doubt would have excited their ire." Paragraph 12: "If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence, be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient." You do not agree with that, Lord Roberts?—No.

2151. That is the opinion of the present Commander-in-Chief. Will then, paragraph 14: "I would even go further and say that some of the regulations communicated in explanation of the Act should be modified so as clearly to permit voluntary examination of women who ask for it, and that we should maintain this and solicit the support of Her Majesty's Government." I have just read you a specimen of the circumstances under which women would wish to be examined; and I do not suppose you would care to urge Her Majesty's Government to encourage that?—No, but I certainly should not refuse voluntary examination.

2152. No; that would be quite my position as well; I should quite agree with that. Well then, paragraph 17: "Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons." I wish to say to you, Lord Roberts, and I feel perfectly certain that you will accept my statement, that these ladies of the highest possible character went to India with no such intention; they went to India to ascertain, as far as they could, the truth?—Yes.

2153. And no doubt it would not occur to you to doubt that?—Certainly not.

2154. I am right in saying so at any rate?—Yes, quite so.

2155. And amongst other places they visited Meean Meer, and there they made the discovery of the continuance of the old system, of which we now have full knowledge from the official inquiry also. Paragraph 18: "Weight has been attached to the fact that the women themselves spoke of the hospital in which they were treated as the 'Lock Hospital.'" And then the Commander-in-Chief goes on to say that "When the old system of Lock Hospitals was abolished, the buildings were naturally utilised as wards of the cantonment hospital, and this may also have strengthened the belief that the old order of things still obtained." Well, it is within your knowledge and observation, I think, Lord Roberts, that



these hospitals which are still called Lock Hospitals, which the Commission of Inquiry themselves call Lock Hospitals, that they are separate buildings; they are not wards of a building which is also a general hospital?—In some they are.

2156. I do not think in any of the 10?—Yes, Rawal Pindi.

2157. None of the three?—I will not answer for that, I know it is at Rawal Pindi; I cannot answer for all of them, as I do not know.

2158. Well, I do not think there is much in that. Well, then, allow me to read this to you. This is the Report, page 39, chapter 12, paragraph 95: "The venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals occupy, in all three cantonments which we have visited, the building used as the Lock Hospital under the old rules, and are still commonly known to the people as the 'Lock Hospital,' or, the 'Prostitutes' Hospital.' Throughout this Report we refer to them, for convenience sake, as Lock Hospitals; without, however, in any way accepting any connotation that may be supposed to attach to the term"?—Yes.

2159. Our witnesses naturally used that, in fact they explained that they used the term "Lock Hospital" precisely in that sense, so that they are entirely in concord with the official inquiry. Well, now, I come to paragraphs 20 to 25, which dealt with the hygienic question of disease among the soldiers. Now, we have no returns before us; I do not know whether there are any returns. Paragraph 21, the Commander-in-Chief says "for the purpose of convincing myself on this subject, I got from the military department the latest returns available—1892, of the specific diseases for which patients have been treated in these hospitals, and the number treated for each disease. I examined the returns from 17 cantonments." Now, have you got these returns, Lord Roberts, or are they in this office? You see in these particular cases, there is a grand total of cases 62,051, and the total of venereal cases is 3,475. Now, those figures are very strange, and to me almost unintelligible; unless this contains a number of out-patients, it would include all cases. Very well; that would account for the difference. Then in paragraph 23, the Commander-in-Chief says, "I have not returns before me to establish it, but I am convinced that of the 3,475 venereal patients treated, but a very small percentage were professional prostitutes." I do not know why the Commander-in-Chief was convinced without having the returns.

2160. (Sir James Peile.) Paragraph 24 will show you what he means, I think. He means that these hospitals are not filled with women who are kept for the use of the troops.

2161-2. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Now, I would ask you, Lord Roberts, whether that is a remark at all justified by the evidence which we have had and which we have read of our ladies, who speak simply of the lock hospitals? They do not speak of the general cantonment hospitals; they speak of these separate institutions?—But the general hospitals and the lock hospitals are all the same now; there is no such thing as separate hospitals.

2163-4. They are not in the same building?—Sometimes they are.

2165. They are not in the places which this Commission went to?—Only three places.

2166. They stated it themselves?—Those are only three stations.

2167. Only three stations, and our witnesses stated it as to every station?—Yes.

2168. Well, then, paragraphs 26 and 28, those are concerned with the progress of disease among British troops, and I do not propose to put any questions to you which bear upon that subject, because that is

entirely outside the Resolution of the House of Commons and outside this Reference. We are not concerned here with the question of how to preserve the health of the British troops, though that is an important question; but it is not a question with which we are concerned?—Only this is a venereal disease.

2169. No. What I mean is this: that neither the House of Commons' Resolution nor the reference to us calls upon us or entitles us to enter into the hygienic question. That would be a long question; I am very familiar with it; but I do not consider I would be entitled to enter upon it?—Except in this way; would it not be a reason for the Government of India having certain regulations why women who are known to be diseased should either be required to attend the hospital or leave the cantonment; and the fact that nearly half our soldiers in the course of four years have been in the hospital for venereal.

2170. It is a very long subject; I am very familiar with it; but I do not hold that it is within our Order of Reference. I do not think that we could undertake that?—I think that is really the origin of these regulations.

2171. Yes; but the object of the Resolution of the House of Commons amounted to this: "You shall not do certain things, whatever your motive; even if your motive is to preserve the British soldier from venereal disease; you shall try it by any other methods, but not by these methods which we condemn." It is perfectly clear that that is the meaning and purport of the Resolution of the House of Commons?—

2172. (Sir Donald Stewart.) The point is not before us. I would ask just one question; is it not the fact that the old Lock Hospitals are now called Cantonment Hospitals?—Yes.

2173. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Not all?—He said for the sake of convenience he called them Lock Hospitals, but they are not.

2174. (Sir Donald Stewart.) That is the official designation of them now?—Yes. They are called Cantonment General Hospitals.

2175. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Those are the terms that would apply to all the hospitals, venereal and others?

2176. (Sir Donald Stewart.) No.

2177. (Mr. Stansfeld.) To what would they apply?—

2178. (Sir Donald Stewart.) These Cantonment Hospitals under the new rules are for the treatment of all contagious diseases among the civil population of cantonments, including, of course, venereal cases.

2179-80. (Mr. Stansfeld.) I will only ask you one more question. With reference to the 29th paragraph of this minute. I know you do not wish to answer questions which are not within your speciality. But I should say that possibly you may not object to answer the one I am now about to put. Paragraph 29 runs thus: "Our soldiers come from a class upon which the prudential motives which operate against immoral conduct have little effect. Short-service, i.e., younger men, and the smaller proportion of married men in the service, have increased the prevalence of venereal in the army; and these boys, after their short turn of foreign service, return to England diseased to an extent that may be inferred from the foregoing figures, to marry and transmit the disease to their children." Therefore, as I read it, here is a paragraph practically in favour of the whole system, which the House of Commons has condemned, on the ground that our young men must be protected by a system which we think has always been a failure. But the question I would put to you, Lord Roberts, is of a different character. I would ask you, if we are to consider the effect of this system upon our boy soldiers, whether we ought not to consider, in the interests of our own

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population, its moral as well as its physical effect? Now, we have the other system, and we have the younger men, and we send them out to India, and we put them in conditions in which they are practically invited to vice, and where they are practically told that they will be protected in the exercise of that vice. I want to know whether that has not resulted in more vice, and whether it does not send them home here vicious and diseased, and whether a large, a very considerable portion of the physical evils which have been attributed to the abolition of the system have not been the consequences of the system itself?—I could not say. Of one thing I am quite sure, that there is no member of the Government of India who had any wish to revert to the old state of affairs, and that they, with myself, rejoice that the thing was to be put a stop to. That I am perfectly sure of; and I am perfectly sure that Sir George White would share that opinion also. It is his anxiety to preserve the health of the soldiers that has made him draw attention to the effects of the existing procedure.

2181. Then, do I understand this, Lord Roberts, that not only, as I have always understood, do you accept entirely the view that the Resolution of the House of Commons is a Resolution which we are all of us bound to accept whilst it remains in force, but that you yourself personally would not in the least desire to revert to the system which obtained before 1888?—Most certainly not; I certainly would not revert to the system.

2182. You would not revert to the system that obtained before 1888?—By which prostitution was in a measure recognised? Most certainly not; and I am sure that that is the feeling of the Government of India, and also of Sir George White.

2183. You are under the impression that however he may have expressed himself in that paragraph he would share that view?—I feel sure he would share that; but I think it is his anxiety for the health of the British soldier which has caused him to make those proposals.

2184. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Mr. Stansfeld was asking you as to what means the women concerned, or the people at large, had of knowing of the change?—Yes.

2185. Now if you look at the Report of the Commission, that visited three cantonments, at page 7, paragraph 19, of the Despatch of the Indian Government, about the middle of it, it says: "In our Home Department we have directed the special attention of cantonment magistrates to this circular, and have desired them to do all that lies in their power to enforce the carrying out of these instructions, more especially by explaining to the cantonment police the material difference between the present rules and those formerly enforced?"—Yes.

2186. Does not that rather convey what Mr. Stansfeld was alluding to—that up to the present time, or up to this time, these people had practically no knowledge of the change?—I think they must have; I cannot conceive any cantonment magistrate not being informed.

2187. Does not this convey that to your mind?—But I cannot believe they did not know it. In fact, the women, in one of these paragraphs you alluded to just now, said, "Go back to the old state of things about the examination." I think it is quite clear that it was undoubtedly told them.

2188. Then, Lord Roberts, there is the point that Sir James Peile drew attention to just now, on these last pages—these supplementary pages, from Major-General Stedman, dated Simla, 6th July 1893. It follows the Summary, page 1; Sir James Peile pointed out that the officer commanding British Infantry had in this supplementary letter denied that prostitutes were at the time under reference allowed to reside in the bazar, or to accompany the battalion in the march?—Yes; I remember.

2189. But the statement that is in the Summary, I think, does not confine it to British Infantry?—No, probably Artillery, too.

2190. And then in regard to the Artillery you notice the word "now," in line 22; that women have "now" left, the Artillery women?—Are at present residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar.

2191. No, it is line 22, the word is "now"?—I say they have "now" left; quite so.

2192. It does not at all dispute the fact that they were there at the previous time. I want to get that quite clear?—Yes.

2193. In reference to your evidence on Friday, I want to ask you this: you told us, I think it occurs twice, that there were shortcomings that came under your notice, and the steps that you took?—Yes.

2194. Well, could you tell us what kind of shortcomings did come under your notice, and what steps were taken?—I sometimes found that the orders were not strictly carried out about women living in the regimental bazars, or about the examinations, and on such occasions I directed the officers concerned to strictly enforce the regulations.

2195. Now do I understand that you knew of certain cases before any of these despatches and reports came?—At certain places, yes; and they were stopped.

2196. But then how would they be stopped; by general instructions?—By my own orders.

2197. I mean addressed to particular individuals?—Yes, to whoever was at fault. In passing through a station if I found an order had not been carried out I invariably called upon the officer commanding to explain why they had not been carried out.

2198. Was anyone censured?—Certainly. I do not remember at what stations this was done, but during the last four or five years I have been obliged occasionally to call attention to the rules.

2199. You cannot give us any cases just now?—No, I cannot.

2200-1. I was anxious to know about that, because you know at the beginning of this inquiry Mr. Russell referred to this interview that you had with the "Christian Commonwealth," and in that interview with the interviewer of the "Christian Commonwealth," I think you said several times it was impossible that these things could have been done without your knowledge?—Yes; I said I think it is impossible that these things could be carried on after they had been forbidden, and I am sorry to find that the contrary was the case in certain places.

2202. Perhaps I need not take you on the various statements here, but of course this man came to you with the express purpose of publishing it?—Yes.

2203. And the expressions occurred in reference to these statements. In one case you said, "I deny it;" in another case you say "it was not true," and so on?—Yes. I regret to say, I find from these reports that these things have been going on.

2204. I made a note of them, some of which have been given, and a good many more have not been given, in what we have passed through, I think?—I certainly hoped they would have been put a stop to completely.

2205. Then I want to ask you one point, I pass over a good deal of them, and I want to put to you, that in what is called the statement of facts there is reference to the "penal consequences in case of disobedience of the women; a fine or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment," and your reply is given here: "I have no knowledge of any such arrangements"?—No, that was not correct. What I have always admitted was that by the present regulations of the Government of India, a woman who is diseased and would not attend the hospital, is, under the regulations, turned out of the cantonments by the authorities.

2206. Well, I was going to say the note I had



made was that Rules 4 and 5 here issued in connection with no this special matter distinctly provided for that?—Yes.

2207. And he misunderstood you?—He must have undoubtedly.

2208. Then he went on and read you a portion of the statement in reference to the system, "in each cantonment there are assigned quarters called 'chaklas' for prostitutes. In some cases the chakla is stated to belong to the Government," and you said, "No such 'chaklas' are sanctioned by the Government"?—Yes; I was alluding to regimental "chaklas." Under the present regulations there ought to be no regimental "chaklas." You see from the Reports there ought to be no regimental "chaklas," and they are not known to Government, except in regimental lines where they live there.

2209. Are you aware that Government granted land for the purpose of a "chakla" to a prostitute after 1888?—No, I am certainly not.

2210. May I trouble you to look at line 613 of this Blue Book, the Report of the Commission. It describes the "chaklas" at Lucknow, and then at line 612, "The larger one (Hira's) was built as a private speculation by a prostitute to whom Government land was granted for the purpose, when the ejection of the prostitutes from regimental bazars in 1888 created a demand for accommodation"?—That is in the Sudder Bazar, is it?

2211. It does not say; yes, it is in the Sudder Bazar?—Yes.

2212. And Government granted it as I understand without payment to a prostitute?—I do not know about that.

2213. To carry on a brothel?—Yes, I know nothing about it.

2214. (Sir James Peile.) It does not say without payment.

2215. (Mr. Wilson.) It says "granted."

2216. (Sir James Peile.) "Granted," that may be for a price.

2217. (Mr. Wilson.) Land is never sold.

2218. (Sir James Peile.) Land in cantonments is sold?—I think it is.

2219. (Mr. Wilson.) It says land "was granted for the purpose to a prostitute."

2220. (Sir Donald Stewart.) People are allowed to sell or transfer a site.

2221. (Mr. Wilson.) At Meean Meer; it is distinctly stated, line 3084 of the Military Reports, that, "with the sanction of the military authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army head-quarters, and as I understand, without the knowledge of the general officer commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazars"?—That is what Mr. Stausfeld pointed out at Meean Meer.

2222. Then a little further down this interviewer put the question to you about a register, and some points have been made about the register now; but are you aware it is in this evidence that, although tickets were stopped in 1888, the mahadarnis brought books in which were the names of prostitutes, and in which the surgeon entered the results of his examinations?—No, I am not aware.

2223. At some place besides those already referred to?—No, I am not aware.

2224. And this was said to be done for the information of the commanding officers?—Yes; I did not know of that.

2225. The evidence is that they did that for the information of commanding officers?—Yes, because it is distinctly contrary to regulations.

2226. That in one case a surgeon-major, anyway the medical officer, understood these books to be made out in the Quartermaster-General's office. You have not noticed that?—No.

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2227. Line 1729 of the Military Reports, on page XXXIV., it is question and answer 81, "Did you keep these lists?—No, I noted the condition of the women named therein, and returned them to the women who brought them"?—Yes.

2228. And then if you look, about the commanding officers, at the Report of the Commission that went to the three cantonments, the Blue Book at 1088, it says at Umballa duplicates of these records were in some cases furnished to the mahdarnis for the commanding officer's information?—Yes, of course it was quite contrary to regulations.

2229. I do not wish to prolong this, but further he drew your attention to a paragraph or paraphrased it for himself: "When a regiment removes, these women with the mahdarni accompany it on the march in carts provided for their transport, or are sent by railway. During their progress they are protected by European guards." Now I want to ask you about that, is it not the practice when a regiment is on a line of march that the bazar goes on at night, and during the night?—Generally. Yes.

2230. And the troops follow at an early hour in the morning?—Yes.

2231. And therefore in many cases when it is denied that the prostitutes accompanied the troops when they were marching I take it the bazar does not accompany the troops but precedes them?—The bazar, practically speaking, accompanies the troops, whether it moves on ahead at night or not; to say otherwise would be a quibble; that would not be done.

2232. I wanted to know about that; that could not be intended?—That could not be intended, because nobody could say the bazar does not accompany the regiment.

2233. With reference to the business of going with them, you are reported to have said: "Do you suppose that such things could occur without coming to my knowledge?" I should say that in addition to the three places that the Commissioners went to I have only really examined two, so that I do not know about a great many of them. I have looked rather carefully at two; but taking what the Commissioners say about their three places, and the two places that I have studied, I find this, that the Royal Irish had women going with them from Peshawur to Umballa in November 1890; the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders when they went to Dagshai; that the 18th Hussars took women from Mathra to Alligarh; the Gordon Highlanders to Sabathu?—And does it not make a remark that the women were turned away from the camp?

2233\*. Afterwards, when they moved there?—I happened to be there at Alligarh myself when they came.

2234. One of these marches was five months and the women were changed twice?—So I saw in the Report.

2235. That the West Yorkshire took women on the march to Chakrata, and the West Kent to Chakrata, and back again to Rurki. All that is given by the Commissioners; and then I find at Meean Meer the cases already referred to, so that on these five, in connection with these five cantonments, there are nine cases?—Yes, they certainly seem to have done it.

2236. We have had information, really intelligence, that the 2nd Dragoon Guards turned their women out in 1888, and brought them back again to a regimental bazar at Sialkat in 1891. I suppose you do not know anything about that?—No, I do not know anything about that.

2237. And that other regiments at Sialkot had their women there at the same time?—Yes.

2238. The same things occurred at Meerut and Umballa, as admitted in the Report. Now, the com-

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manding officers must have known, General Roberts, must they not?—They certainly must have known.

2239. Of course I am very unfamiliar with these military matters. I take it that from head-quarters any orders—these confidential orders are sent to the officers commanding the district?—Yes.

2240. They send them to the various commanding officers of cantonments that may be in that district? Yes.

2241. And they again to regiments and batteries so forth?—Exactly.

2242. And out-stations wherever they may be?—Yes.

2243. There are some expressions in this book I do not quite understand; do they acknowledge the receipt, or do they return the documents? In some cases it looks as if they returned the documents?—In some cases they might order them to be returned, in others they might not.

2244. Otherwise they acknowledge the receipt?—Anyhow they have to acknowledge the receipt when they return it, or acknowledge the letter and say what action they take.

2245. Sometimes it is returned. I do not know whether it was literally meant that the document was returned or not?—It would be returned then, after being brought on the records of the regiment or battery concerned.

2246. Supposing an order is issued in that way, it gets to the commanding officer of a regiment who acknowledges the receipt; is it any part of his business then to state what action later on he has taken, or that he has taken any action?—It depends upon whether he is told to do so or not. Sometimes he is asked to report what action he may have taken. Sometimes not. Sometimes orders are sent merely for information and guidance.

2247. If he put it in the box that we heard about just now?—Of course; that is utterly wrong.

2248. But, in the general order of things, he would not report the action; that he took unless he were specially asked?—Not necessarily.

2249. At page 7, paragraph 19, of the Despatch, towards the bottom, it says: "We have also asked his 'Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to issue orders 'to the Principal Medical Officer in India, with a 'view to his impressing upon all medical officers the 'necessity for absolute obedience to both the letter 'and spirit of these rules, and to general officers 'commanding requiring them to submit periodical 'reports showing whether the regulations have been 'strictly observed throughout their commands.' Is that the new proposal?—Well, this has evidently been brought about in consequence of the Government hearing that the Orders were not carried out.

2250. They had not previously been required to submit reports?—I suppose not, by this.

2251. Now I wanted to ask you two or three questions just to understand how the system is worked, and particularly with reference to Quartermaster-General Chapman's circular which was referred to on Friday, the one that you object to so strongly, and that you repudiate partly. I had better begin with the Memorandum of 17th June 1886. I want to ask—When did you first know anything about that?—Well, I really cannot quite remember, but I think it was when it was noticed from England.

2252. After the question was asked in the House of Commons?—Yes, I think so.

2253. It was sent out in May 1888?—I am not sure.

2254. Inquiry was made, rather?—Yes.

2255. Then previous to that, a number of questions had been put in the House of Commons, and several inquiries had been made in India about this system during 1887 and 1888. Whose business would it be to answer those inquiries (some of them have been

referred to here) or I should put it in this way: Did you confer with the Quartermaster-General, or would he confer with you?—If any inquiry came from the Government of India it would be addressed to the Quartermaster-General, and he would confer with me.

2256. Do you remember whether he did, as a matter of fact, confer with you during that period when this question was beginning to be mooted here?—I cannot remember. My first recollection of it was talking it over with Lord Dufferin. I cannot remember exactly what took place. I think Lord Dufferin drew my attention to it.

2257. It strikes me, as a civilian, when that matter was being pressed, and questions asked in the House of Commons, showing that there was interest in this matter here, that he should have conferred with you and told you?—No doubt he would; but my impression is that the first thing was Lord Dufferin calling my attention to these questions.

2258. Was it Major-General Chapman's duty, as Quartermaster-General, to tell you that these pressing inquiries were coming on this particular subject?—Oh, he would certainly tell me.

2259. And if he told you about that, ought he not then to have told you about his circular?—I say that Lord Dufferin drew my attention to it, some questions being asked. I cannot possibly remember exactly what took place about it four or five years ago, but I am under the impression that it was first brought to my attention by Lord Dufferin.

2260. That, I understand you to say, was after the telegraphic inquiry in May 1888?—I am really not prepared to say when it was; it is a long time ago now.

2261. Well, you told us that orders were issued again and again, I think?—Yes.

2262. That was because certain things came to your notice?—Yes.

2263. I want to understand; were those General Orders to all the troops, or to the particular places?—To the particular places.

2264. Where you found irregularities?—Yes.

2265. And, as far as you know, the thing was put right; at least instructions were given that it should be put right, but nobody was censured?—The officers who were concerned were told they were behaving wrongly in not carrying out the orders, and were told to carry them out.

2266. The question was asked you on Friday, whether Quartermaster-General Chapman was justified in using your name in that circular, using the authority of your name without your knowledge. Is it general for him to invoke you in that way when you know nothing about it?—Precisely in the same way as in this country the Duke of Cambridge's name is used. Letters going from the Adjutant-General are in the name of His Royal Highness, precisely in the same way that His Excellency's name is used in India.

2267. In reference to these questions, these cases of irregularity, was anybody a bit the worse? In the cases that you tried to put right, that you corrected, was anybody a bit the worse for his transgression of the Rules?—Except that they were told that they had not acted according to the regulations, and that they had committed themselves by not carrying out orders.

2268. But he did not lose anything by it? I mean there was no actual discipline. He was admonished?—He was not tried by court-martial.

2269. Or severely censured?—Yes; I spoke myself to the officers about not carrying out orders.

2270. What puzzles me is this—where exactly responsibility can be fixed in this matter. I will put it in this way. You had an interview with Mr. Stead, which was really at your request, as I understood, and Mr. Stead put it to you, according to his account of the transaction, put it to you several times very



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strongly; if this state of things was found to exist would these officers receive exemplary punishment—and you are reported, I think three times, to have said, “Well, they certainly ought to have been punished”—“they certainly would be, and you were sure that Lord Lansdowne would be down upon them”—“and they ought to be exemplarily punished”?—I hear you have cases in point. The officers concerned can be called upon to know why they did not carry out the orders, and then the Government can take such action as they think necessary.

2271. May I read you what Mr. Stead said about it?—Yes.

2272. Because he gave me a copy of the note he made immediately, at the time.

2273. I do not know if I should read the whole of it; some of it is rather complimentary. I will read it all if you wish it. It is rather long, but he reported you as saying this: it is not published, but he made several copies, and I have one; this is what you appear to have said: “I assure you I have done everything in my power to prevent it, and if it exists, which seems to me quite incredible, Lord Lansdowne will be down on the offenders, but I do not believe it is possible any such thing can have taken place. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘I am delighted to hear it, and no person will be more pleased than I shall be if you are right; but let us understand clearly, if you find that there are any officers who have set your orders at naught, these men have to be stoupe broke?’” “Certainly,” he said, “but I don’t think there are any such.” “All right,” said I, “but if there are they have to be broke,” “Of course,” he said; “for they would be acting in flat disobedience of my reiterated orders.” And then he represents you further on, that you had done your utmost; you were a little complaining to him that you had been a little severely treated in the “Review of Reviews,” and he said he could not go for subordinates; he wished to go at headquarters; and then he represents you as saying, “Yes, no doubt; but I have done my utmost, and if I have failed by being disobeyed, then those who have disobeyed will have to be punished.” And the same thing is repeated further on, that they were to be “punished with exemplary severity”?—Well, I see in one of these letters from General Frankfort, that he made that remark, and stated that these things had been carried on in Meean Meer, contrary to the orders from Army headquarters and without the knowledge of the officer commanding. There is no doubt the orders have been disobeyed.

2274. This case you have just now been looking at, for instance, looks rather a glaring case, and that was during your time. Do you know was anybody punished?—Which case was that?

2275. This Meean Meer case. It was discovered in May or June 1892—what you have just been looking at?—I do not remember, certainly.

2276. The commanding officer says: “It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued”?—Yes. I never heard of that. It was the general officer commanding at Meean Meer, and he ordered the discontinuance of it. He said: “Regarding the Report from Meean Meer, it is plain therefrom that the Orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances: (a.) Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses. (b.) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way. (c.) From some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate (see last paragraph of Report from commanding officer, Meean Meer), women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the

discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form then continued.”

2277. I know. But I want to know, here is a case of strongest possible disobedience to orders; the Meean Meer case was a very strong case indeed?—I never heard of it till this moment.

2278. Who is to blame for that?—The officer who committed the fault. The general officer reports that it occurred through some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate. He said (see last paragraphs, under Meean Meer) “women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspection made between March 1890 and May 1892.” He states who it was that committed it; it is not likely that I should hear.

2279. I understand the cantonment magistrate is the executive officer of the cantonment committee, which consists of the commanding officers?—The general officer commanding is the president.

2280. Exactly so; with a considerable number of officers, I presume. Now, about this at Meean Meer?—I never heard of this case at all till this moment.

2281. You know what happened?—I do not know what happened at all.

2282. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Did you say you never heard of it till you came into this room to-day?—No, never. It is only reported in June 1893; letter from the general officer commanding. He was evidently called upon to state how the rules worked; and in June 1893, he writes to the Quartermaster General in India; that is the other day, and makes his statement.

2283. (Mr. Wilson.) I do not know whether you understand my meaning. Major-General Frankfort commanding the Lahore District tells us in the paragraph under discussion that he knew about this matter in 1892?—Yes.

2284. Was it not his duty to report the same to headquarters?—No; he took action himself. He says, “I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892, and that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continues.” He said, that the fault occurred by some “Extraordinary misconception of orders, it was not done wilfully apparently; if he thought the order had been wilfully disobeyed he would doubtless have reported the officer. But he uses the phrase, “some extraordinary misconception of orders.” I suppose he inquired, but found the officer, whether it was a young officer, or a new officer, or in consequence of a change of officers, or what it was I cannot tell; but apparently he satisfied himself that it was a misconception of orders, and he evidently put it right.

2285. But I suppose nobody ever was blamed for something that he had not an excuse for?—General Frankfort never mentioned it apparently till now, June 1893.

2286. That was a case of entire disregard of positive instructions issued again and again—a departure from orders in this way practically comes to nothing. Does it not practically come to this, “Carry it on as long as you can, and when you are found out, say you did not know”?—No; I do not think that is intended. I might ask General Stewart who actually commanded in this very station, whether if he found the same thing to have occurred he would not have dealt with it himself. General Stewart, you once commanded at Meean Meer, and if you found a magistrate had not been carrying out the work properly, you probably would not report it to headquarters unless you thought it very serious?

2287. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Any officer commanding on the spot has full authority to deal with cases of that kind. If anything like direct disobedience occurred, it was his duty to take steps to correct it, or report it to superior authority, if not coming within his own powers. If he could not

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punish it sufficiently himself, he would naturally report it to higher authority.

2288. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Very well. Then, may I go back to the Quartermaster-General's circular of June 1886. There was appended to that circular a *précis* of previous circulars, is it quite possible that all those circulars had been issued by various Quartermasters-General without the knowledge of successive Commanders-in-Chief extending over many years?—No, probably not; but it has been the custom of the Quartermaster-General's Department for many years past in issuing a circular to refer back to other circulars on the same subject.

2289. Might all that go on without the knowledge of successive Commanders-in-Chief?—I was not aware, on this particular occasion, that those circulars were referred to, but I knew it was the custom in the Quartermaster-General's Department to refer to old circulars.

2290. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I think I understood from you, Lord Roberts, that it is the custom of the Quartermaster General's Department to issue circulars in the name of the Commander-in-Chief?—It is done in all the headquarter offices in India.

2291. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think we understood that you entirely disapproved of some of the contents of that circular?—Yes.

2292. Or the issue of the circular. I am not sure if I clearly understood whether you entirely disapprove of the general line of the circular, or of certain things in it?—The object of the system then in force was to keep soldiers from getting venereal disease, and the former circulars were issued in the same sense; I would not have objected to any circulars issued simply to keep soldiers from venereal disease. I certainly would not have approved of that part of the circular which referred to providing them with pretty young women.

2293. I think you would agree with me that those portions about taking care to have sufficient women and that they were sufficiently attractive are repugnant to the ideas of an officer and a gentleman?—Very improper.

2294. Am I going too far in saying repugnant to the ideas of an officer and a gentleman?—They are not at all proper ideas to have.

2295. I want to ask you this: For several years after the issue of that circular in 1886, you were coming constantly in contact with general officers commanding districts and with commanding officers and generally officers of all grades and in all positions; if this

circular was repugnant to them all, did no one of them refer it to you and ask you how they were to understand it?—No, I never heard it alluded to.

2296. But does it not strike you as rather odd that not one of them was staggered by such circular, and mentioned to you what they were to do with it, and inquired how it was to be understood, and so on?—Certainly nobody did.

2297. They have known since that it was officially cancelled?—They have.

2298. Then, if I gathered rightly, it has simply been cancelled; there has been no expression of opinion upon it as objectionable?—That I cannot tell you; I believe it has been only cancelled.

2299. A telegram from this office about that circular, said that strict inquiry was necessary, and on Friday we did not know whether any reply was ever made, or whether any inquiry was ever held; do you know anything about that?—No, I do not; I thought we found out there was a despatch which referred to it; in October 1888, I think it was.

2300. "Strict inquiry necessary." I want to know have we got any explanation of whether inquiry was made, and what happened?—The telegram was to the Government of India, and I cannot tell you.

2301. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I wish to ask one question; was it usual, when you were Commander-in-Chief, for the Staff, the Adjutant-General, or Quartermaster-General to issue circulars upon new subjects or changes of old instructions without showing them to you?—I may not have always seen the actual circular before issue myself, but the officers concerned would talk to me about them, and, as I mentioned, the circular to which we are alluding originated in my talking over with the Quartermaster-General about having medical practitioners scattered over the country, and I thought that would bring the attention of the Government of India to it. The first or second paragraph alludes to that.

2302. You do not answer my question; was it customary for them to issue circulars upon new matter of any sort without showing them to you or consulting you?—Certainly not without consulting me, for, as Commander-in-Chief I was responsible for all orders issued in my name, whether I saw them or not.

2303. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Where is Major General Chapman now?—He is in London, is he not.

2304. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) He is Director of Military Intelligence.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Friday next, 11th August, at 11.30 a.m.



## EIGHTH DAY.

Friday, August 11th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
*Secretary.*

Lieutenant-General E. F. CHAPMAN, Director of the Intelligence Department, War Office, called in ;  
and Examined :

2305. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) General Chapman, at our last two meetings we had Lord Roberts under examination, and I put to him a series of questions dating from before the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888, with the object of showing what the system was then and how that system had been dealt with subsequent to the Resolution. I find in Question 2020 I say, "A part of the old system, as your Lordship knows, was formal registration of prostitutes; the old system before 1888 was the formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively, their residence in regimental chaklas, and the actual licensing of those women by tickets in the form prescribed by the rules which had been repealed, and of their being allowed to accompany troops on the march." And then I put a series of questions to him and I follow up that line of examination by putting a few to you to-day, and they shall concern your Circular Memorandum of the 17th June 1886, which has been much discussed in this country. That is a copy of the document. You were at that time Quartermaster-General in India?—Yes.

2306. And you issued the Circular Memorandum of which the copy is before you?—Certainly.

2307. You were the author of that circular?—Yes; my name is at the end of it.

2308. What has been the rule, and what do you understand to be the rule with regard to the issue of such documents; are they issued on the authority of the Quartermaster-General or of the Commander-in-Chief?—I have prepared a short statement—

2309. If you please, we should be very glad to hear your own statement—which I think clearly puts forward the whole case, what they are, and whose orders they are, and by whose authority they are issued. "The Government of India, during the course of some 25 years anterior to the issue of the circular in question, had deliberately adopted a course by which they systematically controlled and regulated prostitution in the bazars of military cantonments with the view of preserving the soldier's health. The officials whose duty it was to carry out this policy were the Commander-in-Chief, and the Quartermaster-General, as his staff-officer, and it was in the Quartermaster-General's Department that the various orders which were connected with the subject were issued. With regard to the particular circular of June 1886, it was prepared at Simla after the Commander-in-Chief had completed his annual inspection, and had had the fullest opportunity for discussing with general officers in command the various measures which it

was proposed to adopt. It had the concurrence of the Surgeon-General, and after it had been fully approved by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief it was subsequently forwarded to the Government of India in the Military Department "for information," and was acknowledged by them. The course which it recommended may not be in accordance with views entertained on these matters at the present time. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the authorities who framed and drew up these regulations were not actuated by proper motives. That they recognised how very serious the amount of disease throughout the country had become, and how urgently Government measures were called for to deal with this terrible scourge, not only in the interest of the soldiers, but of the population generally, may be gathered from letters which the Commander-in-Chief authorised me to address to the Lieutenant Governors of provinces, and which are referred to in the Circular."

2310. Now I understand you to say that the subject was fully discussed with the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, and that the document was approved by him after having been prepared?—Certainly.

2311. Do you mean that he saw and read the document?—Certainly.

2312. I want to draw your attention to Lord Roberts's evidence, because as far as I followed him he appeared not to be conscious that he had seen the document, but conscious of a discussion with yourself of one part of that which ultimately became this Circular Memorandum. In Lord Roberts's evidence he tells us that he discussed with you a suggestion which, as I understand him, he himself had made as to the desirability of establishing a medical school from which native practitioners, trained in the treatment of venereal diseases, might be sent to various towns throughout the country. That question Lord Roberts discussed with you?—That was the subject of my letters to the civil authorities.

2313. But Lord Roberts is not prepared to say that he saw the whole draft, or in particular that he saw those paragraphs; and no doubt you know the paragraphs to which I refer?—Certainly.

2314. I need not recall them?—No.

2315. Or shall I recall them?—Not in the least.

2316. You know what I mean?—Certainly.

2317. That he did not see these paragraphs, and that he does not approve of them?—No doubt; I do not know whether he does or not now; he certainly did approve of them.

2318. Well, but did he see them?—Certainly.

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2319. He saw the whole thing?—Certainly.

2320. (*Chairman.*) That is a very important point; he not only saw some comparatively unobjectionable passages, but he saw the very passages to which so much exception has been taken?—Certainly.

2321. He saw the whole document?—Certainly; I could not have issued it unless he had seen it; perfectly impossible.

2322. That is what we were going to ask you?—I was his staff officer only; everything that I issued he saw.

2323. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, but is it, or is it not, true, that staff officers in India have been in the habit, more or less, of issuing Circular Memoranda, and documents in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, but without his having necessarily any practical knowledge of their contents?—On such important matters as the one we are treating of it is perfectly impossible for a staff officer to act as you suggest. He is obliged to show everything that he issues to the Commander-in-Chief.

2324. With that Circular of yours there is a *précis* of previous Circulars. You may remember that *précis*?—Yes.

2325. Am I to understand from you that everyone of them must have been seen by the Commander-in-Chief before they were issued, so far as you know?—They go over a number of years back.

2326. Yes, they do?—By each Commander-in-Chief at the time they were issued.

2327. They would be seen?—Certainly.

2328. In this Memorandum there are certain paragraphs to which I will draw your special attention. Those are points "specially deserving of consideration by the military and medical authorities in every command," according to the opening; and the whole paragraph 1 is in these words: "Where Lock Hospitals are not kept up, it becomes necessary under a regimental system, to arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march. The isolation of women found diseased, and their maintenance while under treatment, becomes also a question to be dealt with regimentally. In the regimental bazars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses, and above all to insist upon means of ablation being always available." I want to know if you are prepared to express your personal opinion upon the character of those recommendations or if you would prefer to decline to do so?—I do not decline any responsibility. These things were recommended; I advised the Commander-in-Chief to issue this Circular, and at the time I certainly thought they were right. They are in accordance with the previous history of what was ordered by Government; it is merely carrying out the Government Orders.

2329. Then you advised the issue of this Circular, you advised the Commander-in-Chief?—That is what every staff officer has to do.

2330. If he originates a document he would have to do that? Then you originated this document?—I prepared the document.

2331. Did you prepare the document on instructions from the Commander-in-Chief?—Certainly.

2332-3. Did you concur with it at that time?—Certainly.

2334. And you do not wish to say whether you concur now?—That is not my duty; I have not anything to do with it.

2335. But you do not wish to say it?—I do not think I should give an opinion.

2336. (*Chairman.*) I should like to put in a question here. You recollect that on June 5th 1888, the question of this Circular was brought up in debate in the House of Commons?—I am perfectly aware of it.

2337. And it was canvassed, and I am now quoting from a speech of Sir John Gorst, who was

then Under Secretary of State. He is defending your intentions and motives in what had been done. I will not read the very flattering terms in which he spoke of you, but the last lines of his speech are these: "Men had before committed errors of judgment through excess of zeal, and that General Chapman had been guilty of more than an error of judgment he refused to admit." Well, then comes this question by Sir George Campbell, then Member for Kirkcaldy. "Sir George Campbell asked whether the responsibility for the action to which objection was taken rested wholly upon General Chapman, or whether he was only the agent of a higher authority." Sir John Gorst said in reply, that he was not well enough acquainted with the details of military organisations in India to apportion responsibility in a case of this kind, and that he would treat the Circular as a Circular issued by the military authorities, and as such he deeply deplored it. In other words, he, I suppose, desired to put the responsibility for House of Commons purposes upon the Commander-in-Chief, not upon any subordinate official?—When I came home to England I went to see Sir John Gorst very soon after my arrival, and I asked him why he had spoken as he had done in the House of Commons. He said it was necessary to put the blame upon somebody, and therefore he put it upon me; he chose me instead of putting it upon anybody else.

2338. I beg your pardon, General Chapman, I thought it was exactly the opposite?—And that is what was done; it was put upon me and I had to bear it. All the abuse in the House of Commons was put upon me.

2339. Well, I am extremely glad I asked you the question?—Mr. McLaren's speech and other speeches all abused me.

2340. I dare say they did, but my reason for reading out these words was that I wanted to bring out, as I thought clearly, that in the view of the India Office, at the time being at any rate, the blame was not to be laid upon you individually, but upon what they call "the authorities"; and I was going to ask you what we are to understand by the "military authorities." I understand Sir John Gorst to mean by that that he exonerated you from public responsibility and sought to lay the responsibility upon the Commander-in-Chief. I mean I put a different construction on it from yourself?—I do not think the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for this, any further than that he was the agent of Government in carrying out a distinct policy which the Government had approved; and the Government of India have always allowed such circulars to be issued and have seen them and approved of them. The fact that this was approved was shown by this: that it remained one year in force before it was called in question, after it had been seen by the Government and endorsed by them. It is a subject to which the Government has addressed itself not once or twice, but about every few months. It is an important and difficult subject, which the Commander-in-Chief cannot deal with alone. It is so important that he must get the orders of Government upon it.

2341. Well, then, I understand you to say that you disagree with the view laid down by Sir John Gorst there, and you will not be contented for your own part to let it go forth to the world that the responsibility for this rests exclusively with the military authorities, as Sir John says. You would say that some responsibility, or, perhaps, the bulk of the responsibility, rested on the Government of India?—I say that the bulk of the responsibility rested upon the Government of India.

2342. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I should like to ask a question upon that point. Do you say that there was any correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India upon this subject, upon the subject of that Circular before it was issued?



—No, not before it was issued; I said after it was issued. It was forwarded to the Government of India.

2343. How can you maintain then that the responsibility of the Circular is with the Government of India?—Oh, for the Circular I will take all the responsibility.

2344. (*Chairman.*) I am afraid I do not make my question very clear?—It is the policy that the Government is responsible for.

2345. I wanted to confine myself entirely to the Circular. I understood this reference to be to the Circular when Sir George Campbell asked the question “whether the responsibility for the action to which objection was taken rested wholly upon General Chapman, or whether he was only the agent of a higher authority.” I understood that to mean the responsibility for the Circular. I thought the issue of the Circular was the action to which objection was taken, and I cannot help thinking that that is the meaning of the passage.

2346. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I should like to bring out this point. Will you describe exactly your method of transacting business with the Commander-in-Chief in matters of this nature?—I cannot describe in the particular ease; I cannot recollect what I did every day.

2347. Every day. Your method of transacting business with the Commander-in-Chief on all matters where a communication issues from your office to the army or Government?—I went to the Commander-in-Chief, it might be once, twice, or three times in the week with my work, and in such matters as these I either read the Circular to him, or put the paper before him, or gained his approval in some way or other, and I took it back to the office as approved by the Commander-in-Chief. That was one way of dealing with it. Another way was, that I sent matters to him in a box, and he returned them with his initial at the bottom of the papers, that he had seen them, and with his orders passed upon them.

2348. Were the documents which were put before the Commander-in-Chief by yourself, personally, entered in a schedule?—Yes, always.

2349. Always?—Always.

2350. The only papers that were initialised by him were extra papers sent to him in a box, when you were not present yourself?—Yes.

2351. Those he generally initialised?—Yes.

2352. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) In this case would the documents be initialised or scheduled?—I could not say; it is so long ago that I could not say whether it was scheduled or initialised, but one or the other it would certainly be.

2353. Did I understand you to say that you discussed the document with him, and that it was within your knowledge that he read it?—Certainly.

2354. (*Chairman.*) Now I will take you back to the question I asked you before, because I think it needs clearing up. Here we have Sir John Gorst's official view at the time. He spoke in the first place in highly laudatory terms of yourself, and then he said, in answer to this question of Sir George Campbell: “He was not sufficiently acquainted with the details of military organisation in India to apportion responsibility with exactitude in a case of this kind, and that he would treat the Circular” (the Circular, you see, not the general policy) “as a Circular issued by the military authorities, and as such he deeply deplored it.” Well, I do not intend now, in speaking of military authorities, to apportion what Sir John Gorst could not apportion, that is to say, the responsibility between you and the Commander-in-Chief, but your answer suggested that the responsibility really was with neither of you, but with the Government of India; and that is the point I want to make clear. Sir John Gorst makes the military authorities responsible for this Circular. What I have all along been trying to bring you to say is this, whether you do not or do agree with

this view put forward by Sir John Gorst that the responsibility for this Circular must rest with the military authorities?—Certainly.

2355. Not with the Governor General?—Certainly.

2356. That is all I wanted to bring out. Within the “military authorities” the question as between yourself and the Commander-in-Chief, is a point I have not yet tried to elucidate. There the responsibility seems to be divided in a measure; but I suppose as a general principle, for purposes of public controversy, the person in supreme command is held responsible for everything that is done under his name and authority?—I presume so.

2357. That is the general principle. Does the fact that documents of this kind are issued with the name and authority of the Commander-in-Chief necessarily involve that he has personal knowledge of them, or are they issued as, say, a Royal Proclamation may be in England with the Queen's name affixed to it without any personal responsibility?—Certainly not, they cannot be so issued.

2358. The Commander-in-Chief would have personal knowledge of the contents and purport if not of the precise words of any document issued in his name and by his authority?—Certainly.

2359. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I thought I understood you, General Chapman, to say that this particular question was discussed, I am not sure whether you said with the Commander-in-Chief or with the Government of India, but I think you used the word “discussed” in connection with it?—Did I? It was discussed with everybody. It was done deliberately and carefully and thoughtfully.

2360. I am speaking of the Circular.—

2361. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) You are talking generally of the subject, but he is talking of the Circular.

2362. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I am speaking of the particular Circular in question?—It was discussed with the Commander-in-Chief.

2363. And with the Government of India?—No; the only man who had any knowledge of it besides the Commander-in-Chief was the Surgeon-General who saw it.

2364. Then you referred to the fact that it was in force for two years before any notice was taken of it. Well, about two years?—About two years.

2365. What I wanted to know was; would the Government of India, managing that vast concern with so many subjects, as a fact really know of the issue; it might be nominally responsible, but did they know of the issue of this Circular?—I do not think there can be any mistake about a Department knowing a thing that is sent to them purposely for information.

2366. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) What Department?—The Military Department of the Government of India.

2367. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you explain to us exactly what the Military Department is, and the procedure by which what you call the Military Department would know of this Circular? You see we are ignorant of these things?—Well, I think I am rather out of place in stating what the Military Department is with Sir Donald Stewart here, and Sir James Peile; they know a great deal more about it than I do.

2368. (*Chairman.*) Let us now trace, as far as your recollection serves you at this time, the genesis of this very Circular. I understand it was prepared by those acting under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief?—Well, it was prepared in my office by a number of people who were concerned with it before it came to me.

2369. I will take it then if I may, please, in this way: the first step is that the Commander-in-Chief gives instructions that a circular shall be prepared?—Yes.

2370. Then in your office this circular is prepared by a certain number of officials?—Certainly.

*Lieut.-Gen.  
E. F. Chapman.*

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2371. The only name of an officer that you mentioned before was the Surgeon-General who would be one of the officials?—No, not preparing it; he was consulted.

2372. After it was written, do you mean?—Yes.

2373. Very good; then it was drawn up, either by yourself or under your immediate eye and supervision, and sent to the Commander-in-Chief?—Yes.

2374. So that, I understand, the Surgeon-General would not take part in the composition of the document, but would only be consulted after it was written?—Yes.

2375. He would not be, in any sense, part author of it?—No.

2376. Very good; after it had passed through your hands it would go to the Commander-in-Chief, and be issued under his authority?—Yes.

2377. There you drop the history of it; after that point you have done with it; it passes out of your hands and official knowledge?—Yes.

2378. Then perhaps Sir Donald Stewart would tell us?—

2279. (Sir Donald Stewart.) A copy of the Circular would go to the Government of India in the Military Department for the information of the Government.

2380. (Chairman.) It would go to the Military Department of the Government of India for the information of the Government?

2381. (Sir Donald Stewart.) It would go to the Military Department of the Government of India for the information of the Government.

2382. (Chairman.) Then it might or might not pass on to the hands of the Viceroy?

2383. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Then it would be for the Department to deal with it.

2384. (Chairman.) And it does not necessarily follow that it would come to the Viceroy.

2385. (Sir Donald Stewart.) No. If the Department considered it advisable that the Viceroy's attention should be drawn to this particular circular, it no doubt would be done; otherwise it would just be filed.

2386. (Mr. Wilson.) Then, General Chapman, I wanted to ask you this: when the Resolution of the House of Commons was passed in 1888 and sent out to India in the Despatch, which we have here somewhere, under whose cognisance would that first come?—The Viceroy.

2387. And he would refer it to whom?—To the Military Department of the Government of India.

2388. And they would refer it?—To the Commander-in-Chief.

2389. And he would talk it over with you?—Yes.

2390. And when any reply was agreed upon, or any action that might be suggested, would it pass back through the same channel?—Yes.

2391. Then may I ask you this: There was a telegram sent out from this country, condemning this Circular, and saying that strict inquiry was necessary, of date the 8th May 1888. Can you tell us what inquiry was held?—No, I cannot tell you that.

2392. Do you know whether any was held?—Yes.

2393. (Chairman.) This, you understand, is before the Vote in the House of Commons, about a month before. Perhaps, Mr. Wilson, you would refresh the General's memory by reading out that telegram?—

2394. (Mr. Wilson.) A telegram sent to the Viceroy, dated 8th May, from this Office, from Lord Cross, I suppose: "Your telegram received. As document quoted is authentic, perfectly inconsistent with the report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887." Then there was a Despatch following that—Despatch of the 17th May, from this Office, and signed by Lord Cross, in the last paragraph of which he says: "Since I received your last Despatch, a paper has

been placed in my hands purporting to be a copy of a Circular Memorandum issued from Army headquarters in India, and I learn from your telegram of the 8th instant that such circular is authentic. I have no occasion to doubt that the copy placed in my hands is correct; and although it has already been withdrawn, I feel bound to express my deep regret, in which I know your Excellency shares, that any such document should ever have been issued, nor can I in any way reconcile its contents with the report made to you in Quartermaster-General's letter, No. 3713 B., of 2nd August 1887, and contained in the enclosures to your Despatch of the 24th January 1888. I think, in the papers which have been furnished to us, we have no notice, so far as I am aware, of what reply (if any) was sent either to the telegram or to that part of the Despatch?—I do not know at all.

2395. You would not know?—No.

2396. (Chairman.) But do you recollect the coming out of this telegram from England condemning the Circular, and the steps taken on that. That would be within your knowledge, would it not?—Yes.

2397. Do you recollect it? Do you recollect its coming, and what was done then?—In 1887, is it?

2398. No, 1888, just before the Debate. That very peremptory telegram that Mr. Wilson has just read to you was dated 8th May 1888, that one in which Lord Cross says that the Circular is inconsistent with the Report of the previous year from the Quartermaster-General and is quite indefensible. Well, the receipt of such a telegram as that from the Secretary of State by the Viceroy would be communicated to you?—No, it was not communicated.

2399. Not to you individually, but I suppose to the Commander-in-Chief, and through him to you?—It was not in any way shown to me.

2400. Then were you not made aware that this Circular had been condemned from England?—Oh, I knew of it, certainly.

2401. I was going to say, but you knew it officially, did you not. Were you not informed; would it not come into your Department? As it issued from you, would not the recalling of it come in to you also?—Not necessarily.

2402. Then you had no official connection with the withdrawing of the Circular, or the taking of any steps in consequence of the condemnation of it here?—Only in carrying out orders.

2403. In carrying out orders?—Obeying the orders.

2404. Take it that way, on the receipt of the condemnation of the circular from the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief gave orders for the circular to be recalled?—Orders were issued by Government.

2405. By Government?—As far as I recollect.

2406. And those would come to you to be executed. It would be in your way of duty to see that they were carried out?—Certainly.

2407. (Mr. Wilson.) Upon that point I only want to say this: If that is so, it would appear that you never had the opportunity, in point of fact, of making any statement in reply to this sharp telegram and Despatch?—I had an interview with Lord Dufferin, at the time. I saw the Commander-in-Chief, and went from the Commander-in-Chief to Lord Dufferin, and Lord Dufferin told me that he would write privately to Lord Cross, and that he exonerated me in the matter. That is all I know about it.

2408. Then this is the first opportunity at all, of a public kind, that you have had of making any reply, either to the telegram or to the Despatch. I do not know whether you wish to make any other statement?—I do not wish to make any reply.

2409. (Chairman.) I think you have the Despatch from India in which that telegram is acknowledged marginally?—

2410. (Sir James Peile.) Yes. General Chapman, I have here a letter, dated the 5th May 1888, written by you as Quartermaster-General, to the Secretary of



the Government of India, Military Department. It is in answer to Lord Cross's demand for full and early report upon certain points. You say in that that the regimental system of dealing with prostitutes had been in force in the Bengal Presidency since the time of the East India Company. You recollect the letter, probably?—Well, yes; I have not seen it since.

2411. It is the one in which you submitted a collection of all the circulars which had regulated the system from 1870 onwards?—Yes.

2412. And among those circulars is the Circular 21 of the 17th June 1886. This particular circular which has been discussed?—Yes.

2413. It is one of a series of circulars which was issued from time to time?—Yes.

2414. And the occasion of it is shown in a letter in the same collection of papers, which also has your signature as Quartermaster-General: "The very alarming increase in venereal disease which has occurred during the past 15 months throughout the army in India is a matter which is engaging, at this moment, His Excellency's very serious attention." That was the occasion of the issue of the Circular?—Yes.

2415. And the object was to suggest a method of coping with disease among the civil population outside the lines, and at the same time to confine the British soldiers, in the matter of prostitution, to their own lines?—Certainly.

2416. You also put in the same collection a letter from you as Quartermaster-General, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, in continuation of one forwarding copy of the letter to which I have just referred, forwarding, for the information of Government, a copy of the Circular No. 21 of the 12th June 1886?—Yes.

2417. At the same time, you sent letters also as Quartermaster-General, forwarding the same Circular and other correspondence to the Government of Bengal, Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Government of the North-West Province and Oudh, Agent and Governor-General of Central India, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, and, again, to the Secretary of the Government of India and the Foreign Department. And in another letter you forward the same Circular to the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay and Madras?—Certainly.

2418. So that the Circular was sent in every direction to all the authorities in India?—Yes.

2419. It excited no particular attention or protest?—No, there was no protest.

2420. It was accepted as part of a recognised system?—It had very serious attention.

2421. Correspondence went on afterwards with the Surgeon-General as to the measures to be taken to deal with the great increase in venereal disease?—Yes.

2422. That all passed in 1886?—Yes.

2423. Then, in 1887, a change occurred. Inquiries were raised in England on this subject. The Bishop of Lichfield spoke on it in the House of Lords; perhaps you recollect?—Yes.

2424. And that was taken up by the Secretary of State?—Yes.

2425. And inquiries were addressed to India. I find in this file, which is from the India Office Records, a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department to the Quartermaster-General in India, that is, to you, in which he says he forwards a letter from the Quartermaster-General of the Madras army. He says: "It will be seen that the orders attached to that letter are represented to be reproductions of circulars which have been issued in the Bengal Presidency, and it appears to the Government of India that if these circulars are still in force, very strong objections may reasonably be urged against the arrangements which they seem to countenance, and which appear to go beyond the limits of the action provided by law. I am accordingly to ask that his Excellency the Commander-in-  
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Chief may be moved to consider the propriety of revising the existing regulations, so as to limit the action of the military authorities in all cantonments to what is really required to give effect to the provisions of the Cantonment Act in this matter." That letter is dated 23rd January 1888. With that is the letter from the Quartermaster-General in the Madras Army which is referred to in the letter I have just quoted from. He says, "In view of diminishing as much as practicable the liability of soldiers contracting disease, orders on the subject which have been issued in the Bengal Presidency, were reproduced in the circulars as per margin, copies attached." One of these is dated 6th August 1886, and it is stated by the Government of India to have reproduced the Circular No. 21 of 17th June 1886. This correspondence was forwarded to the Secretary of State with a Despatch No. 17 of the 24th January 1888, in which reference is made to the letter which I have just read from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to you, and this despatch says, "Your Lordship will observe that we consider some of the existing arrangements are open to objection, and that we are in communication with the Commander-in-Chief with a view to their revision." Do you recollect that revision being taken up?—Yes, after the Bishop of Lichfield's question.

2426-7. Well then, I go to another Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, No. 81 of the 18th of May 1888. That is the Despatch to which your letter of 5th May and the set of circulars are enclosures. In the third paragraph of that Despatch the Government of India says, referring again to the Circular No. 21, of 17th June 1886: "This Circular is one of those alluded to in the second clause of Paragraph I. of Military Department letter dated 23rd January 1888, upon which the Madras circulars were based, and to which we took objection in that letter." They then forward your letter with the copies of all the circulars and continue, "We admit without reserve that the blots upon the present system are so serious as to call for our earnest consideration and for an immediate and thorough revision of existing arrangements." Do you recollect that?—No.

2428. You have no doubt that that is a Despatch of the Government of India to the Military Department?—Certainly.

2429. And another passage is: "The instructions on the subject are not issued under the authority of the Government of India, but having them now before us in a complete form, we have no hesitation in saying that some of the rules are open to grave objection, and are indeed indefensible." And they go on: "We have now decided to direct the cancellation of the circulars." Appended to that Despatch and to the other Despatch which I quoted, is the signature of Lord Roberts as a member of the Government of India?—Yes.

2430. At that time, therefore, he had re-examined the circulars and concurred in the opinion of the Government of India that they were indefensible, and required revision?—Certainly.

2431. I refer also to another Despatch from the Government of India of the 15th October 1888, paragraph 7, "It will thus be seen that the 'Indian Contagious Diseases Act,' and Acts, or portions of Acts, connected therewith, have been repealed, and the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps, or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled." And Lord Roberts' signature is appended to that also as agreeing with the rest of Government of India in that view?—Yes.

2432. It appears then that this Circular, No. 21, and all the other circulars had ceased to exist in 1888?—Yes.

2433. And the system based on them and regulated by them had been abolished?—Yes.

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2434. And after that date any practice adopted on the strength of those circulars would be devoid of any authority and would be contrary to the orders of the Government of India?—Certainly.

2435. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I ask you, General Chapman, we have had a large number of despatches and papers of various kinds supplied to us on this subject, and we find that some of them are marked "Confidential" and some are marked "Demi-official." Can you tell us what object there would be in making these confidential, and what is the exact meaning of "confidential" in that sense?—I do not think they are issued confidentially. I do not remember what the practice is that you refer to. I think we found that all the papers on this subject were not confidential.

2436. But most of them were?—I really cannot say; I think they were not confidential; but I cannot say.

2437. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) The issue of the Circular relating to a subject of that kind as "confidential" would be absurd, would it not?—I think so.

2438. (*Sir James Peile.*) In point of fact it was not confidential; here it is?—I do not think it was.

2439. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I just draw your attention to this Despatch written since you left India. Brigadier-General Pretymann writing from Simla on the 23rd June 1893, No. 30, in paragraph 14, says this: "I would here remark that the very secrecy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view, and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to officers commanding corps as well as to cantonment authorities generally"?—I know nothing about that.

2440. Of course you would not know about that particular despatch, but would you at all concur in his view if they were marked "Confidential," and "very great secrecy entailed"?—I have nothing to do with it really. I had left India.

2441. But it refers to your circulars?—My circulars were not confidential. These circulars are not confidential at all.

2442. (*Chairman.*) Then what are those to which you refer, Mr. Wilson, to which those remarks apply. We have some strong remarks about the secrecy of these documents, I want to know to what documents those remarks apply.

2443. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Major-General Pretymann writes, paragraph 4: "It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the cantonment magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the officers commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival at Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892. I am unable to say how this oversight arose; it was probably due to the constant changing of staff officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject, being marked "strictly confidential," were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General"?—I know nothing about it.

2444. Now, on another topic, can you tell me this, under whose authority do the military police act?—Under the authority of the cantonment magistrate.

2445. Of the cantonment magistrate?—The military police.

2446. The military police of the European regiments?—No; the orders of the commanding officer.

2447. The commanding officer?—Yes.

2448. Then, if they exceed their duty, it would be the business of the commanding officer to deal with it?—Yes.

2449. If there should be cases in which the military police have exceeded their duty, it would be the business of the commanding officer to look after that?—The military police would have only offences against the men.

2450. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes; but Mr. Wilson is asking who are the military police responsible to?—The commanding officer.

2451. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Then I want to ask you, if it appears they make a practice of turning male natives out of brothels, because British soldiers object to their presence, are the military police within their authority in doing that?—I really have not heard of that. I do not think the military police go into brothels. I do not know at all.

2452. But my question is, if they do so?—I do not really see what it has to do with it.

2453. Very well, I will not press it?—

2454. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) You do not know anything about it?—I do not know anything about it.

2455. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Then I want to ask about another point, just to get to understand it. When a regiment is on the march, am I right in understanding that the bazar starts at 10 or 11 o'clock at night, and the troops follow early in the morning?—Yes, I suppose it does.

2456. And does the Quartermaster's party march with or about the same time as the bazar, during the night?—I do not know.

2457. I will only ask you one other question. Can you tell us whether any effort has ever been made to advise these young soldiers with reference to elusivity?—I do not know. I should think every effort is made, but I do not know.

2458. You cannot tell us of anything that has been officially—directly—done in that direction?—No, I do not recall anything.

2459. Either by commanding officers or by chaplains?—Oh, by chaplains and by commanding officers it is repeatedly done.

2460. You cannot give us any instances?—I know instances. It is the one duty of the commanding officer and of the chaplain—of every officer.

2461. (*Chairman.*) I think we may take it for granted that a minister of religion would be preaching; but would a commanding officer lay stress on such a point?—Everybody; every single officer concerned in the interests of the soldiers, everybody would tell them.

2462. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have had communications with a considerable number of soldiers in this country, some who approve of these regulations, and of the system of regulating prostitution, and some who do not; and without exception they tell me that they never did hear, either from commanding officers, or any other officers, or from the chaplains, a word of advice on this subject?—Then they do not speak the truth.

[The Witness withdrew.]



Mr. DENZIL IBBETSON and Surgeon-Colonel CLEGHORN, called in ; and Examined.

2463. (*Chairman.*) You come here, I think, on behalf of the Government of India ?—(*Mr. Ibbetson*) Yes, Sir, we have been sent here by them.

2464. You have, of course, the documentary evidence that they forwarded by you in your possession ?—The reports of the general officers commanding the cantonments ?

2465. That Blue-book, and the White one underneath it ?—Yes.

2466. Those you have brought with you. Of course you are fully aware of the contents of them ?—Yes.

2467. And you know that the reason and object of this inquiry is this : Suspicion has been aroused in the minds of certain Members of Parliament that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 has not been loyally carried out in India. You know, of course, the Resolution that I refer to ; and you understand me when I say that suspicion has been aroused, founded on certain evidence, that what the House of Commons then laid down has not been strictly and loyally carried out in India ?—Yes.

2468. That the view taken by the House of Commons had not been acted up to in India. We communicated this suspicion to the Government of India, and it was decided we should hold a Departmental Committee here ; and Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Wilson represent the views of certain members of the House of Commons who are not satisfied with the present working of the system in India, and the Government of India have sent you two gentlemen here, as I understand, to represent the views of the Government, and to give us accurate information as to the existing state of facts. Of course we have had before us a quantity of evidence from two ladies who visited India some two or three years ago. That is in a measure rebutted by the printed evidence before us. But we felt it would be more satisfactory to have oral evidence confronted with oral evidence, and not merely confronted with documentary evidence ; and it is on that account we have asked you to attend here to-day ?—May I say one thing, Sir. I do not understand in the least that we are sent here to represent the views of the Government of India. We, with the assistance of a third member, made inquiry into the facts in certain cantonments, and this report represents the result of that inquiry ; and we have been sent here to be asked any questions, and to answer any questions which you might wish to put, on what we ascertained in that inquiry. But I do not think we are in any way authorised to represent Government or to express their views. I do not even know what their views are.

2469. I think, then, perhaps I am in fault in having used an ambiguous phrase. I did not mean that you represented the theoretical views of the Government of India on the general question of the Contagious Disease and its treatment ; I only meant you were in a position to represent officially what they state to be the existing condition of facts ?—Yes.

2470. Because we have had some correspondence with the Government of India, of which I think one can, without any breach of confidence, say that it amounts to this : that they repudiate the notion that there has been any attempt on the part of the authorities in India to disregard or defeat the Resolution of the House of Commons ?—Yes.

2471. And they put you gentlemen forward as their witnesses to make good that view ?—Yes.

2472. That there has been a *bonâ fide* attempt and desire to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons ?—So far as regards the three cantonments which we visited. Of course we can speak for nothing beyond that.

2473. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I would draw your attention, first, to the appointment of this Committee, and the Order of Reference to us. This Departmental Committee, no doubt you are already aware, has been appointed with the following instruction : “To inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in the Indian cantonments, and elsewhere, with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888.” That you are aware of ?—Yes.

2474. That Resolution reads as follows, I will read it to you to refresh your memory :—“That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoin, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed.” Now, we have already, as you have been told, taken evidence as to the practice up to the year 1892, in ten cantonments, namely, Lucknow, Meerut, Lahore (that is Meean Meer, is it not ?), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritsar, Umballa, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares. Well, then, I come to the Resolution of the Indian Government under which you acted. That is dated 2nd June 1893, and your Commission was appointed to inquire into the allegations contained in the evidence so taken, the evidence refers to ten cantonments ; but as to three only of those cantonments, namely, the cantonments of Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, and to report whether any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules of July 1890. That is the reference to you ?—Yes.

2475. Well, then it is evident, is it not, that the report of your Commission made in pursuance of that Resolution covers only part of the ground comprised in the original evidence, three cantonments out of ten ?—Yes.

2476. I note in the text of your Report that you speak repeatedly in general terms about conditions which exist in all cantonments, but it is always with the limit which you preface to the Report, that it applies to those three cantonments only ?—So far as regards the working of these regulations ; but where we describe general matters, for instance, the sub-division of cantonments and the manner in which the area of cantonments is split up into bazars, Sudder bazars and regimental bazars, and so forth, that would be general to all cantonments, I think.

2477. I did not want to get into any confusion. I know that you say that you confine them ?—At the bottom of the first page.

2478. “It must be understood that all statements of fact regarding cantonments contained in the following pages relate, unless otherwise stated, to the three cantonments visited, namely, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, and to them only ” ?—Yes.

2479. Therefore that governs everything that follows ?—That governs the whole of the Report ; yes. There is, however, a good deal in the Report which is true of other cantonments also.

2480. Yes. I quite see the distinction. Well, you will already perceive from my reference to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and to the appointment of this Departmental Committee, and to the document under which you were authorised to act, that there is a difference between them as to the subject-matter for examination ?—Yes.

2481. The reference to you with respect to these three cantonments out of 10 is not co-extensive with the reference to this Departmental Committee, for it substitutes the Rules of 1890 for the Resolution of the House of Commons. We have been appointed to make a report to the Secretary of State, which shall be laid on the Table of the House of Commons, on the question how far their Resolution had

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been acted upon, and practically accepted in India?—Yes.

2482. But under your instruction your inquiry seems to have been confined to how far the practice was consistent with the Cantonments Act, and the Rules of July 1890?—I think not quite, Sir. What we understood to be our instructions, and what we certainly acted upon as our instructions was this: we were to ascertain facts, as far as we could. We had before us the evidence which had been given before you by the American ladies, and what we had to do was to inquire and ascertain how far the evidence correctly described what had been done and what was being done at the time. How far the practice, as it existed, conflicted either with the Resolution of the House of Commons or the Cantonments Act or the Rules of 1890, so far as we were concerned we thought quite a secondary question. Any one is capable of forming his opinion as to that when he once has the facts before him. Our object was to ascertain the facts and to record them.

2483. But I must refer you to the second paragraph of the Resolution of the Governor General in Council under which you were appointed: "It will be the duty of the Commission to proceed to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow to inquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement annexed, and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report." You first take evidence and then you report?—Yes.

2484. And you are called upon to report, "whether, in your opinion, any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the Regulations published under that Act in G.G.O., No. 617, of the 4th July 1890"?—Yes.

2485. There is no reference in your appointment to the Resolution of the House of Commons?—No; our instructions were divided into two parts: first, to inquire into the correctness of the statements before the Committee; and, secondly, to report as to infringement of the Act and the Rules. The first we took to be the more important of the two; the second is a minor one.

2486. As a matter of fact, you were not directed to report whether the Resolution of the House of Commons had been acted upon and obeyed?—No; because having given the facts, we could have merely given our individual opinion as to whether the facts coincided with the Resolution or not.

2487. I will just ask you whether it is the usual thing to leave open to the Commission itself to add that interpretation? Can you give me any reason why this Committee, having been appointed to inquire into the question whether the House of Commons Resolution has been obeyed, and when the instruction of the Secretary of State, I think, in fact I am sure of it, but I have not it by me at the moment, was on the same line, can you tell me why the Indian Government did not appoint you under the same phraseology, and why that appointment of you was not co-extensive with their instructions from the Secretary of State?—Of course, I have no knowledge whatever of what the motives of the Indian Government were; but so far as my private opinion goes, it seems, I think, that they felt that the one thing was to get the facts accurately. They thought that the statements which had been made before the Committee by the American ladies, suggested a state of affairs which did not accurately represent what was the fact; and they appointed us, as independent persons, and with no previous knowledge of the subject, and unconnected with the Military Department, to go round to these three cantonments, and ascertain what actually had been done. Our opinion as to how far what had been done infringed the Resolution of the House of Commons, or not, would have been of comparatively little value; the great point was to get down what had been done, and let the Committee draw its conclusions.

2488. But I noticed in going through the evidence the very frequent confusion in the minds of those who gave evidence, between the Resolution of the House of Commons and the Cantonment Act, and the rules issued under it. In a very great many instances I find that the evidence is simply to the effect that the Cantonment Act and the rules had been obeyed?—Yes?

2489. Which is not the question which we are here discussing?—In the evidence given before us, you mean?

2490. Yes; I find it so?—Is it not invariably stated how they had been obeyed?

2491. Then at the beginning of your Report you refer to an instruction which limits it in the way I have pointed out?—Yes.

2492. Now the terms of the appointment of this Departmental Committee are—it is worded: "I have accordingly thought it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practices in the Indian cantonments and elsewhere with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888," and the Resolution is in the margin?—Yes.

2492\*. Then you have no explanation to give about that fact?—I would say one thing, sir. I think so far as I can remember, we have never been contented with the simple statement of a witness before us, that the Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, have been obeyed. I think we have always gone further and asked how they have been obeyed, so that the whole facts are down.

2493. Now this must be evident to you; suppose those rules in themselves fail to satisfy the Resolution of the House of Commons, which is in part our view?—Yes.

2494. Your report, even if it demonstrated a general compliance with those rules in the three cantonments would not necessarily show that the practice in those places was in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons?—Not necessarily, so far as the rules conflicted with the Resolution.

2495. Well now, were three only out of the ten cantonments mentioned in the evidence selected on account of the shortness of time for investigation?—On account of the shortness of time. We had 23 days to make the inquiry and make the report.

2496. Can you tell me why those three cantonments were singled out for your visitation?—I believe because they were large ones and near at hand; for no other reason.

2497. Can you tell me why Meerut Meer was not selected as one?—Probably because it was a long way off. Umballa was close to us; Meerut was fairly close to Umballa, and Lucknow was at some little distance. If we had gone to Meerut Meer we should not have had any other large cantonment except Rawal Pindi near us, and the distance would have been very great, much greater than the distances we travelled.

2498. How long would it have taken you to travel?—Twelve hours from Meerut Meer, 12 hours on to Rawal Pindi; that is from Umballa.

2499. Do you say 12 hours from Lucknow to Meerut Meer?—No, from Umballa to Meerut Meer, taking Umballa as our starting point.

2500. It would have taken another 12 hours?—Yes.

2501. And that you put as, in your belief, the reason?—I suppose that is the reason, because I can think of no other reason. I have no knowledge whatever of why they were selected.

2502. Are you aware of the evidence as to Meerut Meer?—I have read it, yes.

2503. Meerut Meer is the cantonment in which, beyond all other cantonments, the old system has been kept up down to the present day?—Yes.

2504. That is so?—I do not know; so far as the evidence goes, yes.



2505. As far as the evidence goes, yes; I mean that?—Yes; I beg your pardon.

2506. And you know Meean Meer was the cantonment in which our American missionaries positively discovered and obtained possession of a registered ticket, a prostitute's ticket of registration?—I read that in the evidence.

2507. I was examining one of our witnesses, Mrs. Andrew, on the first day and I asked her (Question 431). "*(Mr. Stansfeld.)* Well, you have said these blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, requesting him to give the prostitute of such a name, a ticket enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear at the bi-monthly inspection. Did you succeed in obtaining one of such tickets?—*(A.)* Yes. *(Q.)* Can you produce it?—*(A.)* We saw a number of such tickets in the hospitals, and supposed them to be tickets of women in the Lock Hospital. We afterwards succeeded in obtaining one of these tickets. *(Q.)* Have you got that?—*(Q.)* Here it is," and then follows a *facsimile* of the ticket?—Yes.

2508. Showing inspection was continued up to 1892?—Yes.

2509. And is not that evidence confirmed now by official documents showing that the old system was revived and re-established from March 1890 to May 1892 at Meean Meer?—I have no knowledge of Meean Meer, Sir. I have no knowledge of what has been done at Meean Meer whatever; I am quite unable to speak as to that.

2510. Then you are not familiar with what I call the White Book, which contains the reports of the commanding officers. You have not read their reports, have you?—I just looked through them at Simla.

2511. Are you in any way responsible for those reports of commanding officers?—In no way whatever.

2512. They do not form part of your inquiry?—Not at all.

2513. And you have nothing to say about them?—Nothing at all. The reports on the other seven cantonments I have nothing whatever to do with. The reports on these three cantonments—

2514. You are not prepared to be examined upon them?—No.

2515. Now, we have it on the authority of Lord Roberts, who has been examined, that in his view the meaning of the Resolution of the House of Commons was absolute abolition of the entire system which existed before 1888. Will you take that from me?—Yes.

2516. And not simply its modification. You will take that from me?—Yes.

2517. And that view not only represents his own opinion as Commander-in-Chief, but also that of the Government of India, you are aware of that?—Yes.

2518. Now I want to ask you some questions about the steps taken by the Government of India to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888. First of all, there were certain orders, were there not; instructions before the new draft Rules were prepared. Are you aware of the instructions that were issued before the Rules?—Only so far as we happened to come across them in the course of this inquiry.

2519. Very well. Can you confirm me in this statement: orders were issued for the purpose, first, of forbidding the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits?—That is so.

2520. Secondly, of forbidding prostitutes being allowed to accompany regiments to camp or on march?—Yes, I believe so.

2521. Third, forbidding the registration of prostitutes?—I cannot say about that.

2522. Fourth, forbidding the granting of licenses to them?—Nor that; I have no knowledge of that.

2523. Fifth, forbidding their compulsory examination?—I have no knowledge of that.

2524. Sixth, directing the cantonment lock hospitals to be worked as a purely voluntary system?—I thought that was after the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888, not before. I speak simply from my recollection of what we happened to come across.

2525. That is after the Resolution, but before the new Rules?—Before the Rules of 1890.

2526. Certain Instructions of the Government of India preceded the Rules, that they might have time to consider the Rules, and I have given you now, really, a summary of certain heads of those Instructions; but you are not familiar with them all?—No, sir, some of those preceded the Resolution of the House of Commons.

2527. Now, I have before me the Government Despatch, dated Simla, 11th July 1893, and in paragraph 6 they say: "In our Despatch No. 81 of the 18th May 1888, we had already informed Lord Cross that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that reports had been made by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, to the effect that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been abolished. In our Despatch No. 193, dated the 15th October 1888, we said: 'It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the "Indian Contagious Diseases Act" and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licences to practice prostitution have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions.'" Well, now, you are in possession, are you not, of the fact on the authority of the Government of India?—Yes.

2528. Those orders were intended to be carried out, those instructions, those changes from the old system, even after the new rules were to come into force, were they not?—I cannot answer that; I have not the slightest knowledge of what was intended.

2529. Does it not even occur to you that the new rules would be intended to be consistent with those instructions?—I presume so, but I have no official knowledge of that.

2530. And, as far as you know, they continue to be so intended?—I have absolutely no knowledge.

2531. Have those instructions of the Government of India ever been modified or withdrawn, except by the publication of the rules?—No, I have no knowledge as to whether they have been modified or withdrawn; but I should have no knowledge if they had been modified or withdrawn.

2532. Therefore I presume you would be disposed to assume, as I should assume, that these rules were intended to be worked subject to those orders?—The Rules of 1890; yes, I should say so.

2533. You are not prepared to assume that?—Well, my feeling is that I know nothing about the matter.

2534. I will tell you why I put the question to you; perhaps you will then see it a little more clearly. Unless you assume that the rules were to be worked subject to those previous instructions, then the conclusion that a given practice has been in

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accordance with the rules does not show that it is in accordance with those instructions?—No.

2533. That you see?—Quite.

2536. And, therefore, *a fortiori*, not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons?—May I explain my position with regard to these questions you have been putting to me, sir, I came to the subject in the beginning of June, having heard, indeed, of the Resolution of the House of Commons, but nothing more, absolutely ignorant of the whole thing; of what the House of Commons had resolved, of what the Government of India had done before the Resolution, and of what the Government of India had done since the Resolution. All I know is from the inquiry. That inquiry was practically confined to the practice which had existed, and which existed recently, in the three cantonments that we visited. To a certain extent the action of the Government of India necessarily came to our notice in the course of our inquiry into that practice, because we asked when a change had taken place, why it had taken place, and they told us; but outside what we learned in that inquiry, which is all recorded in this Report, I have no knowledge. I cannot speak as to the facts. I have no knowledge of what the Government of India did, or why they did it.

2537. Therefore you commenced your inquiry on the subject with no knowledge of the subject at all?—With no knowledge of the subject; absolutely none.

2538. In fact you started with the same knowledge as our American lady missionaries?—Yes.

2539. And you bestowed less time on the inquiry than they did?—Yes.

2540. I will only make this remark, Mr. Ibbetson, I am very glad to make this remark. Although I may object to portions of your Summary of Conclusions, I think that your Report, under the circumstances, is an extremely able one, we all think so?—Thank you very much.

2541. This is a question you can answer. You cannot fail to know it. The principal object of the old system was to ensure the treatment, and, indeed, the periodical inspection, of prostitutes?—I believe so; yes.

2542. To ascertain whether they were fit or unfit for the practice of prostitution?—Yes, so I understand.

2543. And the periodical examination was regarded, naturally, as the keystone of the system?—I should imagine so; the periodical examination.

2544. The periodical examination existed at the time of your visit at all the cantonments that you visited?—I would add to my answer to the last question, periodical examination combined with compulsory detention in hospital, the two together.

2545. Yes, of course, and that periodical examination existed in those three cantonments that you visited?—Not at Umballa, it had been discontinued for a year. It never had existed, generally, with regard to the body of prostitutes at Umballa since 1888. It had been confined to the women who were living in the regimental bazars, which constituted a very small portion of the whole body, and even as regards them, it had been discontinued; I think it was in August 1892.

2546. I will not pursue that detail just at present, please; we will come to that by-and-by?—Very well, Sir.

2547. Then, now to resume. Although your experience was short, you made very good use of your time, and has it not made itself evident to your mind that, to secure the object of regular, reliable, periodical examination, conditions are necessary which are in effect compulsory?—It is very very difficult to draw the line, in India, between compulsory and voluntary,

as we have pointed out. I think, certainly, that at Lucknow the examination was absolutely voluntary in every possible sense, in the fullest sense of the word.

2548. You need not go into details for each cantonment; I will deal with them by-and-by. I want to clear the way as I go on?—Then my answer is, No, I do not think it is necessary that the examination should be practically compulsory in order to be fairly effectual.

2549. Very well, I will take that answer. Do you represent that as being the view of the Government of India?—No, not in the least. I have no knowledge of their views. That is my own private opinion, derived from what I have seen in these three cantonments.

2550. We have it, certainly, that that is the view of the Commander-in-Chief at the present moment. I will put it in that way. Have you seen the Memorandum of the present Commander-in-Chief?—Sir George White.

2551. That accompanied the Despatch of the Government of India?—Yes, I saw that.

2552. You express the opinion that periodical examinations of sufficient regularity to fulfil their purposes are possible without any compulsion?—I think so; they must be periodical, they need not be compulsory.

2553. They must be periodical?—To be of any use at all in India.

2554. And in your opinion, you think they might be periodical without being compulsory?—I think so.

2555. And your Report, so far as your intention is concerned, and your view now is, that there is no necessity for anything which can be fairly called compulsion?—I do not say that. I do not say that there is no necessity, because I should have to define "necessity." You could get a very much more effective examination by having it compulsory than you could get by having it voluntary, but I think you could get a fairly effective examination without what you call compulsion.

2556. What do you call a "fairly effective examination?"—I mean that you would get a considerable proportion of the women in cantonments to attend voluntarily for examination; with compulsion you might get the whole of them.

2557. Then you think it would be the difference between a certain proportion and the whole?—Yes.

2558. And in your view it is not necessary that there should be, for the hygienic purpose, an examination of the whole?—Oh no, Sir, I have absolutely no view upon that point. I have never even suggested such an idea. I have no knowledge of the hygienic necessities of the case whatever; I simply confine myself to saying that I think a considerable number of women could be got to attend periodical examinations without compulsion.

2559. What did you mean by saying, a short time ago, that compulsion, in your view, was not necessary to secure periodical examination?—I say that I think you could get a certain number of women to attend periodical examination without using compulsion, but I express no opinion as to whether it would be sufficient for a considerable number of women, and not for all of them, to attend examination.

2560. Then I did not understand you. What I understand now is that you express no opinion at all upon the question whether any kind of compulsion is necessary or not, and you simply say that without compulsion fewer women will attend than with?—Yes, that is all.

2561. Now, with regard to the cantonment general hospitals that you visited, did you find, as we are



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sometimes told, that the old system of Lock Hospitals has entirely disappeared, and in their stead there has been erected a system of cantonment general hospitals for the treatment of all kinds of diseases of all kinds of persons, of which the venereal wards are simply a part?—Yes.

2562. Is that the way in which you would describe the state of things in the places that you visited?—I think so. The whole establishment, consisting of three parts, was under the same medical officer; the establishment scale was joint to the whole; the books were kept common to all. I suppose, for convenience, the old Lock Hospital was used as the venereal ward; it was often at some little distance from the main part of the hospital, just as the infectious and contagious ward, or rather the infectious ward was; but I think that is a fair description.

2563. The old Lock Hospital has remained?—The buildings.

2564. The separate buildings?—Yes.

2565. And those buildings were appropriated to venereal cases only?—Not quite.

2566. Almost entirely?—To prostitutes only, practically.

2567. They were confined to prostitutes?—Mostly; not quite absolutely, but almost entirely.

2568. Now, are the exceptions of any value whatever; are not the exceptions almost infinitesimal?—I think very small indeed.

2569. Very small?—I should think so.

2570. Did they not, at the time of your visit, exist as separate buildings appropriated to the treatment of prostitutes for venereal complaints?—For the treatment of prostitutes.

2571. And for venereal complaints?—Prostitutes, I think, were admitted without reference to the disease.

2572. Yes, prostitutes would be admitted if it was requisite, because they would not be acceptable in the other buildings?—Yes.

2573. But, as a matter of fact, those exceptions were very trifling, and they existed practically for the treatment of venereal diseases of prostitutes?—I would not say they existed practically for the treatment of venereal diseases; they existed practically for the treatment of prostitutes distinctly, although there were certain exceptions.

2574. How many cases did you meet with of prostitutes being treated and confined in those hospitals for the treatment of anything besides venereal diseases?—I think we only saw six patients altogether; four at Lucknow, two at Umballa; six or eight.

2575. You visited the Lock Hospitals, and there were only six women in the whole three Lock Hospitals?—I think there were eight.

2576. Eight in the three Lock Hospitals?—Yes.

2577. Those cases were all venereal, I think?—Dr. Cleghorn will be able to tell you better than I can, I cannot say; but my memory does not recall one that was not venereal.

2578. I have your Report here, paragraph 92: "The Lock Branch mainly for Prostitutes." "Among females, by far the larger number of venereal cases only occur among prostitutes, and the result is that the venereal section is practically a prostitutes' hospital"?—Yes. May I refer you to Form F., page 64 of the Appendix? That gives the exact figures for venereal diseases and others treated in the Lock branch.

2579. Now, these Lock Hospitals, they are the places in which the periodical examination takes place?—Whatever examination is made is made there.

2580. And the examination was periodical at two out of the three you said?—Yes.

2581. And the prostitutes who were thus treated and thus examined, what class of prostitutes were

they?—I believe they are a somewhat low class of prostitute; the prostitutes who associate with British soldiers.

2582. They were the prostitutes who associated with British soldiers?—Yes, I believe so.

2583. And not those who associated with natives?—Which examination are you speaking of?

2584. The periodical examination?—As held at Lucknow or Meerut, or as held at Umballa; because there is a distinction?

2585. Take Lucknow and Meerut?—No; they were the whole body of prostitutes in cantonments at Meerut, and only such as chose to come at Lucknow. They might come from any of the chaklas; they might associate with British soldiers or not.

2586. But in each case they included the prostitutes assigned to British soldiers?—I know of no prostitutes assigned to British soldiers.

2587. You object to the word?—I object to the word "assigned."

2588. Prostitutes who received British soldiers?—They included prostitutes who received British soldiers, no doubt.

2589. I do not mean all the prostitutes, I mean practically this, that the prostitutes who were visited regularly, it was understood by British soldiers, were at least amongst those who were periodically examined?—Yes, I think so, certainly.

2590. Well, now, you have been inquiring into the fact whether the practices in these cantonments consist with the new Rules under the Cantonments Act; the Rules of 1890?—Yes.

2591. Does it not appear to you that those Rules must have been originally intended to abolish the whole old system in its entirety? I think you have almost said, have you not, that that is your view?—I thought the system was supposed to have been abolished before these Rules were issued at all. What the Rules did, as I understand, was to substitute for compulsory submission to examination and attending hospital, the option between attending hospital and submitting to examination or leaving the cantonments.

2592. Very well, now, they are worked under the new rules, or they were at the time of your visit?—Yes.

2593. And the new rules are the law upon the subject?—Yes.

2594. Are you prepared to say that the system may not be worked under those new rules in connection with the old system, modifying but not abolishing it?—I cannot give an opinion upon such a very general question, Sir. Tell me in which way you think they can be worked, and I shall be able to say whether I think it is possible.

2595. Very well, I will give you an example. In November 1891, inquiries were made as to whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the new Rules of 1890, and whether there was any compulsion, beyond that authorised in these rules, at any cantonments, I will read this to you, at page 42. You are not responsible for what I have called the White Book; but I will read something to you which will be official, and therefore indubitable. This is from Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, dated 17th November 1891: "In reply to yours, No. 5,371-B., 'Sanitary, Cantonment Hospital,' marked 'Strictly Confidential,' and dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, of all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State." You will accept from me that I have read that document correctly?—Yes, sir.

2596. And that was at Lahore. Are you not aware that the old system, in all its features, con-

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tinued at Meean Meer (which is Lahore) down to the very time of your visit to these other cantonments?—No, sir, I have no knowledge of that whatever.

2597. At the time you were writing your Report, you were aware of it, were you not?—No, I have no knowledge of what took place at Meean Meer in the least; I cannot speak of that in any way.

2598. But if I tell you that we have it in evidence before us, indubitable evidence, that the whole of the old system was in existence at Meean Meer at the very time that you were inquiring at Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa, is not that evidence to you that it was possible to continue that system under these Cantonment Rules, as to which Sir Hugh Gough says that there the Military Authorities had kept "strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State"?—All that that proves to me is that it is possible for a General to say that the Rules have been strictly observed.

2599. I think you are perfectly logical in so saying?—Yes.

2600. Well, it shows that he considers that the Rules had been obeyed, does it not?—I do not know, Sir.

2601. Does not that letter of his show that?—That letter shows that he says so, but it does not show that he knew.

2602. He must have known of the facts?—I do not know indeed.

2603. Then we will assume that he did not know the facts?—If you please.

2604. Well now, at Umballa there is no regimental *chakla* maintained under these rules?—Regimental *chaklas* have not been maintained anywhere, as far as I know, since 1888. I am speaking, of course, of our three cantonments.

2605. Do you not know about Umballa?—Well, it depends on what you mean by "maintained." The *chaklas* were sold and closed, and the women then drifted into the sudder bazar. Later on they were allowed to return to the regimental bazars, and they lived there; though not in the old *chaklas*, so long as they remained Government property. They were allowed to live in regimental bazars undoubtedly at Umballa; they were there living within a few weeks of our visit.

2606. A regimental bazar is Government property, is it not?—No; not the buildings.

2607. Well, I find here (this is the evidence in your Report); "The Committee then visited the British *enavly* *chakla*. First the old regimental *chakla*; an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous people (not prostitutes) since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new *chakla* (now commonly known as the *chakla*), which is a small enclosure of similar plan, with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a *banya*. It used to be let to *bhistis*, and then to cartmen. In April 1890, the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on 9th November 1891; and in January 1892, the 18th Hussars' women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day." And that is evidence of the way in which, under (or in spite of) the Rules, the old system can be made to continue. You have read the Rules?—The Rules; oh, yes.

2608. Your notion of them is that they contained distinct prohibitions, is it?—No, they are empowering rules, as far as I remember.

2609. I believe that is so; they are empowering rules?—I think so.

2610. They do not contain the prohibition?—The Rules framed under an Act would hardly tell one what one ought not to do; they never do.

2611. But is it within your knowledge whether the publication of these rules was accompanied with any

explanation about what must not be done under them?—No, I do not know at all.

2612. You have no reason to suppose there was such explanation?—No. There generally is with new rules, I could say that, when Government does publish new rules.

2613. You believe there was one, but you do not know?—No, I do not know at all whether there was one or not.

2614. I am advised that the Lock Hospital Reports for 1888 furnish some illustrations of how, under these new rules, which do not contain prohibitions, the Resolution of the House of Commons could be evaded. I will take it without reference to the question of rules, as a question of evasion of the Resolution of the House of Commons after the issue of the original instructions to obey it. This is the Hospital Report of 1888 at Attack: "No women are allowed to enter the fort without a pass from the Fort Adjutant renewed every three months, and sentries prevent natives from entering without a pass, and no native women are permitted to live inside the fort. Registration is discontinued. The women are regularly attended at the weekly examination at their own option." Now, I want to put this to you: Here no woman could get in without a pass. Suppose the pass were made conditional on her attendance, that would be a way under the new Rules?—No man could get in without a pass either; no native is allowed into a fort without a pass.

2615. So I understand; my point is this. I want to show that any proposition that the Rules have not been disobeyed does not suffice for our inquiry, which is concerned not merely with obeying the rules, but obeying the Resolution of the House of Commons, and also in this particular case, that if the prostitutes wishing to come in, and who, not being able to come in without a pass, if they had made it a condition of the pass that she should undertake to attend an examination regularly, that that would be a way of restoring that examination, under that compulsion, which would be inconsistent with the Resolution of the House of Commons. That you would not deny, would you?—I do not know that I should call it compulsion.

2616. You would not call it compulsory. Now let me refer you to the last document we have here. This is the despatch of the Government of India to Lord Kimberley, dated Simla, July 8th 1893, and this is the view referring to a demi-official letter of March 10th 1892, and there quoted; and I will read you two paragraphs showing the view of the Indian Government. "In illustration of my meaning I may observe that if, for instance, even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally the Resolution of the House of Commons would be defeated. The Government of India earnestly trust that no such accusation can be properly brought against any cantonment authority in the country; but I am desired to express the wish of the Governor-General in Council that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India will be pleased to instruct general officers commanding, and their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay, to warn officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, and the provisions of the Cantonments Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State?"—But surely these two cases have nothing in common; the hypothetical case put by you and the case put by the Government of India. Being turned out of



cantonments is like being turned out of London and not allowed to live there; being excluded from the Attock Fort is only like being prevented from entering the Tower of London.

2617. It is not my meaning to show that the Fort of Attock resembled a cantonment?—No, Sir.

2618. I simply put that as an illustration of the way in which compulsion might be indirectly applied?—Yes.

2619. Now we will come to the various places which you visited. The lady witnesses who were before us gave evidence of the state of things as they saw them in January and March 1892 in Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa amongst other cantonments. You collected evidence in June 1893 at these three places, and I want to ask you some questions which I will group under three headings. That, I think, will be the clearest way. I propose to ask you questions first upon this subject, the chaklas used by British soldiers, the prostitutes resident therein, and their mode of life, with incidental facts; secondly, the periodical inspection or examination; and, thirdly, the Lock Hospitals?—Yes.

2620. I began with Umballa, page 3 of the evidence attached to your Report. I will put you these questions. At Umballa there is one chakla for British troops, which is in the Sudder bazar?—Yes.

2621. Were there not formerly three regimental chaklas?—Three, yes; there would have been.

2622. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry?—Yes.

2623. They were abolished in 1888?—Yes.

2624. And the women were sent by order to the Sudder Bazar?—Yes.

2625. By order?—There was nowhere else for them to live. The only places in which natives can live are the regimental bazars and the Sudder bazars. Having been turned out of the regimental bazars, they must have gone to the Sudder bazar.

2626. What I put to you is this, that that order turning them out of the regimental bazar chakla meant that they were obliged to go to the Sudder bazar chakla. Was not that your evidence?—I believe it was so.

2627-8. I find in page 4, line 190, "Additional accommodation was at once provided in the Sadr chakla, and the women moved there within a month." These orders were communicated on the 29th June 1888, by the cantonment magistrate to all commanding officers of British corps, with the request that the registered women in the regimental chakla might be directed to go to the Sudder bazar chakla for British troops, and reside there?—Yes.

2629. But the three regimental bazars at Umballa were partly re-established, were they not afterwards?—Women were allowed to reside in them afterwards.

2630. Within the last two or three years?—Yes.

2631. Prostitutes were allowed?—Yes, I mean prostitutes.

2632. Is that the whole effect of your evidence. I have several references to it here; I think we must go into the evidence, unless you are prepared to say that that is so?—I do not say so.

2633. That the three regimental chaklas were practically re-established?—Yes, I think so.

2634. Within the last two or three years?—Yes.

2635. The Cavalry regimental chakla was re-ordered in April 1890 and existed to May 1893?—Yes, I will not answer to the exact month.

2636. I am putting it as your evidence?—I have no doubt that is so.

2637. I think you will find it in line 776?—That is just the statement of the man who owned the place.

2638. Line 770. "The Commission then visited the British cavalry chakla. First the old regimental chakla, an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous  
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people (not prostitutes), since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new chakla (now commonly known as the chakla), which is a small enclosure of similar plan with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a Banya. It used to be let to Bhistsis, and then to cartmen. In April 1890, the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on November 9th 1891; and in January 1892 the 18th Hussars women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day?—That is merely the statement of the man who owned the place; he has given dates I see; I have no doubt that is so.

2639. That is evidence?—Yes, it is evidence, but it is not very reliable evidence.

2640. You would not have put that evidence before the Government unless you had thought it reliable, or at any rate, you would have drawn attention to it if it was not reliable?—No, some of the evidence was less reliable than other.

2641. But do you mean that it was no part of your function, in drawing your Report, to indicate what was reliable and what was not?—Yes, in drawing our conclusions we did not indicate what we thought reliable and what we thought not.

2642. Then how are we to know what part of your evidence is reliable and what is not?—We base our conclusions upon the reliable evidence.

2643. You base your conclusions on the reliable evidence, but you do not indicate what part of the evidence is reliable. You might have marginally noted your conclusions with the evidence that was reliable?—The evidence was printed as collected, and we could not say which was reliable and which was not until we had examined the whole.

2644. As a matter of fact, we have to take your conclusions without knowing the evidence on which they are based?—To a certain extent. To some of the evidence we have attached more weight than to others.

2645. There is something to be said for the pressure of time?—A great deal to be said. But to have discussed the evidence for each conclusion we arrived at would have inordinately increased the length of the Report.

2646. Prostitutes were directed to live in the Sudder bazar chakla. Let us take the case of the Sudder bazar. I understand that the inhabitants of the Sudder bazar are classified under their various trades, the grocers, the butchers, the workmen, and so on, and amongst those the trade of prostitution finds a place?—Occupation, yes.

2647. And they are, as far as possible, aggregated in one particular quarter?—Yes.

2648. That is the system in these bazars?—Yes.

2649. There is no separate register of prostitutes, is there?—None whatever.

2650. But there is a register of the whole of the inhabitants of the Sudder bazar?—In Umballa only. I believe there should be in each cantonment, but in Umballa only of the three cantonments did I find that.

2651. At Umballa there was such a list?—Yes, of the whole of the residents.

2652. Now, let us take a case of that kind; let us take the list which you say you found at Umballa; that would classify the inhabitants under certain heads?—Oh, no, Sir, it is a list of houses according to the serial number of the house, and opposite each house would be entered the occupant and his occupation. There is no classification whatever.

2653. Considering that the various traders lived in groups altogether, and not scattered indiscriminately all over the place, as is the custom in this country. You would easily see; on reference to that list you would easily ascertain where the prostitutes lived and the houses in which they resided?—Quite so.

2654. And you would not have the names of the persons but you would have the names of the house;  
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a man would know whether the name of a person living in a house would be that of a prostitute?—You would have the name of the prostitute in Umballa.

2655. To put an exact simile it would be as if in the Post Office Directory in London under the list of traders you had "prostitutes," and there you had their description as prostitutes?—No; it would not be like that. You will find at line 158 exactly what the entries were. With reference to the Sudder bazar chakla in Umballa, page 3 of the appendix, lines 155 to 165, column 1, "is the serial number of the house, all houses having been numbered and the last number being 5,841. This is the Sudder Bazar Register only. Registers for the other parts of cantonments are in the same form. The British chakla is entered at Nos. 2825–2920, these being the numbers of the 95 houses in the chakla. Of these, 19 houses are empty, one is occupied by a wood and hay merchant, two by ginger beer sellers, two by labourers, one by a servant, one by a cook, two by cloth-sellers, one by a tailor, five by male owners whose occupation is not entered because the owner is the occupier, three by pimps, and the other 58 by prostitutes. In only 40 cases are two consecutive houses owned by the same person; and this includes two groups of seven and five houses respectively." I took that from the register myself and made it out on the spot as we had the book before us. The next paragraph gives the native chakla.

2656. Are the rooms in the Sudder bazar chakla numbered distinctly?—At Umballa only I think there were large tin numbers put up, separate from the serial cantonment number (the general number), but they are not now on rooms occupied by prostitutes only, or on all rooms occupied by prostitutes. They were, I believe, when they were put up; but since then prostitutes have left certain houses, which are now occupied by other people, and other people have gone to certain houses which were then occupied by prostitutes, and the numbers have not been altered.

2657. I will put it in this way: supposing a soldier visits a prostitute in a room in the Sudder Bazar chakla in any cantonment, so far as your knowledge extends he would have no difficulty, would he, in defining who the woman was by a reference either to the number of the house or room, or by a reference to the list?—The general cantonment numbering is generally put up in Persian figures, which the soldiers would not be able to read.

2658. If a soldier wanted to identify a woman whom he thought had diseased him, how would he identify her?—He would know her name. That is not satisfactory, because there are very few names and a great number of women.

2659. Would he have any means of identifying the house?—If inside the enclosure he would be able to count the houses, say the third to the right from the door; outside the enclosure, in the bazar next to so-and-so shop, or three doors from so-and-so.

2660. Therefore practically there would not be much difficulty?—No, I do not think there would.

2661. Supposing there were two numbers (as there were in many cases) one number would be the number of the house, or the room, would it not?—One number would be the general numbering running through all cantonments.

2662. What would be the other number?—The other number would be a number put up to enable the soldier to identify the woman.

2663. It would not answer that fully?—

2664. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Was that the same identical number in English characters?—A large number in English characters.

2665. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Therefore, if that number was on, the soldier could identify the woman by that number?—Oh, yes, wherever that exists.

2666. Now, do particular women belong to particular regiments, or are they supposed to belong to particular regiments at Umballa?—Wherever women live in a regimental bazar, I think they may be

taken, in a way, to belong to that regiment; and until within a fortnight or so of that visit, there were women living in regimental bazars at Umballa, not in the Infantry, but in the Artillery and Cavalry. I think my recollection is that.

2667. Well, I base my question upon this, Page VIII. of the Statements and Notes, line 485: "The Commission then examined the women of the British chakla, 39 in all. The youngest was about 16, another about 18 years old, and the rest all older. Five belong to the Royal Artillery, six belong to the cavalry, and 28 to the Sadr"?—Which simply means that five of them had recently been turned out of the Royal Artillery bazar, and ten out of the Cavalry bazar. I took this all down with my own hand on the spot, at a tremendous pace. I do not write shorthand at all. I never revised it, it simply went straight on to press. It is as rough as possible. I had no time to consider my wording.

2668. We know you did hurried work?—That is what I mean by that.

2669. From these regimental chaklas the women were turned out, how long before your arrival?—A fortnight, I think, by the new cantonment magistrate.

2770. Now in March 1892 was there a Highlander's chakla in tents at the camp?—Two, I think, the Gordon, and the Argyll and Sutherland.

2671. Now I ask you whether there was also a Highlander's chakla in tents at the camp, and I think you said there were two at the camp?—There were two regiments and a chakla at each. There were two separate camps.

2672. It was denied by the Quartermaster of the Highlanders' regiment that there was a chakla in tents for the prostitutes. He said they were not visible to him?—The Argyll and Sutherland Quartermaster, that is.

2673. (Surgeon Colonel Cleghorn Forbes.) They were not visible to him?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) Yes.

2674. But they were visible to the colonel, were they not?—He knew of them.

2675. The Quartermaster drew a plan to show that they were not visible?—No, he said that he did not know of any such tents; he had not seen them. I simply asked him to draw a plan to show how matters lay; he told us that they might have been back among the trees where he could not see them.

2676. It shows particularly that after what the Colonel told you, he had curiously shown you how a chakla for prostitutes could be near a regiment and the authorities know nothing about it. It does so, does it not?—(Surgeon Colonel Cleghorn Forbes.) This accounts for it.—(Mr. Ibbetson.) That is, the Quartermaster; it would be possible for it to exist without the Quartermaster knowing it.

2677. Is the Sudder bazar chakla there guarded by military police?—Page 9 of the statement, Umballa, 8th June: "The Commission revisited the British chakla, and found the military police at the chakla." At the bottom of the page, Sergeant T. George, 2nd Derbyshire Regiment, Sergeant of Military Police, is examined. The cantonment magistrate is present. He says: "I have occasional disturbances and constant complaints. The other day a native 'fancy man' took away all his woman's things and left her on the bare ground. She complained to me, but I could do nothing. Natives sometimes complain that British soldiers who have found them here have struck and abused them. I never had any serious row; but I always prevent what is likely to cause one. I come here every night and stay here for some hours." This chakla was not simply visited by a patrol; he goes to the chakla, and he stays there several hours, sometimes till three or four o'clock in the morning, especially after pay day." "The regimental bazars are also under me, and I go where prostitutes live if I think a man is there after hours. The women in the 18th Hussars' bazar used to live in the 18th Hussars' chakla; but that was broken up 10 or 14



day's ago. Before that, eight women lived in the chakla, and I used to visit it every night. They now live in this chakla. I know of no other common prostitutes living in that bazar. The chakla had about 10 houses; there are no shopkeepers or similar people in the chakla. Three or four women now here used to live in the Royal Artillery bazar. But the regimental police used to look after that, so I left it to them."—I think, Sir, when he says I come down here, he means into the bazar. It means that he comes down from his lines, wherever they are, and patrols the bazars with a view to looking after the British soldier, and no doubt he is a great deal in the chakla, probably there a great deal more than anywhere else.

2678. I think you are probably right?—I think that is what he means.

2679. I think it may be that the men visited the chakla and found the military police at the chakla, and the sergeant says: "I come here every night." That sounds like the chakla, does it not?—Yes.

2680. Are any natives allowed access to these women?—They are turned out if they are seen in the Gora chaklas.

2681. By whom are they turned out?—The military police if they find them there, and probably any English soldier who saw a native there would turn him out.

2682. If the military police found natives in the chakla they would turn them out?—A native without business; of course there are cooks and tailors and people of that sort.

2683. You found there was a customary rate of pay obtaining there as at other places?—Yes.

2684. And suppose soldiers did not pay, were they sometimes compelled?—Sergeant George (whom you have just quoted) tells us now that the women would complain to him and he would make the men pay.

2685. Had he ever reported them to the commanding officer?—Not himself, but he has known cases. He says: "I have known the man had up before the commanding officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself"; and then he goes on to say that the same thing would be done if he had not paid for things bought, the complaint would be made to the commanding officer, who would make the man pay to the shopkeeper.

2686. Cavalry women were brought, were they not, with the regiment in 1892, and a cart was supplied by the regiment for their convenience?—Possibly.

2687. Line 805?—It was probably got with the carriage for the bazar. I have no doubt that is true. It is stated by the mahaldarni. It was indented for with the rest of the carriage for the bazar probably.

2688. Yes, the cart was indented for. The usual course was for the cart to be supplied by the regiment, but it is indented for by the bazar, and they have the use of it. Did they pay for that?—Yes.

2689. Did you find the mahaldarni there?—No, there was no mahaldarni in the chakla at Umballa.

2690. Who is there in place of the mahaldarni?—There was an old chowdri at Umballa.

2691. How was he paid?—He was not paid at all. I think that was true. We did not believe him when he said so; but the women said so, too, that that was true. He had in the old days taken fees, but he seemed well off; he owned some of the houses.

2692. At page 13 there is this: "I got no pay, save fees from the women"?—That is the mahaldarni of the Cavalry bazar. I was speaking of the Sudder chakla.

2693. That is the mahaldarni of the Cavalry bazar?—I am speaking of the big one.

2694. Was there any mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar?—No, I think not.

2695. Then it is only one man, and that is at the Cavalry bazar?—Well, the women had gone from the Cavalry bazar when we were there.

2696. Yes; but they had been there, and he had been there when they were there?—Yes.

2697. And they paid him; that is his evidence?—Yes.

2698. Paid by fees from the women?—Yes.

2699. A proportion of their earnings?—Either that, or so much for each visit; I am not sure which. There is a note at the foot of page 16 of the Report, to that effect; and I find that the American ladies had the same difficulty; they were doubtful on the point.

2700. Either the one or the other?—Either the one or the other.

2701. He was paid either so much proportion of their earnings or fees per visit?—He was paid either so much proportion of their earnings or fees per visit.

2702. How did he manage on examination days? Did he take women to the examination room?—No.

2703. He sent a woman with them, did he not?—Yes. He said, "I sent with them a woman whom I employ for the purpose, because I could not go, being a man."

*Mr. D.  
Ibbetson  
and  
Surgeon-Col.  
Claghorn.*

11 August 1893.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Monday next, at 11.30 a.m.

## NINTH DAY.

Monday, August 14th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
Secretary.

Mr. DENZIL IBBETSON, C.S., and Surgeon-Colonel CLEGHORN, re-called ; and further Examined :

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2704. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) WE pass on to Meerut as to the chaklas?—May I make an explanation with reference to the evidence given on Friday; till I saw them in print I am afraid I did not properly appreciate the point of your questions as to the rules of 1890 and their compatibility with the old system. I think I can give you what you want to get from me. These rules are in no sense a body of instructions issued for the guidance of officials in their dealings with prostitutes or prostitution, and intended to cover the whole subject. It is the habit of the Indian Legislature to leave detail very largely to be regulated by rules framed in accordance with broad principles laid down in the Act; and rules such as these are practically subsidiary legislation made by the Governor-General in Executive Council instead of by the Legislative Council; they embody the law of the land, so far as it is special with regard to infections and contagious diseases in cantonments; but any instructions as to how that law or the general cantonment law is to be applied to prostitutes would be looked for elsewhere and not in the rules.

2705. Where would you look for it?—In executive and administrative instructions issued by the Government of India. Quartermaster-General's circulars would be the form they would take in this case, I imagine. Supposing that the old system had been continued at Meerut, practically unchanged, the action of the authorities in so continuing it would be in contravention of the orders of the Government of India, no doubt; but I could not say that it would be in contravention of the rules, because the rules merely authorise certain courses of action and do not prescribe or prohibit any. The action would be illegal in the sense of being *ultra vires* and beyond the law, but I do not think it would be illegal in the sense of being contrary to the law. I think that is what you wanted to get from me, sir.

2706. Therefore, putting those instructions on one side, the old system might be carried on as it was carried on in connection with the new rules?—There is nothing in the rules to prohibit it or any other system.

2707. That is what I thought. I am glad that you have put it clearly. So we pass to Meerut?—There, may I correct a mistake which I regret has been made in our Report?

2708. Certainly?—At page 13, lines 670-675, at the bottom of paragraph 33, I say: "The chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or

August 1891, but, perhaps, more probably at the same period of 1892, on the issue of the orders referred to above." That was put in as an afterthought, and, I am sorry to say, without a sufficient examination of the evidence. There is a good deal of evidence to show that that is wrong. There is one thing that is absolutely conclusive, and that is, that the American ladies when they visited Meerut found the Lancer women, not in the cavalry bazar, which was some distance from the Sudder bazar, but in what they call the Lancers' chakla, which was close to the Sudder chakla. We know that, not only from their own statement, but from the fact that when we went to the spot the women showed us where the ladies had first met them in the little Lancer chakla, and then took them on to the big chakla which was close by, so that the women had at that time been turned out of cavalry bazar.

2709. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What is the correction that you would wish to make?—I would cut out from "but perhaps" to "supposition," lines 670-674.

2710. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) "Supposition" included?—"Supposition" included. There are two slips which I might at the same time correct, practically clerical errors. At page 6, line 237, for "Meerut," one should read "Lucknow;" "as appears from the evidence of the Meerut women," that should be "the Lucknow women." And at page 9, line 427, "at Lucknow," should be "at Meerut." "At Lucknow, indeed, the practice goes," should be "at Meerut, indeed, the practice goes." I can only apologise for the errors and put them right.

2711. Is that all?—That is all, I think.

2712. Now, at Meerut there were certain assigned quarters found for prostitutes?—Yes.

2713. As you told us, they were assigned a district just like traders were assigned a district, according to the Indian custom?—There would be a portion of the bazar assigned, and prostitutes would not be allowed to live in any other portion of the bazar but that.

2714. They formerly resided in regimental chaklas?—Some of them; not the majority, I think.

2715. They were turned out in 1888, were they not?—Yes, in 1888.

2716. And they were sent into the Sudder bazar chakla?—They would go into the Sudder bazar chakla; I cannot say they were sent. They must either have gone there, or gone out of the cantonments, because there was nowhere else where they could live.



2717. I think there was evidence that they had been sent by order, was there not?—It would practically amount to that, because the order to go to live there would mean that they might go to live there, but if not they must go away.

2718-9. Well, now, the new chakla; that was built on Government land granted for the purpose to a prostitute, was it not?—Evidence, line 957: "Hira, a prostitute of the city, has built another chakla in the Sadr on land furnished her for the purpose in 1888 by the cantonment magistrate, it having been formerly occupied by a Government latrine."

2720. Then the regimental chaklas were re-opened, were they not?—Yes.

2721. In 1889?—In 1889, I think.

2722. On condition of periodical examination?—Yes.

2723. Were not native men prohibited access?—To the regimental chaklas?

2724. Yes?—Never by order, I think, sir; as a fact they would be.

2725. By practice they would be?—By practice, I think, yes.

2726. Well, now, as to the other chaklas, that is page 16 of Statement and Notes, line 945. The chaudhri says: "The women are absolutely forbidden to receive natives, who must go to the city (three miles off) if they want a prostitute. There is no formal order to that effect, and nobody prevents it, but it is understood that they must not"?—That is the chaudhri's assertion, simply.

2727. Yes, exactly; that is the evidence?—That is one part of the evidence; there is other evidence that conflicts with that, I think.

2728. Yes, the cantonment magistrate, if I recollect aright, doubted it, but it is left in that way?—Just above that you will find the cantonment magistrate's statement on the same page, and he says that he has often seen native soldiers in the chakla; he says, lower down on the same page, that he has often seen native soldiers in the Gora chakla.

2729. Am I not right in saying this: it is the impression I think, from the whole of the evidence we have had, that the whole of the intention and desire was that various chaklas should be reserved for British soldiers alone, and that the natives should as far as possible be excluded therefrom; was not that the general idea and policy of the arrangement?—That is certainly not the impression that we formed from what we heard.

2730. Did you not?—No. It was so, no doubt whatever, before 1888; after that I think the authorities felt that they had no longer any power whatever to reserve these women for the use of British troops, and they left the matter without regulation. There were absolutely no orders and no instructions on that point; but the tradition survived, and in practice the military police and the soldiers themselves did eject natives whenever they found them in these chaklas, so that in practice it comes to very nearly the same thing, though it is no longer authoritative.

2731. Yes, I see upon the same page, at the top of the page 16 (that is the cantonment magistrate): "There is no chakla here set apart for British troops. As far as I know, natives and Englishmen go indifferently to the same women. The natives probably go after hours for British troops." That is the evidence of the cantonment magistrate?—Yes; and afterwards he says that he has often seen them there.

2732. Well, now, the West Kent Regiment; was there a chakla attached to that regiment, line 1078?—At Meerut there was a chakla in the vicinity of the Royal West Kent Regiment.

2733. In tents?—In tents; yes.

2734. Perhaps I had better give you the line in each question I put. 1047, the Lancers' chakla that was not known to the quartermaster of the regiment;

I think he said he had not seen it, you told us?—So he says.

2735. But it was actually visited by your Commission?—A chakla, which was known as the Lancers' chakla, was visited by our Commission; but it was only so known because the women who had been turned out of the Lancers' regimental bazar went to this chakla and continued to live there up to the time of our visit.

2736. Was this chakla near the old regimental bazar?—The old regimental bazar; oh, dear, no; it was part of the Sudder bazar chakla, taking chakla in the widest sense; it was simply the name attached to it; the women were in no way attached to the regiment.

2737. But, as a matter of fact, the quartermaster did not know of its existence, but you found it and visited it?—The quartermaster would have nothing whatever to do with the Sudder bazar, of course.

2738. Not officially?—No.

2739. But those are the facts you found?—We found a chakla known as the Lancers' chakla.

2740. Now, what did you find as to the scale of pay, line 1561?—That is just the same everywhere.

2741. There is a customary scale of pay, and I think the phrase there is coeval with British rule, is it not?—That is what one of the women told us.

2742. Will you turn to line 1563; is that evidence that if the soldiers' payment was withheld from women complaint was sometimes made to the colonel or cantonment magistrate?—Yes; that is the women's statement.

2743. And it is the same statement as they made to the ladies?—Yes, probably.

2744. 1523; did the women give you any evidence or make any statement to you regarding their ill-treatment by British soldiers?—In Meerut?

2745. Yes?—Yes.

2746. 523; I do not see anything there at 523?—It is at the bottom of the page.

2747. 523?—523; that would be Umballa, probably.

2748. Page ix, line 525?—That is Umballa; yes.

2749. The sergeant of military police?—Yes.

2750. "I have complaints of men ill-treating the women, generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the commanding officer and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself"?—Yes.

2751. That is so?—Yes.

2752. 1593; most of the women in debt, but some of them were not?—Most of them owed the banya something.

2753. Did you arrive at any definite conclusion as to whether those were very small debts or of any amount?—No, but I would say this: they would all naturally owe the banya something. Whether that meant being in debt in the sense of being unable to pay, I cannot say; it would have been no use asking a woman a question of that sort. We have arrived at no conclusion.

2754. There is no evidence on that head?—There is no evidence on that head.

2755. Line 1598. The mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar was formerly a regimental mahaldarni. For ten years officially certificated and paid, and now she is paid by taking part of the women's earnings?—I would not say the mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar; she was not appointed the mahaldarni of the Sudder bazar. There was none, as far as I remember. She was an old mahaldarni living in the Sudder bazar.

2756. A mahaldarni living in the Sudder bazar?—Yes, that is all.

2757. And this is her evidence?—Yes.

2758. Did she also (1604) say that the duty of the mahaldarni since 1888 was the same as before?—She said so, yes. That meant while she was living in

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the regimental bazar, I presume, when the regimental chakla was re-opened.

2759. Well, then (3331), in March 1892 the women accompanied the West Kent Regiment to Chakrata; is that so?—Women did accompany the West York Regiment to Chakrata, I presume, from that.

2760. The West Kent I have it?—The West Yorkshire, I think.

2761. Well, now, I am going to pass to Lucknow. There was at Lucknow, at the time of your visit, one chakla in the Sudder bazar, was there not?—Yes.

2762. Was that formerly Government property?—The enclosed chakla was.

2763. And were women brought from there in 1888, from the regimental chaklas which were closed?—They were turned out of the regimental chaklas, and, as I have said before, they would either have had to leave cantonments, or to live, not necessarily in the chakla to which you refer, but in the portion of the bazaar set apart for prostitutes. As a matter of fact many of them did not go into the enclosed chakla; the Lancer women for instance.

2764. There used to be four regimental chaklas before which were Government property?—Right infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Three, I think, sir. There was no left infantry chakla, because the regimental lines were close to the Sudder bazaar.

2765. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It was the Sudder bazar chakla?—Certainly; there would be four with the Sudder bazar chakla, of course.

2766. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Were the rooms in the Sudder bazar chakla separately numbered?—The rooms within, yes; within the enclosure, yes; not throughout the chakla, taking the chakla in the sense of a quarter.

2767. No?—Only within this large enclosure.

2768. Was there another chakla out of bounds?—Not that I have any knowledge of.

2769. The reference is 1680?—Lucknow cantonment adjoins the city, and the bazars of the city are, no doubt, full of quarters of prostitutes.

(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) The suburbs.

(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes, the suburbs and the city itself.

2770. Exactly?—It is not like Umballa and Meerut: here they actually run into one another. The Kandahari bazaar was, no doubt, in the city and not in the cantonment at all. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) In the civil lines. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Of course you would know.

2771. Now, am I not right in stating that the evidence shows here, as in the case of Meerut, that the natives were practically prohibited access to the chakla reserved for British soldiers and there was a scale of pay as elsewhere, that the women were sometimes ill-treated and the soldiers reported. Shall I give you the references, or do you say that that is so?—I think "practically prohibited" access is a little too strong; they were turned out when found; but as a fact they did have access. Reports would be made to the military police, though very rarely, as far as we could find, did they reach anyone higher. We have no instance of any case which went higher, although we have indications that occasionally they did.

2772. You have evidence, have you not, that there was the same kind of scale of pay?—Yes.

2773. Now, you had evidence here also to the effect that the women who were resorted to by British soldiers were somewhat despised by natives?—Yes, by the better classes of natives.

2774. Shall I refer you to the reference?—No, sir; that I think there is no doubt whatever about.

2775. How many mahaldarnis did you hear of there?—Four or five old ones living in the sudder bazar; not then mahaldarnis officially; they simply had been mahaldarnis at one time or another.

2776. And how many were in actual occupation?—None employed or receiving pay.

2777. How many employed?—None; none employed or recognised by the authorities.

2778. 1,720 to 1,728; just see what that evidence is?—Those are only old mahaldarnis, sir; there is first the old cavalry mahaldarni, and then there is the old artillery mahaldarni, and then there is the old sadr mahaldarni.

2779. She is Miro, and has four women living there, of whose earnings she takes 1-4th or 1-8th, as they care to pay her—so she says?—Yes, sir. But the mahaldarni is not a mahaldarni because Government recognises her; Government recognises her because she is a mahaldarni. The mahaldarni is the head of the women, whether they have anything to do with the Government or not; whether they live in cantonments, in a city, or in a village, or anywhere.

2780. Yes, I quite understand. But all these women here had been formerly in Government employ?—Yes, I think so; all three of them, before 1888.

2781. Now I will begin again with Umballa. We will address ourselves to the question of the periodical examination or inspection of the prostitutes?—Yes, sir.

2782. Now, at Umballa, women attended, when summoned, regularly; was not that the case?—Only the women living in regimental bazars.

2783. Were they sometimes specially summoned?—Not unless they were indicated by a soldier as having diseased him, I think.

2784. Then they would have a special summons?—Yes, the woman would have a special summons.

2785. The periodical examination was weekly, was it not?—Yes.

2786. And that continued till May 1893?—No; I think till the 2nd of August 1892.

2787. 693?—That does not tell us; but it is certainly August 1892. I think you have the books here, sir, with the last entry in them.

2788. My note says 1893. We will see what the evidence says?—Dr. Cleghorn's note on the books will give it to us. The last line of page 52 of the "Statements and Notes." Dr. Cleghorn's note on the examination of the books says up to the 2nd of August 1892, and even that last examination was not initiated by the doctor.

2789. And that was at what date?—The 2nd of August 1892. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) They were turned out of the bazars in May 1893, at Umballa. Perhaps you are confounding it with that.

2790. We have got the hospital books. We find there is a periodical examination continued up till the 2nd of August 1892?—Second of August 1892.

2791. Now, did you find a lot of prostitutes go up when reported, *en bloc*, all go?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) No.

2792. Question 815?—"When reported, they all went, as they could not tell who had been reported." That is the line, I presume, you refer to. Dr. Wardrop, I think, explains that. He says, in three or four instances, I think, that when he found an outbreak of disease in the regiment, and he could not find out who the women were, he sent for the women, and asked them to come up and be examined, all of them; and, as a fact, they did. I can give you the reference to that, sir, if you care to have it.

2793. Is that 815?—Oh, no, it will be much later on, line 2958. "Once or twice since one group has come up; I remember the Artillery women in particular, and, I think, no other." But that, I think, must be wrong, because the cavalry mahaldarni speaks to the fact of the cavalry women having gone up simultaneously.

2794. In fact it was the evidence that the examination was the condition of remaining in the cantonment, so the women understood it?—No, I do not think so.

2795. You do not think so?—No, I do not think so in the least. Four times it happened, four times



only; of course since the periodical examinations ceased.

2796. Yes, here is the evidence; "If I found an outbreak of disease in a regiment, and could not fix upon any particular woman, I would tell the matron (who would probably send the sweeper or bhishti) to let the women of that regiment know that the soldiers were accusing them of being diseased, and that they had better come and see me; upon which they would all come up;" here is a report, you see, of their coming up *en bloc* "and I would ask them if they would like to be examined. They invariably said 'yes'; upon which I examined them, on that occasion only. This may have happened four times since August 1892. As a rule, I found them all free of disease?"—That, I think, was absolutely voluntary. This was the very cautionment in which these very women had asked this same medical officer to examine them.

2797. Under those special circumstances?—Oh, the residence in the bazaar was not made in any way conditional on their attendance under these circumstances.

2798. No, not on that occasion evidently; but 793 to 800, that is the marginal reference to condition of residence?—As far as women in regimental bazars go, their residence in those bazars was, no doubt, conditional on their attendance at examinations.

2799. Line 793: "The Commission then proceeded to the British chakla again, and called the Royal Artillery women, who said: "We used to go there every week without being reported. If we had not gone, we should not have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar. We also went if reported?"—Yes, that was until August 1892.

2800. Were registers kept by doctors and mahaldarnis, Line 2940?—By "register," I understand a list of women who had to attend at examinations.

2801. Yes?—What they kept was lists of women who did attend at examinations. There is a distinction between the two.

2802. Yes, I will call them lists; that will be better, I think, than registers. Lists were kept by doctors and mahaldarnis?—Yes.

2803. They are called registers in that evidence, I see?—Yes; well, that is my own distinction between register and list; all I wish to imply is that it was not a list of women who were supposed to go, but a list of women who actually did go.

2804. The cavalry women submitted to weekly inspection, did they not, till August 1892?—The women living in the cavalry bazar.

2805. Till August 1892?—Yes.

2806. What was the nature of the entries on the list recording their visits and inspections?—In what respect do you mean; with regard to their cleanness or disease?

2806a. With regard to disease?—You will find that at 3200; "fit" (healthy), "M" for menses, and "hospital" were the entries.

2806b. "Fit" was healthy; one word or the other?—"Fit" was healthy; "fit," "M," or "hospital," those were the three entries that were made.

2807. What is "M"?—Menses, capital "M."

2808. Now, were the women who had been in the Gordon Highlanders' chakla subjected to weekly inspection continued till 1892?—In the Gordon Highlanders, yes, sir; they were not allowed to live in the chakla unless they attended weekly.

2809. With similar entries, were there not?—Similar entries.

2810. The Artillery women's examinations were stopped by the colonel, I note?—No, sir, I do not know that; the colonel said that he would have nothing to do with the examination; they probably went as before.

2811. 2860?—That was after the examinations had been discontinued; he came there after the examinations had been discontinued.

2812. The regimental women who came, all of them came regularly, I understand?—Yes, all.

2813. The Sudder bazar women on one occasion, referred to at line 2950, requested examinations in order to dispose of accusations of disease?—On several occasions they did that, I think; and on two occasions they came in a body and asked to be examined periodically.

2814. 2970 and 2985?—Those are the two occasions on which they came in a body, 2970 and 2982-85.

2815. After August 1892. "They asked me if I could get permission to examine, not only them, but all women in cantonments, once a week, as in old days. I told them I could not do it. This was after August 1892. Some three or four months later precisely the same thing happened again. I am not sure why the women came on that occasion, but a considerable body came; and fearing that I had not understood them the first time, brought a woman who spoke English with them to explain. They have the strongest possible objection to being identified by a soldier as having diseased him; as they say it is not fair, since other women who are much worse diseased go scot free." These are the circumstances under which they applied for examination?—Yes, sir.

2816. Well now, at Meerut, the weekly inspection continued till May 1893?—Yes.

2817. Everybody had to go up for examination?—If a woman whose name was known to the medical officer did not appear for examination after being sent for and warned, she was reported as supposed to be diseased; so far every one had to up for examination.

2818. And if she failed to go up she was sent for and warned to go up, and then if she did not go up she was reported as supposed to be diseased?—As supposed to be diseased, yes.

2819. That was not a voluntary system?—No; I do not think you can possibly say that was voluntary.

2820. (Sir James Peile.) The woman generally did come?—Almost always. They hardly ever had to report her.

2821. You say, in your Report, as a fact the supposition almost always turned out to be well founded?—Yes.

2822. (Mr. Stansfeld.) In 1889, was examination a condition of residence in the cantonment, line 1240?—No, sir; I understand that there was no condition then whatever. The woman simply absented herself without excuse; it was purely voluntary, I think, then.

2823. I will read a paragraph from the Annual Report of the Lock Hospital, Meerut, 1889, written by the apothecary in charge of the hospital. It appears that the hospital was re-opened on the 25th June 1889, and the Report goes on to say that: "In July 1889, with the sanction of the officers commanding corps, the old regimental chaklas were re-opened, and a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and, if found diseased, they would remain in hospital for treatment. These were the only women who were registered; but I cannot state that the registration was efficient, as very often a woman would have her name removed from the register, and simply absent herself without excuse. The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the three regimental bazars, viz.—Cavalry, 10; Infantry, 10; Artillery, 14?"—Yes, sir; but you asked me whether a woman was obliged to come up for examination or be excluded from cantonments. I think it is very probable she would not be allowed to live in the regimental bazar without examination. What she probably did would be to go to live in the Sudder bazar, which was in the cantonments too.

2824. Were the inspections renewed by order two years ago?—In Lucknow?

2825. In Meerut?—In Meerut I remember nothing of that, sir. Can you give me the reference?

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2826. Line 1531 ?—That is the statement of the women, sir. A statement of that sort, as regards periods and dates, is almost worthless; it is the roughest possible approximation, at any rate; and for "By order," that may mean anything or nothing. What they, no doubt, referred to was the re-opening of the regimental chaklas which we have just been speaking of.

2827. Page 41 of letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 134, of 6th September 1892, I find there is a communication from Major General Sir J. Hudson, commanding the Meerut district, to the Quartermaster General in India, and he says: "There is no rule allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion. The men have, in no instance, been asked to denounce them. The women are invited once a week to attend at the hospital on a certain day to submit themselves for examination. This is merely for the convenience of all parties. There is no registration or compulsion whatever." That was a case of mere invitation, and that was followed in many instances by applying the rule of excluding them from the cantonment if they failed to attend. In 1892 I find your evidence is to this effect, the evidence that you took, some of it, that the women not attending were supposed to be diseased, and Rule 4 was applied?—Yes.

2828. Will you refer to line 1325. Does that report the fact that respectable women were supposed to be diseased and compelled to attend?—I do not know whether she was a respectable woman or not, sir; probably not, as she was suspected of practising as a prostitute; but she seems to have convinced the doctor that as a fact she was not so practising. Of course the line between prostitute and non-prostitute is very difficult to draw in many cases.

2829. The doctor says, page 22, at the top: "I was told that a certain woman was practising as a prostitute and was diseased. I reported her to the cantonment magistrate, who sent her to me. Her husband came with her. I was convinced that she was leading a decent life, and I let her go without examination?"—Yes.

2830. There were lists of women examined at Meerut?—Lists of women who were examined, yes.

2831. And the women were, so to say, assigned in lists to regiments?—They were entered under the bazars in which they lived.

2832. 3,405?—3,415, perhaps: "Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women." Is that the passage to which you were alluding?

2833. Page 56, line 3,403:—"Lists of prostitutes.—"These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892, till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows: Number (these are serial); Name; Date (being that of examination). The numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are: Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, thirty-four women; Sudder bazar, sixty-five women." You have that upon your note?—Yes; that means that five women were living in the Artillery bazar; three women in the Cavalry bazar; thirty-four women were entered as Infantry; that simply means they lived in the Lal Kurti bazar, which, as I explained, is really part of the Sudder bazar, and has nothing to do at all with the infantry regiment.

2834. Now that examination seems to have been continued, and discontinued. Can you give us any explanation why it was at one time continued and

discontinued, and then recurrence was had to it?—In Meerut?

2835. Yes?—It was discontinued absolutely, I think, after 1888; then the regimental chaklas were re-opened and the women were allowed to reside in the regimental bazars, were so allowed on condition of attending weekly examination; but we did not find out how that examination, which was then confined to the women living in regimental bazars, became general so as to include the whole of the women in cantonments practically. That we cannot say.

2836. I see my reference is here, 1460 and 1466. Will you just turn to that and see whether they tell us anything worth noting?—Yes, that was July 1892. "I receive circular orders from the Quartermaster General in India, through the principal medical officer. I received such a circular last year, dated July 1892, which reached me in August. One paragraph of that circular stated that no special examination of venereal cases was to be made, other than would be made in the case of other contagious diseases."

2837. "On receipt of this order I asked the cantonment magistrate whether this meant that I was to stop my weekly inspections, and I was told to continue them as before?"—Yes.

2838. "I have never received any instructions since to the contrary till some three weeks ago, when Colonel Reid (commanding the station) said he thought they had better be stopped?"—Yes.

2839. Then the question was put to him: "Do you know that the Governor-General has ever given an order to stop examination of prostitutes?" Now, at one period the women, though they attended examination, were instructed not to assemble for the purpose?—They were told not to assemble outside the compound. You may remember that the ladies said that the women all stood outside where five roads met. No doubt it was an inconvenience, and, possibly, a scandal; they were afterwards told not to assemble outside the compound, but they were brought into the compound. I think that was all the alteration made. (Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) Brought inside the wall.

2840. Yes, you have some evidence, 1468, as to its being explained to the women that the examination was not compulsory, is that it?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) "It gave them no ground for thinking that they were in any way recognised by Government, it was often explained to them that they were not."

2841. Why was it often explained, unless there was reason to suppose that they had been led by circumstance to believe that they were bound?—I presume—I do not know, of course, in the least; but I imagine it sprang from what we have noticed in the Report; the fact that since the old system was abolished the authorities have declined to do many things to help the women which in old days they did. When they came to medical officers and others to complain they were told "We now have no longer anything to do with you; we no longer recognise you. Government no longer recognises you in any way." That is my idea of the explanation.

2842. But they still came to the same examination?—They came to an examination.

2843. Well now, at Lucknow. When was the periodical examination discontinued; was that discontinued in 1888?—We do not know whether it was discontinued, but probably not, it seems to have been continued.

2844. Not discontinued at all?—We think not; at any rate, as far as we know. We have no evidence that it was discontinued.

2845. But you have evidence that it continued through 1890 and 1891 till March 1892?—Yes, I have no doubt March 1892 is the date.

2846. When was the bi-weekly examination instituted?—When Dr. Ranking came to Lucknow, which was in February 1891.



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2847. February 1891?—Yes, February 1891.  
2848. That was the complete inspection with the speculum, and all the usual apparatus?—Yes.

2849. Were the women kept in hospital during menses?—At Lucknow only, I think.

2850. The reference is 2592 and 2796?—2259. Yes, Lucknow, and 2796 also.

2851. "If on examination I found a woman with her menses on, I took her into hospital"?—That also is Lucknow, they are both Lucknow.

2852. Did the whole body of the women attend weekly?—Until the discontinuance in March 1892, when the examinations were re-constituted. After that the whole body of women did not attend; the attendance fluctuated considerably, varying, broadly speaking, from 40 to 70.

2853. Was the attendance enforced in the summer of 1892 against women reported diseased?—In Lucknow practically no action was taken whatever under the rules of 1890.

•2854. The reference to that is 1886?—On two occasions the cantonment magistrate went down to the bazar and identified women and told them that they had the option between going to hospital or leaving cantonment. One case is mentioned in the reference you give us; and there is another occasion which he adds afterwards, and those are practically the only two cases, I think, in which the rules were enforced.

2855. Now will you refer to 2578?—There both occasions are mentioned; that is the same matter.

2856. Now 1895, what is that personal inspection?—That is where a woman comes for permission to reside in the bazar; the cantonment magistrate asked her whether she agreed to be examined by the doctor; she invariably said "yes." He then sent her with her application to the doctor; the doctor examined her, recorded the result on the back of the application, and sent her back to the magistrate.

2857. That is 1895, is it?—That is 1895, I take it.

2858. Now will you turn to 1910, which seems to be another reference to the evidence. Now this is the same witness; he shows how the women were called upon to undertake to attend the examination, and in this line 1910, he says: "My system has been to encourage examination as much as I could; but to use no pressure or compulsion"?—Yes.

2859. Except, I suppose, the pressure or compulsion of the original undertaking?—I suppose so.

2860. 1684. I find the registered women were carefully examined in 1891. In one of the memos., he states that the registered women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them?—That is the apothecary in charge. Yes.

2861. "That the registered women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them." So that that is evidence of registered women being dealt with in 1891?—Yes; all we can say is that there were no registered women at the time. (Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) Yes; but his hospital list is his hospital register.

2862. 2185 List of women kept in 1891: that would be the list, would it not?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) 2185. Yes; there was a list of names of women who used to attend once a week.

2863. Continuation of a previous list?—Apparently. Dr. Ranking found it there when he came, existing.

2864. Then new prostitutes were examined on the request of the cantonment magistrates?—Yes.

2865. The names of new comers were entered on lists for examination?—When a woman came to the medical officer with her application he then added the name to the list.

2866. And the names of absentees were reported to him—2242?—Yes, but no action was taken on that.

2867. It was reported to the cantonment magistrate?—Yes.

2868. There was no regimental classification of Y 24265.

the list?—No; because there were no women living in any of the bazars, excepting the Sudder bazar.

2869. The list was discontinued in March 1892?—Yes.

2870. Similar lists were kept at Mian Mir and Sitapur?—That I have no knowledge of.

2871. Page 38; 2346: "I have never had more than 83 women present for examination; certainly never 100. I have seen a record of the result of examination of women (similar to what I kept up here) kept up at Sitapur and Mian Mir. I had no orders to maintain it; but examination is impossible without some record"?—Yes.

2872. He referred to a similar instance at Sitapur. Now, here is a Summary of all these Reports of General Officers, and under the head of "Sitapur," on page 2, I find this as to compulsory examination: "No compulsory or periodical examinations since the passing of the Act of 1889." So that that can hardly be correct, I think, from what you have just told us?—He only says here the record was one of the results of the examination of women; he does not say that it was periodical. In every cantonment they would examine women probably sent up under these Rules.

2873. At any rate, the women know exactly what the inaccuracy is. There is either a positive inaccuracy or an incompleteness in the evidence in the Summary as to Sitapur?—I should have thought not necessarily, sir. The Summary says there was no periodical examination; the evidence to which you refer says that there was examination.

2874. They did not know the fact that there was examination?—In Umballa there was no periodical examination after August 1892; but there was examination of the women who were sent up under the Rules.

2875. But our ladies found that there was periodical examination, as I understood, at Sitapur?—At Sitapur. That, of course, I cannot speak of in any way.

2876. This looks rather like compulsion?—Yes?

2877. As to the state of the hospitals at Umballa?—Yes.

2878. The old Lock Hospital is now used as a branch?—Yes.

2879. It is about 400 yards away, is it not, from the General Hospital?—I cannot say from memory; it is some little distance.

2880. It is used for venereal diseases of women only?—No, sir, I think not. It is used, as I said on Friday, for prostitutes only; but I think not only, nor nearly only, for venereal diseases. You have the precise figures for one year in Form F. I think they will show, as well as other evidence, that prostitutes are very commonly admitted with diseases other than venereal.

2881. What line do you refer to there?—Form "F" I was referring to; it is at page 64 of our evidence: in-patients 46 with venereal diseases, and 39 with others; which is a very large proportion of the whole. Perhaps, sir, you had better ask Dr. Cleghorn rather than myself about these matters, because he understands them and I do not. I merely take these figures, and there is a good deal of evidence to show that prostitutes are admitted with diseases other than venereal. I have a note of the references; it would take some time to follow them now; a great deal of evidence I may say.

2882. Shall we reserve this, put these questions as to hospitals to Dr. Cleghorn; that would perhaps be the most convenient method?—I think it would be desirable, because Dr. Cleghorn has special knowledge which I have not.

2883. Now, we will go on. When I started with these questions, which you have answered so clearly, I said that I proposed to ask you questions under three heads: first, as to chaklas; second, as to periodical examination; and third, as to Lock hospitals. So that the first two we have exhausted;

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the third we have left for the moment. But now, as far as we have gone, do not the facts of which we have taken note, confirm in general, as far as possible, on these points the statements of our witnesses of what they saw and ascertained in 1892?—They confirm a great deal of the bare facts as stated by the American ladies; they contradict some of those allegations of fact; and I think that they explain or contradict most of the suggestions made by the language in which the facts are stated by the ladies.

2884. Well, now, will you point out any serious discrepancies on any important point between their evidence and the evidence which you report as facts?—Do you mean as regards bare statement of facts?

2885. Any evidence must be evidence of facts; of course, a fact may be a statement; I am not speaking of their inferences?—No. Well, I might give an instance of what I mean by suggestion. When it is pointed out that the *chakla* or the hospital is surrounded by a high wall, and has a *chaukidar*, which is translated by "watchman," at the gate, the suggestion made, I think, is naturally that there was some sort of restraint exercised over these women, that they were practically in confinement. As a fact, we find that there is a high wall, and as a fact we find that there is a *chaukidar*; but also we find that there is no sort of restraint or anything approaching to confinement in any form. That is what I mean by the distinction between the bare fact and the suggestion.

2886. But do you refer to positive suggestions made by our witnesses in the evidence before the Committee?—No, sir; I refer to the impression which the bare facts as stated would produce upon anybody who did not know the circumstances of India, and which, no doubt, they did produce upon those ladies, they being ignorant of the circumstances of India.

2887. And your impression is that the facts that they saw produced upon them, the impression that the *chakla* was a prison, and they did not produce that impression upon you?—That is what I gathered from reading the evidence, distinctly.

2888. We will take that as your view. But now upon the facts; the facts as stated by these ladies. Can you point out any serious discrepancy between their evidence and that which you have brought before us?—Will you let me answer that, sir, if I am to come here again, at a later date? I should have to go through their evidence. I am sure I can point out some points, but I do not know that I can do so now.

2889. I only want important ones. I say distinctly, can you point out any discrepancy on important points?—May I answer that later, sir?

2890. Certainly, if you wish?—I could give you certain instances now, but they would not be exhaustive.

2891. Give us one or two instances?—A very important statement was that made about the cantonment magistrate of Lucknow, saying that if the girl they were trying to rescue once left the cantonment it would be impossible for her to return; that has been explained by the cantonment magistrate of Lucknow, and they evidently entirely misunderstood the point there.

2892. Of what did their misunderstanding consist?—They asked the cantonment magistrate whether there would be any objection to the girl coming back to cantonments, and he said that if she did she would probably be pestered by men whom she had known before as a prostitute, and that it would be much better for her not to come back to cantonments. He thought that probably the ladies would not appreciate how very strong the objection would be to her coming back, and he explained to the girl that she should not come back to cantonments; but that had nothing whatever to do with any legal or official objection to her coming back; it was simply a piece of advice put somewhat peremptorily.

2893. Do you call that an important discrepancy?—I take it that the suggestion of the ladies was that a girl who had once left cantonments would be prevented, ordinarily and generally, from returning by the officials. That certainly is not so. If that were true it would be a very important thing, I think.

2894. They understood his statement to amount to that as far as that cantonment was concerned, I understand?—Yes.

2895. But what I mean is this: I would ask you, is it not quite possible that either they or you might have made a misunderstanding of that kind, if it were a misunderstanding?—Yes, quite.

2896. And what I want to know is: "They asked me if I would undertake that nobody would interfere with her if they took her away. I said that I could not guarantee that; and that, if she came into cantonments, she might not improbably be accosted by some soldiers who knew her. I therefore thought it advisable, if she left cantonments, that she should not return. I then turned to the woman herself, and told her she could leave the cantonment, but must not return to it?"—Yes.

2897. "She said something about wishing to see her mother and sister, who were both living in the *chakla*. I told her that they could easily go to her and visit her. I thought that the ladies did not know much about the matter, and would not realise the complications that might arise if the girl returned to cantonments. My object was to assist in rescuing her. In speaking to the girl, I may have put it more as an order than as advice, and have said, 'You must not come back'?"—Yes.

2898. I fail to perceive the serious discrepancy, because what I understand by a serious discrepancy would be one that would throw some doubt upon the general accuracy of the evidence of our lady witnesses?—Well, sir, I think it is stated that the women could not leave cantonments without permission; that surely is a very serious statement if true.

2899. Where is that?—I take it from your "statement of facts."

2900. You must go to their evidence.—Then I must ask for time to go through their evidence.

2901. When I put this question to you about important discrepancies my object was this: I want to know from you whether you allege that the evidence you took outlives you to impute such serious inaccuracies on their part as would take away from the weight of their evidence. I do not know that you do, but I want to know how that is, and I would ask you only to confine yourself as far as this is concerned to that class of discrepancy if you can?—Very well, sir.

2902. Will you look at page 66 of the Statement and Notes. That is the Unallah Report by Brigadier-General Prettyman, commanding the Sirhind district, to the Quartermaster-General in India, and in it I find this statement at the end: "It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A.), that although a certain amount of truth exists in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it, tends to detract from its value." I ask you whether you are prepared in any degree to substantiate that proposition?—The term "*suggestio falsi*," I think, suggests that the American ladies wished to mislead by the way in which they put their evidence.

2903. There is no other possible interpretation of it?—And so far as it indicates that, I do not agree in the very least. I do think that their evidence was in many respects very misleading; but I believe they misunderstood in the same way that anyone not knowing India and reading their evidence would misunderstand. I do not believe that there was any desire whatever in the giving of their evidence to mislead.

2904. At the same time we have this reflection, and I have noticed some similar ones elsewhere in these statements. That occurs in this very Report. They



suppress the fact of the periodical examinations?—They suggest it? If you said “suppressed it,” there were no periodical examinations at Umballa when this Report was written, and there had not been for a year.

2905. Lucknow, Major-General R. C. Low, I find at page 75, line 4, 213, paragraph 26, says this, he is referring to the previous paragraph regarding the existence of the mahaldarnis: “This is true; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities;” and here comes my quotation: “In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges.” Do you endorse that expression?—So far as the word “lie” goes, I do not endorse it in any degree whatever. I think that there was an inaccurate suggestion constantly at the back of the true fact; but I have been struck, so far as I could judge, with the honesty of purpose of the ladies throughout.

2906. There was no inaccuracy in the suggestion of a tariff of charges. We have plenty of evidence before us of a customary tariff ever since the commencement of the rules?—I think that anyone who read the evidence would take it that that tariff was sanctioned by Government.—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) That the tariff was recognised by Government; you get that idea from reading the evidence.

2907. I will put this to you; do any of you gentlemen say that a customary tariff which has never varied, which has been positively enforced against soldiers ever since the British occupation of India, that what you call Government is to be considered perfectly innocent of a knowledge of it at all?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) Yes, absolutely. There is a tariff or nerikh, a tariff for coolies, a tariff for carriage, and a tariff for a hundred different charges.

2908. I ask you this: you know perfectly well that we have had it in evidence that the military police have compelled payment of the tariff?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) It being customary. (Mr. Ibbetson.) Suppose a man buys a thing; before you can compel him to pay what he ought to pay, you must find out what is the tariff; you go to contract or to custom; you have nothing else to go to. In this case the payment is customary; the woman may say, “The man promised to give me a rupee,” but the policeman would say, “I know nothing about that; the custom is 4 annas, and I do not make him pay more.”

2909. You suggest that the custom which has obtained since the British occupation of India was absolutely unknown to the British military authorities?—It was known, perhaps; just as the tariff for yekkas and many other private matters is known to them.

2910. (Sir Donald Stewart.) I was 46 years in India, and I never heard of it. Of course, I know that there was a custom, but what it was I never heard. (Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) I never heard of anything of the kind.

2911. (Mr. Stansfeld.) A good deal would depend on the position of the commanding officer; the higher his position the less likely he would be to know?—All local officers would know. (Mr. Ibbetson.) I know of many customary tariffs in my own district; I have no sort of official knowledge of them except in so far as that if anyone comes to my court and says “So-and-so has not paid me what he owes,” I inquire into the custom, and I say “All you get is so-and-so,” giving the nerikh.

2912. The ladies give the evidence of the women and the mahaldarnis, and they call it “this customary tariff,” this tariff?—Yes.

2913. But your own report is supported by evidence of which you tell me there is a considerable proportion on which you cannot base your report?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) We can say it.

2914. Some of the evidence is sound, and some not?—Yes.

2915. You cannot say which is sound and which is not?—Oh, yes, we can. (Mr. Ibbetson.) Oh, yes, we can.

2916. Now, where is the suggestion?—“(Q.) Did you endeavour to ascertain the amount of money which the soldiers had to pay the women, and which the women received?—(A.) Yes. We asked that, I think, in every cantonment. Yes, in every cantonment we asked it. (Q.) And what was the result of your inquiries; did you find that there was, generally speaking, a uniform rate of pay?—(A.) Yes, there was. (Q.) Regulated by the rank of the soldier?—(A.) It seemed to depend upon his rank, because they stated almost invariably that the rate was proportioned to the rate of the soldier, and that it was for a sergeant one rupee, a corporal eight annas, a bombardier six annas, and a private soldier four annas. I have a table of it, setting forth the places where this was stated. (Q.) Is this a table of your drawing up?—(A.) It is a copy, but that is type-written. (Q.) Then the evidence which you have just given us as to the uniform rate of pay is founded upon statements you have received from the persons enumerated in this table which I hold in my hand?—(A.) Yes. (Q.) And your informants were either prostitutes, or mahaldarnis, or dhais?—(A.) As they are stated there, because we made quite a thorough investigation into it. Our attention was called to it, because of the women giving us the information voluntarily, and then we naturally noticed them. (Q.) Will you put that paper in?—(A.) I am perfectly willing to do so.” (Table put in.) I want to know where is the *suggestio falsi*, or where is the lie behind the truth?—I have already said that I do not agree with either expression.

2917. But where is the suggestion that this tariff is laid down by the Government?—I think the impression of anybody reading through the whole evidence in connection with the subject would be that the scale of charges was to some extent, or wholly, authoritative.

2918. Really, Mr. Ibbetson, this is not evidence. You are now speaking of an impression, and you are not justifying it by evidence. I am not conscious of anything of the kind. I am not conscious of anything in their evidence more than what I have read to you, that there was a uniform rate of pay?—I cannot lay my finger, at the present moment, upon any particular passage.

2919. You were required by your instructions to report whether, in your opinion, any practices which you found to exist infringed in any way the Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules of 1890. Your Report does not set forth any schedule of facts ascertained which, in your opinion, do infringe the Act and Rules?—I do not know quite what infringing the Act means. The whole of the Act, so far as it regards this question, is confined to the empowering section under which the rules are framed. The rules are to be read as part of the Act, and for that purpose they are practically the whole Act; that is to say, they are the whole Act on the subject. As regards the infringement of the rules, I think we have shown what you ask for; we have given cases in which distinctly irregular action took place; we have pointed out that the technical formalities prescribed by the rules have always been adhered to; but we have said that cases in which the spirit of the rules has been departed from or contravened had been very rare indeed.

2920. Take it in this way. You first take the chaklas. Does your Report and the evidence show, or does it not show, that the management of the chaklas has been such, since the Act of 1888, as to infringe the Rules and the Cantonment Act of India?—No, sir. In the first place, there has been no management of the chaklas since 1888; and, even if there had been, it could not possibly infringe an Act or Rules which take no notice of chaklas.

2921. Regimental chaklas I am speaking of?—Neither the Act nor the Rules has any concern what—

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ever with chaklas or with their management. They simply deal with the treatment of infectious and contagious disorders. So far as regulating the residence of prostitutes goes, that, no doubt, is done under general powers given by the Act for the regulation of the residence of all inhabitants of cantonments.

2922. Then I understand you to say that the Cantonment Act and the Rules have no operation, and were not intended, at any rate, to have any effect upon the existence of chaklas, regimental or otherwise?—No, save in so far as a chakla is a residence for people following a common occupation, and the Act gives power to regulate the residence of all people following common occupations.

2923. I will just take you to Meeru Meer, because we have it in evidence, as I pointed out there, that the whole of the old system has been in practice at Meeru Meer down to the latest date?—Yes.

2924. That, in your view, has not been an offence against the Rules?—I think, as I explained when I first came into the room this morning, sir, that the Rules being wholly empowering, and in no way directing a course of action, or prohibiting a course of action, you cannot say that anything which is not justified by the Rules is an offence against them.

2925. Yes, I understand that is your view; that we must not look to the Rules?—Not to the Rules.

2926. To prevent those conditions which, as you know, the House of Commons desires should be put an end to?—No, you must look to the executive and administrative directions on the subject.

2927. Now, with regard to the periodical examination, would you say the same?—Quite so.

2928. The Rules have no bearing upon it?—The Rules authorise a certain form of examination, which is not periodical; they do not authorise any periodical form of examination whatever, but it does not follow that periodical examination infringes the Rules.

2929. They do not forbid it?—They do not forbid it.

2930. Well, now as to the Lock Hospitals. Do you say the same as to the Lock Hospitals, that the Rules do not regulate them, or prohibit any of the practices with regard to them?—They simply prescribe that hospitals shall be maintained for the treatment of those disorders, and go no further.

2931. Therefore these Rules, which certainly, at the time, were regarded, in fact, as Rules which were meant, by their very conception and enactment, to secure an entire change of the system, in your view did not do that?—No, sir, that would not be my view. The old Rules made many things legal which were objected to by the House of Commons; the new Rules abolished the legality of those practices and made certain other practices legal; but although they abolished the legal basis upon which the practices which had been objected to rested, they did not prohibit the continuance of those practices, because that is not the business of these Rules, which are really subsidiary, but the business of legislation. When you change a law, you repeal a law which made a certain thing legal; you pass a new law which makes something legal in its place; but you do not go further and say, you shall not do something which under the old law was legal; at any rate, you do not in your statute.

2932. According to your view and practice, if we desire to prevent the recurrence of what we deem improper practices, whether before or since 1888, legislation will be necessary?—No, sir, I do not think so; I think the whole confusion has arisen—

2933. Excuse me, I thought you said that rules are empowering in the sense that they do not forbid?—Yes.

2934. Well, if there are certain practices which we want to forbid, I suppose they must be forbidden by law?—I think not necessarily.

2935. How would you forbid them then?—When I say "Rules," I mean the rules under an Act. Of

course, rules under an Act, and rules issued by the executive for the guidance of the officials, are two entirely distinct things. Hitherto I have been speaking only of rules under an Act; but all these practices could be, and might be, and, I believe, have been, prohibited by rules, or orders, or instructions, issued on the executive and administrative side. That would be the ordinary course, I think, to follow.

2936. I do not doubt that by rules, or instructions of the Government of India, or of the military authorities, any of these practices could be forbidden; but my question to you was this, that if we in England desire to prevent the possibility of the renewal of practices which the evidence shows have continued to exist after they were forbidden by the Resolution of the House of Commons, we must forbid them by law?—If you wish to make them illegal you must forbid them by law; at present they are opposed to orders; if you legislate they will be opposed to law.

2937. Now I will come for a short time to the conclusions in your Report: "1st. In each cantonment there are assigned several quarters for prostitutes; as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." We quite understand each other; your Report refers simply, as far as your conclusions are concerned, to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow?—Entirely; exclusively.

2938. The phraseology is so general that one has to keep in mind the sentence with which you introduce the conclusions, which is quite clear: "Our conclusions, as before explained, refer to the three cantonments of Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, which we have visited, and to no other"?—Yes, I carefully put that before, and I repeated it there.

2939. No. 1. "In each cantonment there are assigned several quarters for prostitutes; as there are for the followers of many other callings, and, in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." Now, the words you add are, "as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." Our statement was that in each cantonment there were assigned certain quarters for prostitutes?—Yes.

2940. Why do you object to that statement, and why do you wish to make the addition, "as there are for the followers of many other callings," and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours"?—I do not object to it; but I think the impression that anyone who did not know India would gather from that would be, that it was for prostitutes only that these separate quarters were assigned; whereas it is a part of the regular system under which people who desire to follow certain occupations reside in a particular part assigned to them in the cantonment.

2941. I do not quite see the argument?—Merely that it is not peculiar and special to prostitutes, but is part of a general system which is followed with regard to all occupations, and especially those which are offensive.

2942. But is not that argument open to this reply, that what it amounts to, is to put prostitution on the footing of any other calling?—I was not careful to guard myself against that or any other reply; I wished to put the facts as they stood. My idea, in drafting, was that we wanted to write a Report which would be intelligible to a person not having any knowledge of India, and would represent to him the facts as they stood.

2943. You see the parts which are italicised. You take from it, I think it was, our Statement of Facts, and you appear to desire to qualify those statements. Now I do not see that this is any qualification. Our statement was that, "In each cantonment there were assigned certain quarters for prostitutes"; you admit that?—Yes, sir; and our statement is that in each cantonment there are quarters assigned for other callings also.



2944. Now do you mean to detract from the accuracy of our statement?—Not in the least; only to guard against the possible wrong impression which might be drawn from it.

2945. Now I will pass on to No. 8: "Of many of the enclosures it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, owing to the fear of the soldiers, and to the action of the military police, but not owing to any action or orders of the authorities, no natives are allowed to resort to them; though they do visit them at certain hours." Our proposition was that natives were not allowed to resort; that is our broad proposition?—Yes.

2946. Well, surely that is practically borne out by your evidence, as well as by that of our ladies. Without going so far as to say that any rules have been laid down by the authorities that no natives should resort, evidently there has been, perhaps less of late years than formerly, but there has been a desire to do it, and I quite see the reason for it, to exclude the natives from the prostitutes' chaklas frequented by the British soldiers. You would not deny that, would you?—I think I would deny it on the part of the authorities; but certainly not on the part of the military police, that there is no question about. As far as we can gather, the authorities themselves take no steps.

2947. In your mind, who are the authorities?—The cantonment magistrate in the case of the Sudder bazar, and the regimental authorities, the colonel commanding, and the quartermaster under him, in the case of the regimental bazar.

2948. Now, as far as the women were concerned, the police were practically the authorities?—Yes, in practice.

2949. In the spirit?—Oh yes, in practice they were excluded, or an attempt was made to exclude them.

2950. Now I pass to No. 9. "The women are at perfect liberty to leave the chakla or cantonment without permission, either temporarily or permanently?"—Yes.

2951. Now, if women leave the cantonment they cannot return, can they; is not that in evidence, except on conditions?—No, not in the least; they are absolutely free to return.

2952. Except under conditions of submitting to periodical examination?—Oh, no, sir; they come back under exactly the same conditions that they left, whatever they were.

2953. But do you mean to say that in the cantonments that you visited a woman could refuse examination, being diseased, leave the cantonment, and come back again without having to undergo any examination?—If she left cantonments under orders as being supposed to be diseased, having been given the option of submitting to examination or leaving cantonments, and having elected to leave cantonments, then she could not return without the written permission of the medical officer who reported her.

2954. Now suppose she evaded these orders?—And did return?

2955. Vanishing for a period?—That would not be evasion, she has that legal option, she is perfectly at liberty to vanish.

2956. We will put it in this way; supposing she was suspected and under order to come up for examination and evaded that by leaving the cantonment, then do you mean that she could re-enter the cantonment without being called upon to be examined?—Not if she had been brought under the operation of the rules as diseased; then she would not be ordered to come up for examination, but she would be told she must either come up or leave cantonments. If she elected to leave, she could not then re-enter cantonments, without the written permission of the medical officer. This case we are speaking of is that of women in general, quite apart from individual women who are reported to the authorities as supposed to be diseased under the rules.

2957. But does not your evidence show, in many cases, that the undertaking to submit to periodical examination was made a condition of residence?—In regimental bazars; and the number living in regimental bazars is very small in comparison with the total number.

2958. But in regimental bazars that was so?—That was so.

2959. I will go on to 10: "In no case does the chakla belong to the Government, nor has any chakla been occupied by prostitutes, while the property of Government, since 1888. In some cases it is owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government." But this is true, is it not, that the Government have the power if they please to prevent their property being used for the purpose of chakla?—It is not their property; the building does not belong to the Government; in cantonments only the ground does.

2960. But the ground belongs to Government?—The ground does, and they have liberty to resume the buildings for military purposes under certain rules, but only so I think.

2961. Have they no power; can the building be used for any purpose whatsoever against their consent?—I think for any purpose whatever, I am sure for any purpose whatever, unless they could bring it under one of the rules under the Cantonment Act, which would prohibit the exercise of certain occupations in certain parts of the bazar, and the exercise of any occupation in a manner to be unsanitary or unreasonably offensive to the neighbours. *Quâ* prostitution, I think they are absolutely without power under the existing law to prevent a building being used as a residence for prostitutes.

2962. Do you mean that it was not in the power of the Government to suppress a chakla?—No; legally they might move it. They might say, "You must leave here; you must live there;" but they could not suppress it. Of course it is in the power of the Legislature to say anything.

2963. I do not mean the Legislature?—The Legislature could do anything.

2964. I do not mean the Legislature, I mean the authorities?—No, not legally.

2965. Do you mean that they could not declare that a certain building called a chakla, and inhabited by prostitutes, should no longer be inhabited by them?—No, unless they could give such grounds as I have already mentioned, sanitary grounds, or the convenience of the neighbours.

2966. But surely I am not wrong in believing, I imagine we have had it in evidence that they have the power of turning anybody they like out of cantonments?—Any individual; but I do not think, certainly no court of justice would support them in construing that power as empowering them to turn a class of individuals out of cantonments. A discretion must be exercised, although the law allows them to eject an individual without giving reasons; the discretion exercised must be judicial and judicious.

2967. In your view you draw that line?—Yes.

2968. They could not clear a chakla?—No.

2969. But they can direct such prostitutes to leave the cantonment?—An individual prostitute.

2970. Or individuals?—In fact, that power is very rarely exercised.

2971. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Subject to ordinary conditions?—I believe, certainly as the cantonment law stands now, a person can be ejected without assigning any cause whatever; but it is a power exercised perhaps only once in two years in the case of one man; and as far as my knowledge goes, very rarely.

2972. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then that power does exist, and you would wish to say in regard to it that it is a power which practically would not be put into operation except in extreme cases?—It would be an abuse of the power to use it in that way.

*Mr. D. Ibbetson and Surgeon-Col. Cleghorn.*

14 August 1893.

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2973. To use it for the purpose of clearing a chakla?—For the purpose of clearing a chakla.

2974. That I quite understand; I see that distinction. "In no cantonment is a register kept of the chakla women; though in certain of the regimental chaklas the head women have kept lists of the prostitutes occupying the chaklas."—Yes.

2975. Now they may be called lists and not registers, or they may be called registers; practically speaking, it amounts to one and the same thing?—No, I think not, because your statement was that a register of women was kept in the cantonment; now that is a very different thing indeed: the women in an individual chakla only number four or five, and the women in a cantonment would probably number 150. I wish to distinguish between cantonment and regimental chakla; that is the point of the statement.

2975\*. In the statement of facts to which reference has been made, page 4, paragraph B., "Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed medical officer at the hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases"—Yes.

2976. The mistake, as I understand, consists in calling the document a register and not a list?—No, sir; the wording here is "Every woman entered on the register is required to come for examination." That puts the register first, and the examination afterwards. The fact is, every woman coming for examination is entered on the register, so that the examination comes first and the entry on the register afterwards. The hospital register is purely a register of attendance; it is not a register of women who should attend, but a register of women who have attended; that is the distinction.

2977. Then I understand the woman gets on the register, or list, after her first examination?—Yes.

2978. But after that, being on that register, she has to present herself?—No, not necessarily; not in Umballa at all; not in Lucknow at all. At Meerut she had, under the penalty of being reported as supposed to be diseased, but only in Meerut. At Umballa she had, if she was living in the regimental bazar, under penalty of leaving that regimental bazar, and going to live in the Sudder bazar. At Lucknow she might come or she might not. As a fact, the attendance of individuals was most irregular. These registers were kept by the mahaldarnis for the information of the commanding officer; they were not official in any sense of the word.

2979. The hospital lists and the mahaldarni's books, contained the names of women attending periodical examinations, and they became, in fact, registers?—Yes, registers of those women.

2980. Well, then, 15, the metal plates; there is a question of the metal plates. "In one place metal plates bearing numbers were affixed over the entrances of such of the separate rooms in the chaklas as were occupied at the time by prostitutes (which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers), of which numbers the object, when first affixed, was that a soldier might be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name and address. This object soon ceased to be secured, owing to changes in the (rooms or houses) occupied by prostitutes."—Yes.

2981. Were they separate numbers of rooms occupied by prostitutes; where they still exist they would, of course, serve the original purpose of identification?—Yes.

2982. Paragraph 18: "In the only case in which we found a mahaldarni possessing a certificate signed by a British officer of later date than 1888, the certificate was signed by an assistant-apothecary, was dated Gurgaon, where an artillery camp is held, 22nd January 1891, and testified to her being "painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." "Most of the certificates described in the

evidence given before the India Office Committee date from before 1888;" and then, 19, "At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis, who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888, had such duties, which were practically the same as formerly, before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and included the care and control of the women under their charge and their presentation for periodical examination?"—Yes.

2983. Did not the mahaldarni referred to depose that there was no difference in the duties of the mahaldarnis after the tickets were taken back, that is to say, after the change of practice in 1888?—Yes; when she was the mahaldarni of the regimental chakla, and that is what we say in paragraph 19.

2984. Then I will take you to 19 again: "At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis, who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888, had such duties, which were practically the same as formerly, before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons." But what this mahaldarni says is this, that there was at that time no difference in the duties after the tickets were taken back?—I think not, sir; she was not then a recognised mahaldarni at all, and had no duties of any sort. Line 1520: "Ten artillery women now live in the British infantry bazar. When the tickets were taken back, the artillery chakla was closed, and remained so for a year. Then the artillery adjutant sent for us back. Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratian." There she speaks of what her duties were until Gujratian superseded her.

2985. She has certificates?—Yes; that describes her duties as they stood until she was turned out by Colonel West in favour of Gujratian; that was when she was mahaldarni of the regimental artillery chakla.

2986. At what date did that occur: "Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratian;" at what date was that?—I do not think I can give the exact date; I do not know when Mina was turned out and Gujratian taken in.

2987. It must be after 1891?—No, not after 1891, I think. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) There was an artillery camp at Gurgaon after 1891, and the apothecary then in subordinate charge of the battery gave her that certificate while she was with the battery at Gurgaon in 1891; she was then a regimental mahaldarni, taking no pay, but those were her duties in connection with the women attached to that battery in the camp at Gurgaon. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) That is probably so.

2988. Her duties, according to her evidence, remained the same?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) Remained the same while she was with the women in the chakla.

2988\*. Paragraph 22: "A uniform minimum rate of pay is recognised (as given in the Statement of Facts), the lowest item in which represents two days' sustenance for the women. More is often paid, though in case of complaint the man is not compelled to pay more. The scale is higher than would be paid by natives to women of the same class." Well, now we have it that the man is compelled to pay a minimum rate?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes.

2989. And whether that has grown up by custom without the knowledge of the authorities or not, that is regular?—It is no more regulated, sir, than if a man sues in my court for the price of a loaf of bread, and I find out what the minimum rate generally charged for loaves of bread of that sort is, and I compel the defendant to pay that amount to the plaintiff.

2990. But are you aware that, by the law of England, such a contract would not be enforced?—



Not for the price of a loaf of bread; no, I do not know that.

2991. Do you not know that a contract founded on an immoral consideration would not be enforced?—Supposing A. sells a loaf of bread to B., and there is a dispute as to the price to be paid for that loaf of bread, and A. sues B. in my court, I should find out what was the customary price and make B. pay it. There is no immoral contract there.

2992. My point was this: that if there was this ordinary tariff which, as you say, sprang up as a matter of custom and became a custom having the force of law?—Yes.

2993. Well, I ask you, are you not aware that, by the law of England, any such custom would be bad?—Yes, I know that contracts of that sort would not be enforced by English law. The tendency of Indian law, I think, is to disregard that, and rule in the other direction; I have a private note here by a friend who is Government Advocate of the Punjab, in which he says that the tendency seems to be in the other direction.

2994. The English law was followed, you mean, in regard to payment by soldiers?—No, I think it was rent for a house used as a brothel.

2995. That is the same thing. The English law was followed at first; I am told that the tendency later has been to set aside that, as not extending to India; not holding in India.

2996. Do I understand from you that that is the statement of the judge-made law of India at this moment?—I believe that is so.

2997. That is to say, by the law as interpreted by the judges in India, prostitution is recognised as a lawful trade?—Yes; the question arose in the case of hereditary prostitutes, dancing girls in the Temple. The question was whether they could recover (I suppose their share of the proceeds of the Temple), and I believe it has been ruled that they can; the English law having been considered and departed from, in view of the difference between hereditary prostitution, such as is universal in India, and the form in which you have it in England.

2998. A judicial decision; was that comparatively lately?—I think I can give you the references: Indian Law Reports, XIII. B. 150, and XIV. B. 90; but what these references mean I do not know; I have very little to do with the Reports; that is as given to me.

2999. I was assuming, I imagine (probably I am right), that that decision must have been quite posterior to the commencement of this custom?—I should think so.

3000. This custom of the rate of pay?—Oh, yes, long after, I should think.

3001. Paragraph 24: "Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living, a customary fee (as in the case of other callings) to the recognised representative of the group to which she belongs. We know of no other various demands." No doubt she incurs debts to shopkeepers; I suppose that is what it means?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) "Banya" is shopkeeper.

3002. We have heard of occasional demands by the police and the blackmailing of the native doctors in one place?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) Yes; one case of police and one case of hospital staff. I mention both these carefully.

3003. Then No. 29: "Their life is not a *life of shame*, in the sense in which this is true in England. Most of them are prostitutes by caste, and can feel no *desire to give it up*. Those who do feel such a desire would doubtless occasionally be prevented by debt; but far more often by the almost entire absence in India of all remunerative occupation for women, save hereditary occupation, to which caste restrictions would in most cases be an absolute bar, or manual labour, for which they are unsuited." Therefore I take it that your conclusion there is that once in this life it is an extremely difficult thing for these women,

even if they desire it, to give it up?—Once born, I would say; they are born to it, and they must remain.

3004. But they are not all born to it?—The great majority of them. It is so not only with prostitutes but with every class in India; the whole caste system rests on that, and a man or a woman is born to a certain occupation.

3005. Upon what are you basing that observation, that the great majority of them are born to it and must remain?—On my experience of 23 years in India. I constantly have to deal with prostitutes as a magistrate, and as the executive authority. I know as a fact that a very great majority of the Indian prostitutes are hereditary.

3006. But do you mean the great majority of these prostitutes who live in these chaklas, and who are frequented by British soldiers?—Well, in Umballa we ascertained that 31 out of 39 were hereditary; eight had joined the ranks later. I should think that is an unusually large proportion, but at any rate that was the proportion.

3007. But would you say, speaking of all the cantonments in India, from your experience of these three cantonments, that a large majority of the prostitutes frequented by British soldiers are prostitutes by caste?—Certainly; a large majority, I would say.

3008. I have a different impression, I must say. I do not know whether we could get that. You have never made any inquiries in any other cantonments than those three, have you?—No, never; but of course one has something to do with this class of women in the course of one's work, and I have had a long experience in India, and I know no reason to think that the proportion varies in cantonments from what is in cities.

3009. My impression has been this, that in regard to these women a considerable proportion of them, I do not know what the proportion is, I never did know, do not begin life with the intention of becoming prostitutes; they do not belong to that class of prostitutes, but they drift into the chakla from circumstances of destitution; they may be young widows; they may be seduced; they are impoverished, and that is their only refuge. My impression is that that would certainly account for a considerable fraction; I do not know how much?—I think a larger fraction of prostitutes, as I point out in the Report, than in many other trades; I think the fraction might be 10 per cent. or 20 at the outside, of non-hereditary. (Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) There are whole villages in the Himalayas where the daughters are given up to prostitution.

3010. I was perfectly aware that there was a class for prostitution, but I did not know that they were so largely to be found in these chaklas. Your view, I take it (and I understand that is the accepted view) is that those who belong to the caste become prostitutes, they never have the sense of shame which, to our mind, would seem to be natural on first entering into that business?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) No, sir, they are not the least ashamed of it; they would be ashamed if you told them they belonged to certain other occupations which they consider lower than their own.

3011. Do you entirely disbelieve in what these girls and women said to our witnesses about their horror of the examination?—I do, absolutely, now. I think my opinion may carry more weight, perhaps, because it has been entirely changed. When I first began this examination, I think Major Wilson suggested to me to ask the women at Umballa whether they objected to examination. I said, "What is the good of putting such a question? There can be no woman, prostitute or not, who does not object;" and, as a matter of fact, the question was not put. I felt so strongly about it as that; but what we heard afterwards has entirely modified my opinion on the subject. I think that on a point of that sort the statements made by these women to the ladies would be almost valueless.

Mr. D.  
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3012. Why?—If there is one thing more important than another, if you wish to get at the feeling of a native, an uneducated native, on any point, it is that you must absolutely conceal from him or her what your own feeling and opinion on the matter is. From general inaccuracy, and wishing to be pleasant all round, and from generations of servitude, they will always agree with you if they only know what to agree with. These ladies went there full of sympathy, looking at prostitution in the way that English or American ladies would look at prostitution, upon the whole thing as horrible, and the personal examination as a degradation. The women would certainly, whatever their view might be, fall in with that, and say all that the ladies say they said. As evidence of their opinion, I look upon what they said to the ladies as absolutely valueless. One very important point is that at Meerut when some of the *Lancers'* women denied what they had said to the ladies, there was a chorus of indignation; they stated that "the ladies were very kind to us; they gave us four annas each, and told us it was *disgraceful to be examined*." It looked as if the idea was suggested to them. That is the impression it conveys to me, knowing what I do of native character.

3013. They might have entertained the same feeling of wishing to please with regard to themselves?—Quite. I do not say it is conclusive by any means.

3014. Are you prepared to say that, as far as you can judge by your own observations and inquiries, they have no objection to the use of the speculum?—Dr. O'Connor, I think it was, told us that they did object to the use of the speculum, because they had an idea that it injured them internally; and the Meerut women themselves said, "We do not mind the examination, but we do object to having anything put into us."

3015. Then I think you are rather of opinion, and you admit, that they are looked upon, the prostitutes, that British soldiers frequent, are looked upon with some contempt by their fellow-countrymen?—Yes, any native who serves or deals with Englishmen in personal matters does lose caste, no doubt. Our servants, I think, do not hold the same position as they would if they did not serve Europeans. That is certainly so.

3016. But you would not put the two cases quite on a par, would you?—I think very much. It is a question of caste entirely, I think. Of course, the British soldier is not only an Englishman, but he is a low caste Englishman; he is not a *sahib*, as the native would say; he is not a gentleman; that has something to do with it, and I think it is that feeling almost entirely.

3017. Did you tell me that periodical examination was not made a condition of residence in the cantonments at Lucknow?—Certainly not, in any way whatever. A woman, upon coming to Lucknow, was sent to a doctor for examination, as far as the magistrate went, without any compulsion or order; but in a manner which, no doubt, to her took practically the form of an order; she would not distinguish.

3018. "Dr. H. Hamilton was then in charge of the hospital. I understood from him that, while he was in charge, women used to attend rather largely at the voluntary examinations" (I am reading from Major Campbell's evidence, page 30 of the Statements and Notes, line 1,886). "Between the notice of March 1892 and this date, I have issued no other notices, and taken no other action in the matter, save that noted above. In May 1893, I received orders from Army headquarters that in future no special examination of prostitutes was to be permitted, other than what would take place in the case of other contagious diseases. These orders I communicated to the medical officers. From the closing of the *chaklas* in 1888 till now, under the voluntary system, I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the *Sadr bazar* as a prosti-

tute, whether she agreed to be examined by the doctor. I never knew any woman refuse. They used to go straight off to the doctor to be examined. I did not explain whether I meant periodical examination or examination preliminary to permission. The doctor sent back a report sometimes that the woman was diseased; in which case I refused her leave to reside in cantonments. Of late I have not always insisted on this examination. In some cases the women themselves state in their petitions that they are ready to be examined."—Yes, sir, that is what I add. I understood your question at first to refer to permission to reside in the sense in which residence in regimental bazars was conditional in Umballa.

3019. His own interpretation of the system was to encourage it?—Practically she would take it as an order. Practically, to the woman it would come as an order.

3020. Paragraph 35 of the Summary of Conclusions: "The examination is made individually by the British medical officer, and is generally conducted in the presence of the resident native medical officer of the hospital, and in the presence also of the Lock Hospital nurse (called the '*dhai*'). The examination is made on a table (not necessarily special), and generally, though not always, with *speculum*, &c. The women subjected to it speak of it without abhorrence; and apparently have no objection to it on the score of modesty." I want to ask you whether the table at Umballa was not special?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) Not for the examination of prostitutes; it was for the examination of women, a sloping table.

3021. It was not a sloping table?—It was a sloping table which assisted in the examination of a woman for any disease of the vagina, not necessarily venereal.

3022. There was that special table for the examination of the women?—It sloped. In other places it was a straight table.

3023. In page iii of the Statements and Notes we see, in the evidence at Umballa, there is no statement that the table was a table adopted for that purpose; and in the conclusions you say that the examination is made on a table "not necessarily special." What is the meaning of that?—Because in the other two it was a flat table, in the other two hospitals.

3024. What do you mean by a "special" table, simply a sloping table?—No, a special table for the examination of women would be one made particularly for that purpose, with *screws*, and foot-boards, and different things of that kind.

3025. What was the table?—This was simply a sloping table, higher at the foot than at the head, higher at one end than at the other. If you had a woman in hospital suffering from any disease of the vagina or uterus, you would examine her on that table; that is not necessarily a special table for the examination of prostitutes.

3026. It was not an ordinary table?—No, it was not an ordinary table.

3027. It was a special table?—I should say it was a table with a sloping surface.

3028. (Chairman.) As far as I understand, you mentioned three kinds of tables, a perfectly flat table, a table higher at one end than the other, and, as Mr. Stansfeld has said, a more special table, with *screws* and footboards?—Yes.

3029. And such a table as you describe, only higher at one end than the other, would be applicable to other diseases than the one we are speaking of?—Than the venereal diseases; it would be a special table for the diseases of women, but not a special table for the diseases of prostitutes.

3030. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Do you say there is any incorrectness in Mrs. Andrews' account of what she saw at Umballa about that table?—No, sir; it appeared to her as a special table, differing from an ordinary table.



3031. It would be a special table, but not for the examination of prostitutes?—No; not for the examination of prostitutes.

3032. Paragraph 37 of the Summary of Conclusions: "Upon the examination, the women attending it are either dismissed until the next examination day, which they may attend, with liberty and license (unwritten) to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime; or if diseased, are not detained, but invited (with the legalised alternative of being expelled from cantonments) to remain in the hospital." "In the meantime" (those are the words in our statement), "with liberty and license," you have put in the word "unwritten." Now, what is the point of the insertion of the word "unwritten" there?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) Merely reading it as it stood, it appeared to mean something like a license, or something, as given under the old system; a ticket, with the fact that the woman had been examined stated thereon.

3033. It is "liberty and license," it is not "liberty and a license"?—No.

3034. You do not mean to suggest that the British soldier would require a written document to satisfy him that she had been examined and was fit?—I think it is exceedingly likely, wherever it would be possible for such precautions to be taken by the British soldier.

3035. In the absence of a written certificate, he would be content with seeing that she had just come out of the examination room?—He would not know; he would not know whether any individual woman had been examined.

3036. Why not; he knows the examination days?—Surely, sir, you do not imagine that British soldiers stand round the examination room to see who goes in for examination and who does not.

3037. I should say it was not unusual. I know this subject very well, and I know that it came out that they used to do it in this country?—I should think it was improbable.

3038. (Chairman.) Do you put it aside as altogether improbable?—I should say so; quite improbable.

3039. (Mr. Stansfeld.) The mahaldarnis list shows what prostitutes had been up for examination and had come back?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.) In the regimental bazars. (Mr. Ibbetson.) Four or five women in each bazar; 12 or 15 altogether, out of 100.

3040. Paragraph 47 seems to be an important one; "No women are compelled to submit to the periodical examination; though in Meerut the system approached very near compulsion. There are no registered women. There are no women reserved for the use of British troops, though there are places (which the women are free to quit, and can find accommodation next door), from which natives are expelled when found there." Well now, do you not think that we have evidence, not only in Meerut but at other places, of something which approaches rather near compulsion?—No, not in either Umballa or Lucknow.

3041. Well, we have some evidence?—With regard to those two cantonments?

3042. With regard to compulsion, clearly?—Not at Lucknow or Umballa.

3043. What do you mean by "compulsion"; what do you require to satisfy your mind in the case of compulsion?—Well, take the case of Umballa; a woman is not allowed to live in the regimental bazar unless she attends the examination, just in the same way that I should not be allowed to go into the dress-circle of a theatre without taking the trouble to dress. It may be of certain value to get a more convenient place, but I do not say that I am "compelled" to dress if I go to the theatre. I may get a slightly better place; she simply gets nearer a certain body of customers; but the Sudder bazar is alongside; it is only a few hundred yards off. I should not call that compulsion.

3044. She would come under the compulsion of

having to submit to examination to ensure certain advantages?—To ensure the advantage of residence in the regimental bazar, just as I should dress to ensure the advantage of the dress circle.

3045. You object to that being called compulsion?—Yes, I think so.

3046. But you recognise that it might have been a compelling force, do you not?—Of course it would be an inducement; I would not put it any stronger than that.

3047. You would rather call it an inducement; more pulling than pushing, you mean?—Yes.

3048. I do not much care whether it is pulling or pushing?—Distinctly an inducement.

3049. Are you familiar with the Minute of the present Commander-in-Chief, which has just come over to this country?—I cannot say I am familiar with it, sir; I have read it through.

3050. You gather from it that, in his view, periodical examination is absolutely necessary as the keystone of any system which would be efficient?—I suppose that would be his view.

3051. I think his view is rather a special view?—That periodical examination is necessary in order to preserve the troops in health?

3052. Paragraph 10 says, "The next charge is of compulsory examination at prescribed periods. This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. If it is abolished, all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it. The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Ibbertson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory. The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them. In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer, they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will, it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion;" and paragraph 12 says: "If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient." Your view, I think I understand from you already (because we have been on this topic before), is that a considerable success, a considerable approach towards periodical examination, could be accomplished without anything which you could call compulsion?—I think so, as it was at Lucknow.

3053. But that, from the point of view of hygienic success, the view of the Commander-in-Chief might be correct, that complete efficiency would mean absolute compulsion?—I can give no opinion on the hygienic point, but complete efficiency would certainly involve some compulsion; I think so, at least.

3054. If the examination, to be successful from that point of view, must be periodical, surely its periodicity must be ensured?—It must be periodical, for this reason: if you tell a lot of natives that you are ready to see them any day they like to come, not one of them will come at all; if you tell them you are ready to see them every Monday morning, you have a very fair chance of every one of them turning up.

3055. Surely, from the point of view of the efficiency and value of examination, it must be periodical to be efficient, and it must be assured periodicity to be efficient?—Yes.

3056. And you could not compare the efficiency of a purely voluntary system only affecting a portion of the women (those who might choose to attend), and one which affected all the women, because it was positively compulsory?—That is a question which can only be answered by people who have some experience of the subject, of which I have

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none. I can tell you what I think you could get with compulsion, and without compulsion. What the effect of these two forms of examination would be on the health of the troops I cannot say; that is not in my line.

3057. What do you think you could get by periodical examination, without anything that you can call compulsion?—I think you would get, as you did at Lucknow, practically all the women of cantonments coming, but there would be exceptions. No doubt it would depend very much upon the personality of the medical officer, probably very much indeed.

3058. You think that if you got a delicate-minded, kind-hearted man, he would end by getting a great many women to go?—I think he would, and they would go steadily.

3059. And if you could ensure such a man in every cantonment, you think that would be a kind of compulsion, which you would call "inducement" rather?—Yes; persuasion I should call it, rather, in that case; not even inducement.

3060. As I understand you, as far as your opinion goes, with a doctor of that kind (who is not to be met with every day); with the advantage of the skill, and care, and kindness of such a man, you could have a very considerable success in periodical examinations without anything like compulsion. That is your view?—I dissent to the assertion that such a doctor is not to be met every day. Of course there are degrees, but I think that the exercise of the medical profession tends to give men those qualities, and I think you would find many such.

3061. Your view is that the benefits of periodical examination, whatever they may be, could be very largely attained without any compulsion?—Yes, I think so.

3062. And you are aware that you differ, in that opinion, from the present Commander-in-Chief?—No, I do not know that he said anything about compulsion.

3063. You are aware that there are very diverse opinions on that subject, and very contrary opinions on the subject, in the medical profession?—Well, I base my opinion entirely upon what I saw at Lucknow.

3064. (*Chairman.*) I think everyone joins you in your general view, that natives will respond to a periodical invitation, even where it is not compulsory?—That is, if they are sure of kind treatment when they get there; being treated like women, and not harshly.

3065. I noticed just now you took a distinction between a general invitation, which they would not attend to, and a periodical?—Yes.

3066. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Here is paragraph 86 of the Report: "It is impossible to speak so decidedly as to the voluntary nature of the submission to examination, by women seeking permission to reside in the cantonments of Lucknow. It is true that the cantonment magistrate neither had, nor pretended to have, any power to enforce such examination; that he held out no threat and gave no order, and that the women were simply asked by him whether she would consent to be examined, and in all cases agreed. So far as he was concerned, the examination was voluntary. But, from her point of view, it can hardly be said to have been so"?—That was only examination, not periodical examination; that was the examination prior to permission to reside in cantonments; that could hardly be said to be voluntary; but the subsequent periodical examination was as voluntary as I can imagine any examination to be of any sort, practically spontaneous.

3067. But is it not true that the magistrate himself states that he did not explain to the woman whether he was speaking of that particular examination or a periodical examination?—Yes; but that would have nothing to do with it. When she got the order she wanted leave to reside; she applied to the magistrate, and he said, go and see the doctor. She went to the

doctor, came back, and got her leave to reside; she was done with the magistrate then; it was simply the first examination that his remark applied to; she had got all she wanted out of him, and she was finished with him.

3068. Now, you have spoken to us several times about the willingness of a woman to submit to inspection, do you not think that though that might be voluntary, as far as the magistrate was concerned, in fact, as you say here, it was not purely voluntary, do you not think that that remark of yours applies also to her attendance at a periodical examination?—No, sir, I do not think so, for several reasons. Well, one conclusive one is that, as a fact, after Dr. Ranking left, and the examinations were begun again by Dr. Hamilton, women did attend very irregularly; the attendance varied from 40 to 70 week by week; which shows that individual women did not think that attendance was in any degree otherwise than voluntary.

3069. They found out that they were not absolutely compelled to attend every time?—Yes.

3070. But your view is that an order without penalty would almost certainly secure their attendance?—Oh, yes, almost certainly.

3071. Then you went on to say: "The magistrate to whom she was applying for permission to practise her calling asked her to submit to examination, and at the same time postponed his order on her application. Such a request, especially when addressed to a woman who was accustomed to or acquainted with the old regulations, must have presented itself to her mind in the light of a command"?—Yes.

3072. That you think is true as to the particular transaction?—As to the preliminary examination.

3073. And then you add, "It is by no means certain that the success of Dr. Ranking's system did not very largely depend upon this very action of the cantonment magistrate"?—Yes.

3074. "For, without it, new comers might never have come within range of his persuasion, and as the older women died, or left the place, his attendance might have gradually dwindled away"?—Yes.

3075. So that something which was very like compulsion, even though it was only applied in one particular case, was in your view necessary to give his system a chance?—Dr. Ranking's system. But after he left, and when examination had been entirely discontinued, Dr. Hamilton, at the request of the cantonment authorities, gave notice that he was ready to see any women who liked on a certain day of the week; and from that time to the time we went there, or within a week of it, women, varying from 40 to 70, used to come every week. This custom of sending the women to the cantonment magistrate in the first instance was discontinued of late. There was nothing then in the second series of examinations held by Dr. Hamilton, nothing of any sort of persuasion or anything approaching compulsion; it is that fact that weighs with me so strongly, that second examination.

3076. Is not that open to the remark that the system was founded, and they adapted themselves to it, and continued it even when there was no evidence of compulsion addressed to their minds?—Probably that had something to do with their attendance under Dr. Rankin; but the fact that they did not attend regularly—the individuals under Dr. Hamilton—shows that they did not follow the old system.

3077. It shows that they were a little laxer, but still that they attended in considerable numbers?—Anything they have done before will always have weight as to what they are going to do in the future with a native.

3078. You are going to give us to-morrow cases, whatever cases you think are fitting—in the evidence of our lady witnesses which go to show great discrepancies with the evidence which you have got, and which you think are of such a serious character as to lessen the weight of their general testimony.



Now, with regard to those cases, allow me to draw your attention to the last paragraph of your Report, in speaking of the evidence of these ladies; you are speaking of the evidence of these ladies?—Yes.

3079. “A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers’ lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes; condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-aborrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation.” Now I will venture to call that paragraph a peroration, and I will ask you, with the attention you have given it, even since you wrote that Report of the evidence of these ladies, whether you are prepared to contend that this picture which you have drawn is not an exaggerated picture?—If you mean an exaggerated picture of the impression left on my mind by reading the ladies’ evidence, and your Statement of Facts, I can answer at once; it is in no way whatever exaggerated; it simply represents the impression made on my mind when I read the evidence of these ladies and your Statement of Facts; I thought, “Good God, how horrible.”

3080. What is the impression on your mind now?—After our inquiry, that the picture is grossly exaggerated.

3081. After the evidence you have in the body of your Report, and the evidence by which it is supported, and the evidence you have given before us, do you mean to say that that is a correct statement of the inferences drawn from the whole?—It is a correct statement of the impression left on my mind by the evidence of the ladies and the statement of facts drawn up by yourself and those who assisted you on that evidence.

3082. These ladies went there to discover the truth as they thought they best might; they thought, and I think they rightly thought, that their plan was not to address themselves to the authorities, but go to the women themselves. They went to the women; they visited the ten cantonments; and they made their report to those who asked them to go out and make the inquiry; and the result of the inquiry at this moment is that their report is admitted by the late Commander-in-Chief as in the main correct. It akeit that you and Lord Roberts would differ?—I do not know. I believe their report to be in the main correct so far as the bare statement of facts goes: I believe it to give the impression that those facts would produce upon the mind of an individual unacquainted with India, and that impression is almost entirely incorrect, although it is, as far as I can judge, an honest impression.

3083. But here is a distinct picture which you have drawn; you are talking of exaggerated picture, here is your own picture. Now I know that evidence well, and I know your evidence well, and, if I were in the witness-box, I would say yours is the grossly exaggerated picture?—There is a difference of opinion; that is the impression left on me by the evidence as I read it.

3084. I thought that you might; I was in hopes that you might have been disposed a little to tone down that picture?—I do not think I can fairly, sir. I think it is an honest representation of the impression I got of the state of facts described by these

ladies as it would present itself to anybody who did not know India.

3085. But I would put this to you: Is not this picture of yours one which suggests, which naturally would suggest, to the reader this view of these ladies, that they had, perhaps, very good motives, but were utterly unreliable as witnesses upon whom a Department or a Government and a Parliament might depend for their judgment and their action?—I do not think you can depend in the least upon their evidence, so far as it is taken from uneducated natives, at any rate the native women and the dhais.

3086. I am not asking you whether you would depend upon the testimony of the native prostitutes, you are now speaking of the evidence of our American missionary ladies?—What they saw. Yes; I would depend absolutely upon that; what they got from the women I would not depend upon; not so much because I look upon prostitutes’ evidence as unreliable, as because it is an art, the getting a precise statement of fact out of a native at all. Nobody would succeed under the conditions.

3087. This paragraph of yours is a summing up; a description of your view of the character of these ladies’ evidence, and if anyone believes that last paragraph, they cannot believe these ladies’ evidence?—It is the impression which these ladies’ evidence produced; the facts, as I say, are correct; the inferences which are suggested, and the impressions produced seem to me very incorrect indeed.

3088. Then I will put it in this way; I quite agree with you that if the picture you have drawn is an accurate, justifiable one, that we should hesitate to found action upon the report and evidence of those ladies, but my proposition is, as to which I understand you are not disposed in the least to approximate, that your Report is itself an exaggeration; I understand that you maintain the accuracy of your Report?—As a picture of the impression produced on my own mind by reading the evidence and your Statements of Facts, I think it is an honest picture.

3089. And you maintain that?—I maintain that.

3090. I will leave it there. I have a certain number of questions with regard to the special hospitals, and so on, I will put to you, Dr. Cleghorn. Now at Umballa the old Lock Hospital at the time of your visit was used as a branch of the general cantonment hospital?—(Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn). Section 2 of the General Hospital.

3091. It was a separate building at a considerable distance?—A separate building at some two or three hundred yards distance.

3092. It was used for venereal diseases of women only, and for any other diseases to which prostitutes might be subject?—Any sick prostitute might go to it if she wished.

3093. I mean those were the limits; venereal diseases of women only; does that mean of prostitutes only?—Prostitutes only.

3094. Venereal or other diseases of prostitutes?—Venereal or other diseases of prostitutes.

3095. That is the way to put it, but, of course, it was mainly a prostitutes’ hospital?—A prostitutes’ hospital.

3096. And it is still called a Lock Hospital?—Locally, a *rundi* hospital; the women’s hospital.

3097. In the hospital there is, or was, a register of patients referring to the regiments to which they are supposed to belong?—At Umballa, yes.

3098. And there was a list of prostitutes who were periodically examined under the head of regiments?—A list of prostitutes periodically examined, yes.

3099. And there was a memorandum book of women absent from examination?—No special book, sir.

3100. Book No. 4 containing several memoranda?—That was a book of letters and correspondence pasted in and amongst them them were these memos. to the cantonment magistrate about these women.

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3101. (*Mr. Wilson.*) In line 79 it is called a file of correspondence?—A file, that is what we call it, in which we paste all bills and letters.

3102. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, the examination room, did it contain a special table?—It contained a sloping table.

3103. Have you got the evidence, 1319: “(Q.) Did you see the usual appliances in the examination room?—(A.) We did. (Q.) Was the table specially constructed?—(A.) It was. (Q.) How was it constructed?—Well, it was peculiar. The other tables were of the ordinary sort for the most part; that is, a level top. (Q.) A horizontal top?—(A.) This was an inclined plane; the top of the table arranged so that the woman would lie with her head several inches below her hips. (Q.) And the higher end was near the light?—(A.) The higher end was near the light.” That was a special table there?—I found the same.

3104. You have no objection to calling it a special table?—No, sir, I found the same.

3105. With reference to the reports and records on which you have made your Report, we shall probably examine Dr. Kate Bushnell to-morrow. At Meerut the general hospital there has two branches?—Two branches.

3106. Except that one is not built?—The main building is not built, sir; it was only in 1892 that they introduced the term “general hospital.”

3107. The contagious branch is the old Lock Hospital?—The old Lock Hospital.

3108. The in-patients are women only?—Are women only.

3109. Prostitutes only; they are all prostitutes with venereal except six.

3110. Have you any knowledge of any members of the hospital staff ever extorting money from women?—The women said that the native hospital assistant in the hospital at Meerut took money from them.

3111. Took money from them?—So they said.

3112. He threatened to accuse them of being diseased when they were not?—Yes, keeping them in hospital too long.

3113. Well now, at Lucknow, the contagious branch there is also a separate building, 200 yards off the main building, is it not?—200 yards off the main building.

3114. And at that distance?—About 200 yards.

3115. It is the old Lock Hospital?—The old Lock Hospital.

3116. For prostitutes only?—For prostitutes only.

3117. It has its examination room?—Yes, for examining separately, an examination room.

3118. It is called the General Hospital?—The Cantonments General Hospital.

3119. From February 1891 up to the opening of the new barracks in November 1892, the so-called Lock Hospital was a general hospital open to all cases whatever; then it was a general hospital?—Dr. Ranking says so. He commenced this system of seeing other patients as out-patients at this venereal hospital, at this Lock Hospital.

3120. But as far as the in-patients were concerned, they were always venereal?—Always venereal.

3121. He only saw out-patients there who were not venereal?—He had six or seven perhaps a year, who who were not venereal, at the hospital, and then they started this Cantonment General Hospital in 1892.

3122. I have no other questions to ask you; is there any evidence which you desire to offer to us?—With regard to those cantonment general hospitals, they have been drawn up on the same plans as military hospitals. In a military hospital there is a station hospital, and sections 1 and 2. They wanted to assimilate, I suppose, these special hospitals in cantonments to these military hospitals, and they built the cantonments general hospital with a general

hospital, and then special sections 1 and 2 (1) for contagious diseases and cholera and small pox, and (2) for venereal cases. But it was the same thing. So long as these periodical examinations were continued, there must be a hospital for venereal diseases, must there not, and they considered that these examinations were entirely voluntary, and they continued the old system of having a separate venereal hospital, and called it Section No. 2; but it was the old Lock Hospital undoubtedly, in every way.

3123. But is there not this speciality about these Lock Hospitals which are now entitled branches of a general hospital, which is not yet built; the larger proportion of which is in some cases rebuilt? Is not that somewhat misleading? These practically are Lock Hospitals for prostitutes?—Yes, they are, practically, of course. Yes, they are the old Lock Hospitals for prostitutes, and no other change has taken place except that they have been made a section of the Cantonment General Hospital.

3124. They are separate buildings?—They are separate buildings.

3125. Buildings always used as Lock Hospitals?—Always used as Lock Hospitals.

3126. And which are used practically for the same purpose now?—Practically for the same purpose now.

3127. Is there anything else you would like to tell us?—No, except this, that England in India is a military power. The military authorities consider the efficiency of the soldiers most important, and, of course there has been evasion of the rules, locally, by the local officers, in their endeavours to prevent disease amongst the troops, and diminish disease. They have got a very strong idea (I do not know with what truth) that these periodical examinations greatly diminish disease amongst the British troops, and when the British Government gives 11,000 men to keep up the losses caused by venereal they can do away with the whole thing.

3128. If they would do what?—Give fresh men for the diseased men, they could do away with the whole thing. That is the way military men look at it.

3129. Well, we are not constituted or empowered to discuss the hygienic question.—These are the motives which actuate them.

3130. I will not enter into it now, as if I did I would be entering on a tremendous field.—But these are the motives which actuate them locally.

3131. There is nothing else that you desire to say to-day?—No, sir. About what you call the peroration, that was the impression on my mind entirely on reading the evidence, simply due to people unacquainted with Indian habits and customs drawing wrong inferences. I agree with Mr. Hobbeson that their facts in the main are quite correct; the facts they observed; but any person going to India as they did, must have drawn wrong inferences from the information they received.

3132. I will put another question to you as a fair man, and I feel sure you are; these ladies went there for a very short period, and they were ignorant of India, of course?—Quite.

3133. Do you not think that considering their ignorance of India, their investigation has been a remarkable piece of work?—Yes; I think so in many ways.

3134. I think so; I think we all think so?—Oh, yes, of course, and they went there with a good intention.

3135. It would be impossible to be right in all minor points, to gauge every answer or the value of every answer which a prostitute or a mahaldarini might make?—They got at the main facts.

3136. Here is the minutes of the Commander-in-Chief, paragraph 17: “Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons. They knew nothing of the country, or of the character of the people. The women and other natives with whom they conversed soon found out



what they wished to establish, and played up to them; give a native a hint of the line of argument you want supported, and every answer will tend the way you incline. This will not be controverted by those who know India." I would ask you first of all whether you agree with this somewhat stringent proposition founded upon no knowledge, that I am aware of, that Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell went to India with the intention of establishing a certain proposition?—I know nothing about the intention.

3137. Do you not think it is quite as likely that they went there with the hope of establishing the truth?—I should hope so. Yes, that is what I thought they did in the first instance.

3138. And I think it too.—I think they have proved these things, that the periodical examinations were going on; that the chaklas were there; that the regimental women lived in the regimental bazars, and that they accompanied regiments on the march. I think beyond that there has been, as Mr. Ibbetson has said, a good deal of wrong inferences drawn on the facts which they observed.

3139. Wrong inferences, and, may be, wrong impressions?—Yes, it would have happened to anyone unacquainted with India.

3140. I would just ask you further this question: because I have met with this argument before. Mr. Ibbetson has said that if you give a native a hint of what he desires him to say he will be all the more inclined to agree with you. That would quite as much apply to your examination as to the examination by the ladies?—No, because Mr. Ibbetson was a skilled examiner of witnesses.

3141. Precisely. Mr. Ibbetson was a skilled examiner of witnesses; one is a skilled examiner of witnesses and a well-known official; and do you not think the women would be all the more inclined to say what he wished than what the ladies wished?—No; they denied at Lucknow before us absolutely that they were examined at all.

3142. (*Sir James Peile*.) Is there not this difference,

that you, in your Report, do not place implicit reliance on what the women tell you, whereas the ladies accepted all that was told them?—(*Mr. Ibbetson*.) Every statement there is the result of half-a-dozen questions instead of one. They said at Meerut the police took them off to the hospital. In a criminal case I should not have put that down—

3143. In some cases you do not believe what they tell you?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn*.) No.

3144. (*Mr. Stansfeld*.) Are you prepared to say of these ladies that they implicitly believed everything that these prostitutes told them?—They state there as if they did.

3145. No, they do not; where do they?—The general evidence gives you that idea.

3146. I think you had better bring evidence of that to-morrow morning, because I do not see it at all. They brought their evidence here, and they stated what they were obliged to state, what evidence was given to them, just as you do?—But does not reading that evidence give you the idea that these women were brutally and harshly treated by the local officers, including the medical officers; do you not get that idea from reading it?

3147. Do you mean it as a general proposition?—As a general idea that you drew from the evidence that these women were harshly treated.

3148. No, but that these women were occasionally harshly and brutally treated by the British soldier?—A drunken soldier will treat a woman harshly and brutally in England.

3149. Perhaps so.—You make India the exception; you place her apart; you say the British soldiers are brutes out there; that they are worse in India than they are in England. We do not admit it.

3150. I beg your pardon; I have never said anything about it?—No; you do not say it, but that is the impression we get from reading the evidence—the Commander-in-Chief, everyone gets that impression from reading it.

*Mr. D.  
Ibbetson  
and  
Surgeon-Col.  
Cleghorn.*  
—  
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[The Witness withdrew.]

Adjourned till To-morrow, at Half-past Eleven o'clock.

## TENTH DAY.

Tuesday, August 15th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.General Sir DONALD STEWART.  
Sir JAMES PEILE.Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,  
Secretary.

Mr. DENZIL IBBETSON, C.S., and Surgeon-Colonel CLEGHORN, re-called ; and further Examined :

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3151. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, Mr. Ibbetson, I believe you are prepared to give us a certain number of instances in the evidence of these ladies which show, in your view, serious discrepancies compared with your own observation, and which tend to lower the value of their evidence?—Yes, sir. The first instance is answer 726 of the ladies. Your question was : “ And the result of all your visits and inquiries has been, has it not, to your own minds, clearly this, that the women were only admitted to the cantonment by the process of passing through the Lock Hospital, being ascertained to be what they call fit?—(A.) That was what we understood in all the cantonments.” Then there is a further point : “ The native doctor at Meerut, in this same Lock Hospital, said that if they did not come for examination they would be expelled from the cantonment.” The point to which I take exception is that in all cantonments women are admitted only after medical examination. That was certainly not so at either Meerut or Umballa.

3152. What is your objection ; I did not entch it?—It is said that in all cantonments women are admitted to reside only after medical examination ; that, I say, was not so either at Meerut or at Umballa, two out of our three cantonments.

3153. Your objection is that their statement in answer to Question 726 to the effect that women are only admitted to reside in the cantonments after examination does not apply to Meerut and Umballa?—Yes.

3154. Now you are simply referring to Meerut and Umballa, and you have nothing to say about the other eight cantonments, have you?—No, I simply say that this is not true of two out of three cantonments which we visited.

3155. Of course it may be true, as far as you know of every one of the other eight?—So far as I know.

3156. And your evidence with regard to Meerut and Umballa applies to what period?—Ever since 1888.

3157. Well, now then the next?—Answer to Question 530 ; a cognate point. The question was : “ Well, now, at Meerut, did you make any inquiry of the women ? I have a note here that in some cases the number of women apportioned to the number of men is very much smaller than in other cases. Did you ascertain at Meerut how such conditions were met?—(A.) We asked the women in the Lanciers regiment how they did when there were too few women there,

and they said they took in more. We said, where did they get them, and they said from the bazar ; and then they said they took them after examining them.” That is the point to which I take exception again, on the same ground ; that there was no examination previous to admission at Meerut.

3158. I did not understand, Mr. Ibbetson, that you deny that the women gave them this evidence. Did you deny that that was the fact?—I think it very probable that there may have been a misunderstanding of what the women said or meant ; I think it is almost certainly so in some cases where there appears to be a discrepancy.

3159. Do you undertake to say that in some cases the women did not say what the witnesses say?—I do not for a moment deny that the ladies understood that that was what the women said ; but whether the women said what was not true, or what they did say or mean was not understood I cannot say ; either contingency is possible, I think.

3160. But have you any ground for supposing that these ladies may have misunderstood the evidence of these women except your own opinion that it was *a priori* not improbable on account of their ignorance of the native tongue?—Not in this instance.

3161. Are you at all aware, have you read their evidence with sufficient care to know, what precautions they took to ensure, as far as they could, an accurate understanding of the evidence offered by the women there?—Yes.

3162. That they took persons with them who were familiar with the native tongue?—Yes.

3163. Now we go on to the next?—Answers 409, 410, and 554.

3164. Do they all run together?—They run together. The effect of them being that at Lucknow all the women living in the chakla had to be registered. I do not know that it is necessary to read the whole of the three questions and answers. Question 409 : “ Did you yourself hear from any of the girls or women there anything concerning the mahaldarni’s daughter?—(A.) They said that the mahaldarni’s daughter was registered, as all in that neighbourhood had to be.” Question 410 : “ All in that building?—(A.) That was the expression. This was at our last visit to Lucknow, and it was after this change had been made in the chakla, and the mahaldarni was reported to have been dismissed, and she was living near by, just a few steps from the chakla in a little building there, and she had



several girls living with her, and one of these girls who lived with her, when we went to see the mahaldarni, stated that the mahaldarni had gone to the Lock Hospital, and had taken her daughter with her. But we did not understand that the daughter was not a virtuous woman. She said the daughter was virtuous, and did not receive the visits of soldiers, but that she was registered, that they had all to be in that neighbourhood, and that therefore she was obliged to go to the Lock Hospital." And Question 854 runs: "What was it that she said?—(A.) She told me that when a girl was a candidate for a life of shame she went to the mahaldarni first, and that then the mahaldarni took her to the cantonment magistrate, and she paid nine pice to be registered."

3165. To whom was 9 pice to be paid?—Well, really it was an anna for the stamp on the application for permission to reside, and 1 pice, for the form on which the petition would be written, and I suppose the other anna to the petition writer who wrote the application, that would make 9 pice; it was clear what was referred to was the ordinary application for permission to reside in cantonments, which had to be made by everybody, male or female, who wished to reside there.

3166. This was an application, was it not, on the part of a prostitute to reside there for the purpose of prostitution?—For permission to reside in the cantonment for her own purposes, whatever they might be.

3167. I do not remember at the moment, you will tell me, whether the application would imply the condition as a part of that permission to reside in the quarter where prostitutes reside?—I think not, sir. Yes, it would specify the house, certainly, to reside in the quarter in which prostitutes reside; as any person's application would specify the house in which he wished to reside.

3168. But now the mahaldarni looked upon that as registration, apparently?—The mahaldarni says nothing here: apparently this is what the women said.

3169. You quoted just now from the mahaldarni, did you not?—No; they said it about the mahaldarni.

3170. Do you deny the accuracy of this record; is it part of your view that the women did not tender this evidence to these ladies?—Probably what they said was understood to mean registration and did not. I should think that was the most probable explanation.

3171. Is that your view?—That is my view. Of course, it may be that they used the word "registri," which would be the Hindostanee word for registration; I cannot tell, of course.

3172. That is all you have to say upon that point?—Upon that point.

3173. Then we pass to the next?—Then there is a group of some 12 or 14 answers which simply amount to this—they all hang together—Questions 238 to 240, 528, 1196 and 1197, 527, 525, 526, 254, 242, 243, 176 to 178. What they amount to is this; that there were at Meerut at the time of these ladies' visit, regimental chaklas apportioned to different regiments—*one the Lancers' chakla in which five women were living; then the Artillery chakla, in which nine women were living; and then the Infantry chakla, in which thirty-two women were living; and that the women in the Lancers chakla belonged to the Lancers' regiment.*

3174. Whose evidence was that?—I think the ladies took their facts mainly, apparently, from the hospital lists of women who had been examined; and as regards women in the Lancers' chakla, I suppose that was the women's statement.

3175. What was your last statement, that the women in the Lancers' chakla belonged to the Lancers?—Yes, that was the last; that was the women's statement.

3176. That was the women's statement?—That was the women's statement, that they belonged to

the Lancers. My objection to that is, that at the time of the ladies' visit to Meerut, the regimental chaklas had been closed. What they heard called the Lancers' chakla was, as appears plainly from their own evidence, a small chakla in the Sudder bazar; and the only connection it had with the cavalry was, that certain women who had been living in the cavalry regimental bazar had, when they were turned out, come and settled in that chakla, so that the women who were living in it had belonged to the regiment, so far as living in the regimental chakla goes, but did not at the time of the ladies' visit; they had no connection whatever with the regiment, they were living in the Sudder, a long way away from the regimental lines.

3177. What I understand you to say, in point of fact, as your objection, is, that these women who used to call themselves the Lancers' women, had been turned out of the Lancers' chakla and had to live in a small chakla in the Sudder bazar. Do you deny that they still considered themselves to be appropriated to the Lancers?—Oh, yes, sir, they had no connection whatever with the Lancers when they went to live in the Sudder bazar; they would not consider themselves as belonging to any regiment.

3178. How do you know that they would not consider themselves as belonging to any regiment?—They told us so.

3179. What did they say to these ladies? Did they not tell these ladies that they belonged to the Lancers?—That is the evidence given; but I suspect what they did say was, that they had belonged to the Lancers' regiment; I do not think they would have said at that time that they belonged to the Lancers' regiment, or rather I should modify that. I think it is exceedingly probable that they would say that they did belong to the Lancers' regiment, in the way that a native of that class would make a loose statement of fact, which if she was cross-examined upon before it was recorded, the exact fact would have come out; you hardly ever get an exact fact from a native on the first statement.

3180. What I understand your view is that these are not reliable witnesses, it is probable that they said they belonged to the Lancers, but that is no proof that they did?—I think, very probably, they said so.

3181. Is that any impeachment of the evidence of these ladies?—Absolutely no impeachment whatever of the good faith of the ladies, but a very strong impeachment of the value of the evidence as they have recorded it here. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) And the inferences drawn. They simply say that the women did say so, and that if they did say so their evidence is accurate.

3182. Then the point arises on what I have called your peroration. That imaginative part, and which is an attack on the evidence of these ladies, and is not an attack on the evidence of the persons whom they examined?—I did not mean it as an attack on the evidence of those ladies; I simply meant it as an impression left on the mind after reading the evidence of these ladies.

3183. Well, look at it again if there is any doubt about its meaning. Now, let me see, what points have we got here. I think it is advisable that I should re-read that. As far as we have gone, I do not see that any questions that you have cited of evidence that you do not rely upon, has the slightest application to the 107th paragraph of your Report?—No, sir, because the 107th paragraph of the Report deals, not with the facts which, as I say, are in the main accurate as recorded by the ladies, but with the inferences, with the impressions which the reading of the facts, as presented, would, I think, produce upon a person who did not know India; whereas these instances that you asked me to pick out were of the bare facts themselves, which I considered to be incorrect, apart from the impressions.

3184. You are presenting to us now the evidence upon which you justify that last paragraph?—Not in

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the least, sir. I do not now attempt to do that; that would be quite a different point.—(*Surgeon-Colonel Clegborn.*) That is a separate question—(*Mr. Ibbelton.*) If you remember, sir, yesterday I considered most of the bare facts stated to be correct, some of them to be incorrect, and the suggestions and inferences to be generally incorrect. You said, "Will you give us instances in which the bare facts are incorrect?" and those I have picked out, sir.

3185. Well, we will make that perfectly clear before we have done. Question 3078: "You are going to give us to-morrow whatever cases you think are fitting, in the evidence of our lady witnesses which go to show great discrepancies with the evidence which you have got, and which you think are of such a serious character as to lessen the weight of their general testimony." Now with regard to these cases, allow me to draw your attention to the last paragraph of this Report. Speaking of the evidence of these ladies then I quote this last paragraph?—Yes.

3186. Well, now, I say: "What is the impression on your mind now?—You say: "After our inquiry, that this picture is greatly exaggerated." Then I say: "After the evidence you have got in the body of your Report, and the evidence by which it is supported, and the evidence you have given before us, do you mean to say that that is a correct statement of the inferences drawn from the whole?"—You say: "It is a correct statement of the impression left on my mind by the evidence of the ladies and the statement of facts drawn up by yourself, and those who assisted you on that evidence." I say: "Those ladies went there to discover the truth, as they thought they best might; they thought, and I think they rightly thought, that their plan was not to address themselves to the authorities, but go to the women themselves. They went to the women; they visited the 10 cantonments; and they made their report to those who asked them to go out and make the inquiry; and the result of the inquiry at this moment is that their report is admitted by the late Commander-in-Chief as in the main correct. I take it that you and Lord Roberts would differ?" You say: "I do not know; I believe their report to be in the main correct so far as the bare statement of facts goes. I believe it to give the impression those facts would produce upon the mind of an individual unacquainted with India, and that impression is almost entirely incorrect, although it is, as far as I can judge, an honest impression." So that you admit that they are honest, and say that their impressions are entirely incorrect. I say, "But here is a distinct picture which you have drawn: you are talking of exaggerated pictures; here is your own picture. Now, I know that evidence well, and I know your evidence well, and if I were in the witness-box I would say yours is the grossly exaggerated picture?—(A.) There is a difference of opinion; that is the impression left on me by the evidence as I read it. (Q.) I thought that you might; I was in hopes that you might have been disposed a little to tone down that picture?—(A.) I do not think I can fairly, sir; I think it is an honest representation of the impression I got of the state of facts described by these ladies as it would present itself to anybody who did not know India." I think I have read enough to show that what you were to come here to do to-day was to justify that last paragraph of your Report, which does not at all concern itself with possible inaccuracies in the evidence tendered to them by the prostitutes in these cantonments, but assails their evidence and their conclusions from beginning to end. Now, I want something serious?—That was not in the very least what I understood. In one question, which I cannot lay my finger on at the present moment, I think you asked me about the *suggestio falsi*, and the remarks that the Generals made in their Reports, and I think I said I believed the statements of fact to be in the main accurate; in some cases inaccurate; and the sugges-

tions and inferences to be generally incorrect. I believe the impression which would be left by the language here used, the inference to be drawn, would be in most cases incorrect. You then asked me, as I understood, to specify the cases in which the facts were inaccurately stated.

3187. I asked you to specify cases of serious discrepancy?—Serious discrepancy.

3188. (*Chairman.*) Page 14?—Page 14. It was before this, I know, a good deal.

3189. And the bottom of page 13; I see something about serious discrepancies at page 14?—

3190. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Question 2884, page 14: At a previous part of the examination I say to you: "Will you point out any serious discrepancies on any important point between their evidence and the evidence which you report as facts?—(A.) Do you mean as regards bare statement of facts? (Q.) Any evidence must be evidence of facts; of course, a fact may be a statement; I am not speaking of their inferences?—I understood that I had simply to deal this morning with their statement of facts made, and not with any suggestions or inferences contained in the way in which facts were put.

3191. Precisely; but you were impugning their evidence, and you were to show that they were not to be trusted?—I say that on certain points the evidence is not accurate; I have given some and I will give more.

3192. I beg your pardon, you are not sticking to your guns?—I beg your pardon.

3193. You have ended your Report with that high-faluting attack upon these ladies in most general terms imputing no reliability to them, not dealing with the evidence of other people tendered to them, and which it was their duty to put forward, but suggesting that they were persons capable themselves of great exaggeration and not to be trusted. Now I will read that again, that there may be no mistake about it. Paragraph 107: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt, beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes; condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-abhorrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation," and I say that I find no shadow of foundation for the justification of that picture, and I call upon you to produce serious evidence to justify that picture which you have drawn.

3194. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you have not come nearly to an end of the passages on which you rely?—No. But one moment, will you allow me to say something about what Mr. Stansfeld has said with regard to this paragraph; I object entirely to your interpretation of the paragraph, sir. It certainly is not what was meant, and I think it is not what would be understood by many people reading it. I cannot put the matter clearer than I have put it two or three times before. I look upon the statement of facts as bare facts as in the main correct; but I do think that those facts read by any person unacquainted with India, or rather this presentation of those facts read by any person unacquainted with India, would produce upon the mind of that person an impression such as I have pictured in the last paragraph of my report.



3195. If I understand you rightly, both yesterday and to-day, you object not so much to the facts brought forward as to the way of putting them?—Not merely to the way of putting of them, but to the suggestions following from the facts. I will give an instance which, I think, I have given before. It is stated that the chaklas have high walls, and that a chokidar was found at the gate, the chokidar being interpreted to be a policeman. As a fact chaklas have high walls, but all buildings of that sort in India have high walls; the chokidar was there not as a special guard put on the chakla, but as an ordinary policeman in one case, and in another as the watchman who is put on most buildings whether private or public. The impression which these two facts, given without explanation, would invariably produce upon the mind of any English reader who knew nothing of India would be, that there was some sort of confinement or restraint in the case of a chakla; while the facts are true, yet that impression is distinctly false.

3196. That is precisely what I meant by "the way of putting them." You do not deny the facts, but you say that the isolated unexplained way is likely to produce an erroneous or misleading impression?—I entirely believe that that was the impression put upon the minds of the ladies, but that only strengthens my case; if these facts produced that impression upon the minds of these ladies, they would produce the same impression upon the minds of any other persons similarly ignorant of India.

3197. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) First of all, I would ask you whether, supposing the evidence they received and reported to this Committee upon the construction of chaklas, and about the function of the guards that may be in the neighbourhood of the chaklas for certain portions of the day or night; supposing that were incorrect, do you put that forward as one of the serious discrepancies which are to lower the value of the evidence of these ladies themselves?—No, sir, I do not; and that is precisely what I have not attempted in what I have done to-day—attempted to justify the last paragraph of my Report. That is not based upon discrepancy; I distinguish very definitely, indeed, between discrepancies of fact, where the ladies, either through misunderstanding or through false statements made to them, have actually stated what is not the case; and on the other hand, cases where the statements themselves are true, so far as the facts go, but the impression produced by them is misleading. I am sorry I cannot make myself clearer, but that distinction in my mind is very strong.

3198. I think you must carry it one step further. You say that the suggestion conveyed by certain evidence given to these ladies, now you are not speaking of their evidence, but of the evidence which they reported to this Committee, are you, of others; you are speaking now of the evidence of the women, the prostitutes?—I am speaking of the evidence given by the ladies before you.

3199. Now what do you mean by the evidence of the ladies; do you mean their own evidence, or the evidence they received and have given to this Committee?—The evidence they gave to the Committee included two classes of facts; one class what they had seen themselves and could speak of their own personal knowledge, and the other class what they could speak to on the authority of their informants; but they were both evidence given to this Committee.

3200. To which of those two do you confine your remarks?—I do not confine my remarks to either.

3201. (*Chairman.*) Do you think you can find inaccuracies in what the ladies say themselves as well as in what they had reported to them?—I can only put my finger on one or two small inaccuracies in what the ladies say themselves.

3202. Perhaps we might dismiss that part of it?—Yes.

3203. Then you would confine yourself to what  
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they report as having been told them by the women?—Yes.

3204. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now I think we understand something, thanks to the Chairman's question, that the imputation is not upon the evidence given by these ladies themselves, but upon the character of some of the evidence which they reported, and by which I understood from Mr. Ibbetson the ladies may have been unduly impressed, attaching too great a value to it. Is that what you would say?—There again, so far as discrepancies of fact go, I have nothing to say against their evidence where they say that they saw it; but as regards the misleading nature of the suggestions made, and of the inferences to be drawn from the evidence, I distinctly include the ladies' evidence as to the facts which they saw.

3205. Well, to-day we were speaking at this moment about the construction of the chaklas, and the way in which they are guarded, and this is the beginning of the picture. You say: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust." Now show me the evidence of these ladies which justifies you in that picture of trembling groups of miserable women pent up within high walls and guarded gates?—I can tell you the evidence; I cannot quote the numbers of the answers, because I did not come prepared for that; but there is evidence throughout, I think the ladies will support me, to show that the women were ashamed of their life, deplored the necessity of living that life, felt that they could not get away, and wished they could, that the chaklas and the hospitals struck the ladies particularly as having high walls and strong gates. I remember the expression "strong gates" is used more than once, and that guards were found either within or at the gate of the chaklas. If that is so, that justifies my picture.

3206. The facts are undoubted. You cannot dispute the facts that their description of these buildings is on the whole an accurate description?—Of the buildings, distinctly, yes.

3207. And you cannot dispute their statement of the vicinity of certain guards?—No.

3208. But you yourself have chosen from that evidence to draw this conclusion, that they intended to suggest a highly-coloured picture?—I do not say that they intended to suggest anything, sir.

3209. Stop, stop. The very first words of the last paragraph are: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn"?—A thing can be suggested without its being intended to be suggested. I was going on to say, if you will allow me to finish my answer—

3210. But I would like to understand you as we go along. I understand now that you prepared the first lines of this paragraph by saying that a picture has been suggested, without being intended to be suggested?—I cannot say whether it was or not.

3211. You withdraw?—I do not withdraw anything, nor do I modify anything.

3212. You cannot have it both ways. Your first statement was that it was suggested, but not knowingly suggested?—It is suggested by the evidence. I do not know whether it was suggested knowingly or unwittingly.

3213. You began by saying it was not; the shorthand writer will read your evidence, and then you will know; I will put you another question; we will try to get at the meaning of this first paragraph; do you mean suggested by the ladies' evidence, their own evidence, or by the evidence which they cite?—Both.

3214. Now, then, show me a case in which the ladies, in their own evidence, suggest anything justifying that "picture"?—The walls of the chakla and the guards are entirely the ladies' own evidence.

3215. Will you refer me to the passages in their

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own evidence?—I shall have to look through it for that.

3216. You were to come prepared to cite these particulars?—I think not. I certainly did not understand that I was. I understood that I was to come prepared to cite discrepancies in fact.

3217. You were to come prepared to cite discrepancies justifying that paragraph?—That I did not understand in the least.

3218. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But you surely cannot deny the general understanding with which we parted was that you were to bring evidence of serious discrepancies calculated to diminish the value and weight of their evidence?—Yes, sir, as regards accuracy in point of fact; that I distinctly understood, and that I consider I have brought.

3219. Yes, but the evidence of those ladies?—Yes.

3220. What I want, I am not sure that you quite apprehend the distinction that I draw?—No.

3221. I will just point it out to you. It was their duty to report all the evidence which they received?—Yes.

3222. Some of the evidence would be more reliable and some more exact than others. You yourself have done the same, you have drawn your own conclusions?—Distinctly.

3223. Therefore, if you are arraigning their value as witnesses, you must deal with their own evidence, and not with the evidence of these women, which it was their duty and business to report?—I understand, sir. Then my answer to that is this: I did not understand that that distinction was to be drawn; I took it that I was to produce instances to you which should show that the evidence was unreliable on points of fact; but if you confine the question to whether I consider that the ladies' evidence as regards matters which came to their personal knowledge is unreliable, then I say, No; I can point to certain slips and inaccuracies, but none of any importance; nothing, certainly, that would impugn the reliability of the evidence as to what they saw. Their good faith has never been impugned or doubted by me.

3224. Will you proceed with your instances?—Answers 218 and 219.

3225. What are they?—218. Set apart?—(A.) We saw the registers and their names. I refer also to the registers in the Lock Hospital, that the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments. (Q.) You say we set apart or were apportioned, but by whom?—(A.) By those in authority." That I say is distinctly in conflict with fact. Those entries in the Lock Hospital registers were simply addresses; the bazars in which the women were living.

3226. Then I say, "Set apart?—(A.) We saw the registers and their names. I refer also to the registers in the Lock Hospital, that the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments." Now, then, in Statements and Notes appended to your Report, page 56, I find this (this is Meerut): "Lists of prostitutes.—These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows:—Number (these are serial); name; date (being that of examination); the numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are—Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women?"—Yes, sir.

3227. They drew their inferences from these very documents which you yourself quote?—Yes.

3228. And you cite that as an instance of serious inaccuracy?—I say there was no apportionment by those in authority.

3229. Do you say there is no record of apportionment?—There is record of residence, as here.

3230. No residence. "At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong"?—Yes. Well, I say that means nothing more than that they were living in the bazar of that regiment; they were allowed to live there.

3231. Then to come to these lines: "Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women;" and you say that does not mean in the least that these women belong to the regiment as they are stated in this document to have done?—

3232. (*Chairman.*) What does it mean?—It means that permission was given to women to live in the bazar of the regiment on condition of attending for examination; but there was absolutely no apportionment of women by those in authority to different regiments.

3233. Do you mean they were allowed to reside there for some other purpose, not to be used by the soldiers in the regiment?—No, they would be used by the soldiers in the regiment, no doubt; but the women would not be told off in any way. A maldhari would be put in and would bring what women she chose; they were not in any way apportioned to the regiment by those in authority.

3234. They could not be used by other people, but by the regimental men?—They would not be, probably. I should say certainly would not.

3235. But you would not call that apportionment?—Not by people in authority.

3236. You mean that the people in authority do not send for them, or hold themselves responsible; they permitted them to come in?—They permitted them to come in; it was purely optional and voluntary.

3237. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How do you know, except from the words themselves, what was the meaning of the person who indited this document, who kept this register? What was in the mind of the man who kept the register except, "The Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, thirty-four women; Sudder bazar, sixty-five women"?—I think I have the evidence of the Civil Surgeon of that particular cantonment?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) They were not then residing in the regimental bazars, at the time these registers were in force, the headings were continued although they lived in this small chakla in the Sudder bazar.

3238. I do not know whether I can put you any questions, or else I should be told that Mr. Ibbetson is not responsible for your answers?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) I do not think we asked at Meerut any questions about that; we thought it was so obvious.

3239. Now, let me ask you this question: Up to what date did the women reside in these regimental chaklas?—In Meerut?

3240. Yes?—July or August 1891, I think, sir.

3241. Where do you find that?—It is noted at line 670 of my Report; it is not in the evidence; it was a note taken by Major Wilson after we had closed our examination of the cantonment magistrate, and got up to go. I wanted to know the date in preparing our Report; I knew he had the date; I asked him for it, and I took it down.

3242. Therefore your Report contained an important statement as to the date up to which these regimental chaklas were occupied, which you did not receive in the evidence, which is not to be found in the evidence upon which your Report is based?—The Report puts the statement; it says "the chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or August 1891." It puts it as weakly as may be; but there is nothing in the evidence to support that; at least, no definite statement.

3243. Is there not something in the evidence which will throw some doubt about it in this latter passage which I have been quoting: "Lists of prostitutes. These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists



how that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893?"—Yes.

3244. Now, are you perfectly certain that they did not remain in the regimental chaklas after that date in 1891?—Yes, in this particular instance I am absolutely certain; because the ladies saw them in what they call the Lancers' chakla, which was the small caakla in the Sudder bazar. Their own answers show that it was not the Lancers' chakla.

3245. At that time you say they had removed?—They had removed.

3246. From the regimental chaklas they were removed, and yet I find them here put down as appropriated or belonging to the Royal Artillery, 5th Lancers, the Infantry, and the Sudder bazar?—The Sudder bazar, of course, yes.

3247. And you admit that in all probability they were practically, they had practically appropriated themselves to those regiments?—Not in the least; after they had left the regimental chakla, not in any way.

3248. I thought you said, in answer to the Chairman, that no doubt, as a matter of fact, they would act (to use the phrase) as though they belonged to those respective regiments.

3249. (Chairman.) I understood you to mean while they lived in the regimental bazar?—While they lived in the regimental bazar, yes.

3250. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Then all this is based on the assumption that they had left the regimental chaklas in 1891?—No, sir; but I say that they were not apportioned by authority to certain British regiments even while they were living in the regimental bazars; and that, after they had left the regimental bazars, still less were they so, because then they had no special concern with any regiment whatever.

3251. (Chairman.) I think I see what you mean; that while they were living there they voluntarily gave themselves up to these men, and after they left they were not even voluntarily confined to the British soldiers?—No.

3252. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And that you consider as a serious discrepancy?—I think that the assertion that those in authority had apportioned women to British regiments is a very serious assertion.

3253. Well, now, will you proceed?—You asked me just now, sir, whether I had finished the question which we were at before the discussion began. There was one point I had omitted with regard to that. I may add it now. I had pointed out, I think, that the Lancers' chakla and the Artillery chakla had been closed; but I did not explain that what the ladies thought to be the Infantry chakla was really only the 32 women living in the Lal Kurti bazar, which, as we have explained in our Report, in Meerut in particular, is not a regimental bazar at all, but practically a portion of the Sudder bazar, and these women would have no special connection of any sort with the Infantry; the bazar is known as the Lal Kurti bazar, simply because it has grown up between the Infantry lines and the Sudder bazar; it is an extension of the old Infantry bazar.

3254. (Chairman.) It means that those women had no connection with any regiment; in fact, that they were common prostitutes?—Absolutely.

3255. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Then what is your next point?—The next point is a group of answers, from 614 to 634, saying that women accompanying regiments on the march were guarded by European soldiers; seven answers lying between questions 614 and 634.

3256. Yes.—Now I believe it to be not the case that women on the march have ever been guarded by European soldiers, and I think that it is possible that the misunderstanding may have arisen in this way. In answer to Question 614 the ladies say that Gora means European or European guard. Now it means European or British soldier; but it certainly does not mean a European guard at all; and if what the women said was

merely that the Goras took care of them, that would not mean that guards were placed over them. Moreover it is very possible that a Hindostanee expression was used which would bear two interpretations; it might mean that the men associated themselves with the women sexually, or it might mean that the men accompanied them on the road; and there may have been a misunderstanding.

3257. (Chairman.) Would this word Gora mean a man who associates with them?—No, the verb put just afterwards.

3258. Would that particular word gora?—No, if they said the Goras accompanied them the word used to express "accompanied them" might also mean associated themselves with them sexually.

3259. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Then what you desire to say, I understand is, that the evidence of the prostitutes tendered to these ladies was not correct or reliable evidence?—I think it has been misunderstood probably, almost certainly.

3260. (Chairman.) You mean a misunderstanding arising merely from imperfect knowledge of Hindostanee?—Well, the expression might be used in either of two ways, and I think the wrong way was taken.

3261. (Mr. Stansfeld.) What do you understand to be the real meaning of the term Gora dandawalla?—Gora dandawalla undoubtedly means the European guard, but Gora alone means simply European.

3262. I think that is precisely what they say?—They say Gora, meaning European—European guards—the next line.

3263. But this is the evidence of the women; they themselves use the term Gora dandawalla?—Yes, sir; but the ladies go on to say "that was explained to us to mean European guards with batons. This term was used very often, Gora, meaning European, European guards." Now if they understood Gora used alone without the dandawalla to mean European guards, that certainly would give a wrong impression.

3264. Very well, now I understand from you that you impugn the accuracy of their evidence in answer to Question No. 614 on the ground that you interpret that answer as meaning in their minds that Gora meant a European guard?—Not at all, sir; I impugn its accuracy, because all that we have heard and all that I know of the facts convinces me that it was not the case that the women on the march were guarded by European soldiers, and I suggest that as a possible explanation of the inaccuracy on that point. I do not lay any stress upon that. That may be the way in which the misunderstanding arose.

3265. This habit of kindly suggesting the reasons which make these ladies unreliable witnesses, instead of contenting yourself with producing counter-evidence to that which they produce, seems exceedingly confusing and hardly appropriate?—Very well, sir. I will produce the evidence on which I found—

3266. (Mr. Wilson.) Are you aware that it is a practice for the quartermaster's party to march with the bazar frequently during the night?—No, sir; the evidence we have is to the contrary effect; the bazar goes at night and the regiment marches in the morning.

3267. Certainly the regiment. I said the quartermaster's party marches in advance of the regiment with the bazar during the night?—I am not aware of that; in fact, I do not know what the quartermaster's party is.

3268. (Sir Donald Stewart.) The case is this: when a regiment is on the march, a party called the quartermaster's party with the camp colour men goes on ahead every day to mark out the following day's camp. As a rule, the bazar moves late at night, after all the business of the day has been completed, because the shopkeepers and those who supply the troops cannot get away till the evening. This party is not charged with the duty of guarding the bazar?—That is the "line-dori," sir. I should have known that; I did not know the quartermaster's party.

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3269. (*Chairman.*) I would take up a point which fell from Mr. Stansfeld. I have turned it over in my mind since he spoke, and I think it would be better if you would confine yourself to pointing out the discrepancies without accounting for them. It is very courteously intended no doubt as regards the ladies, but I think it is open to the objection that it is merely conjectural on your part. Should Mr. Stansfeld, or any of the other members of the Committee ask you if you can account for the discrepancy, that would be the proper time to answer; but I think in the first instance you should confine yourself to saying what you think is the discrepancy.

3270. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May Sir Donald Stewart supplement what he said by saying whether it is the fact that the quartermaster's party never travels at night?—

3271. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) My experience is that they march during the day.

3272. (*Chairman.*) You think it very unlikely?—

3273. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) My experience is that they start as soon as possible after a regiment arrives in camp; they go on during the day for the purpose of marking out the new camp, if possible, before dusk.

3274. (*Sir James Peile.*) They have got their own business to do, I presume?—

3275. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes.

3276. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I will only just put one more question to you. What the women are reported by these ladies to have told them was this: that there was a certain number of men called Gora dandawallahs, and that they understood to be "European guards with batons." This term was used very often, 'gora' meaning European guards. 'Dandawallahs' was explained variously, men with batons, men with police authority, men with guards authority, and so on; at any rate, whatever it meant, "these men were told off to take care of them," that was the women's evidence?—Yes.

3277. And your objection is what?—That, as a fact, women travelling in camp are not accompanied by European guards on the march.

3278. Not by Gora dandawallahs?—No.

3279. Then you deny from evidence you have taken, that what these women said on this particular occasion was true?—

3280. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I think I can explain, now what Gora dandawallahs means, they are men who are told off to supplement the rear-guard and the quarter-guard of regiments in camp at night. They patrol round the camp armed with sticks to prevent thieves from getting into the camp.

3281. (*Chairman.*) Then these are the people whom you describe as Gora dandawallahs?—

3282. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I did not know that it was the custom in British regiments; it is a common custom in native regiments to have a few of these men patrolling round the camp at night to prevent thieves from getting into the tents.

3283. Granting that is the explanation of Gora dandawallahs, do I understand you to say that that would not be the practice for the people so described by Sir Donald Stewart to accompany the women on the march?—That is my impression from the evidence we have taken.

3284. Not even of those sort of people that Sir Donald Stewart describes?—They would patrol round the women's camp when pitched, but they would not accompany the women on the march, I understand.

3285. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) If these women stated that any of these men accompanied them they would not state what was the truth?—I believe so.

3286. (*Chairman.*) They might state that Gora dandawallahs accompanied them, but the meaning of that term is another kind of person?—I do not think that would be so.

3287. I thought you meant that Gora meant a man, a person with whom they consorted?—No; if they said Gora simply —

3288. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You did not say just now that they said Gora without dandawallahs?—No. I said, if they said Gora without dandawallahs.

3289. In Question 614: "They said they accompanied the regiment when marching, and we asked how their expenses of travelling were borne, and they said the expense was borne by the Government, but the colonel provided the carts and a certain number of men, they said Gora dandawallahs."?—In many cases there is no Hindostanee word given at all.

3289a. What is your next point?—Answers 544 and 354.

3290. In Answer 544 it is stated that the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' women who lived in the regimental chakla, said that they made their complaint to a European guard. What complaints?—Complaints about non-payment, I think it was, sir. Yes, if cheated out of their pay, to a European guard who had a tent in the chakla, and was changed every six hours.

3291. Now, where is the statement about European guard?—That is question 544:—"(Q.) You were at Umballa on the 2nd March and saw some of the prostitutes?—(A.) Yes; of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who they said was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla. They started to call him, but we would not let them, because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them. The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel."

3292. That is the evidence of the women?—Yes.

3293. The ladies did not see the guard?—They did not see the guard.

3294. Then what have you to say about that?—That the colonel of the regiment and the quartermaster of the regiment denied that there was a guard on the chakla at all, or that there was any tent for a European soldier within the chakla; and it seems almost impossible that there should have been a tent for a European soldier in the chakla.

3295. Where is this? Umballa?—Yes; it is referred to at Question 544.

3296. Was it not at Umballa that the quartermaster said there were no women's tents, and it turned out that there were?—The quartermaster said he saw no tents.

3297. He drew a plan?—Yes; that is the man. The colonel knew of them, and he said there was no guard and no tent.

3298. And now what is the evidence upon which you rely: the colonel's evidence?—Yes, and the quartermaster's.

3299. The quartermaster made a mistake about the tents, did he not?—He simply said that he had no knowledge of them; he did not say there were none.

3300. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) No man could be put on duty without the colonel's knowledge?—No.

3301. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are disposed to impugn this piece of evidence given by the women to these ladies?—Yes.

3302. Did you cite that as an instance of the ladies' inaccuracy?—Oh, no, sir; I presume they have reported it accurately.

3303. Next?—Then the question of the old Lancers' mahaldarni at Lucknow, the answers are 467 to 472, 896 and 903 to 917.

3304. What is the subject?—The dismissal of the Lancers' mahaldarni at Lucknow; it is stated that she had been dismissed between the two visits of the ladies to Lucknow; that she had been promised the appointment when the chaklas re-opened, and that she had been told to take girls and live on their earnings as she did "about this time." As a fact she had been dismissed in 1888 when the chakla was first closed,



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and both the cantonment magistrate and the medical officer absolutely denied ever having made any promise whatever to her; having ever contemplated the possibility of the chaklas being re-opened, and having ever advised her as to means of livelihood.

3305. Are you reading from your own evidence?—I am not reading; I am giving it from memory.

3306. This is in your own evidence?—This is in my own evidence, sir; or rather, the evidence given before us.

3307. (*Mr. Wilson.*) This happens to be a point that attracted my attention, the evidence about it occurs at several different places; and you saw the cantonment magistrate, I think, on two different occasions?—Yes.

3308. And he supplemented his statement?—I do not recollect that.

3309. It took me some time to unravel it, but if you will allow me, I will just read the narrative as I make it out now, and I will give you line for line for it where it occurs in the evidence. There used to be four mahaldarnis; in July 1889 three of them, namely the artillery, the infantry, and cavalry, were dismissed?—With effect from 1888. That means the sanction was received in 1889; the formal orders.

3310. Yes, I have got it, with effect from the 15th July 1888, one year previous to the time when the sanction was received?—Yes.

3311. That is to say, they were dismissed retrospectively?—That means that they really were dismissed in July 1888; but the formal orders cancelling the establishment sanction and abolishing the appointments were not received till 1889.

3312. I will go on with my narrative, “the fourth mahaldarni was continued as dhai of the Sudder bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be the second matron of the Lock Hospital, at 10 rupees a month”?—Yes.

3313. The cantonment magistrate says, “I cannot say what change this made in her duties”?—Yes.

3314. “The matron, receiving 12 rupees a month, is still employed in the hospital,” “the one receiving 10 rupees has been dismissed,” “with effect from the 1st of February 1892,” “and her place taken by a compounder,” “the dismissed woman applied for leave” “to live in what is termed the Lancers’ chakla with five women she had, and I gave it to her in the ordinary course”?—That is not so, I think.

3315. “There has been no dhai borne on our books since 1890, only matrons,” every one of these is a quotation?—Yes.

3316. Well, now, this fourth mahaldarni, the ten rupee woman, whose name is Amiran, was continued as regimental dhai from July 1888 to July 1889?—Sudder dhai, not regimental, I think.

3317. I beg your pardon, as regimental dhai from July 1888 to July 1889, and then as dhai to the Sudder bazar chakla to December 1890?—Yes.

3318. Then she was on the hospital staff for 13 months?—Yes.

3319. The cantonment magistrate says: “I cannot say what change this made in her duties, the medical officer will know”?—Yes.

3320. The medical officer, Dr. Ranking, says, “Amiran was under my orders, I find from the hospital assistant that she lived with the women in the chakla. I do not know exactly what her duties were”?—Yes.

3321. A few lines further on he says: “I hardly remember the woman, I did not give her orders or have any concern with her.” The hospital attendant says: “they were to attend to cases down there, such as diarrhoea and the like.” Amiran says: “I used to get 10 rupees from the hospital and live close to the Sudder chakla and look after the women.” The kotwal says: “Amiran used to take the women to inspection and report disturbances to the police, and look after the women”; and you, in your Report say: “In the establishment bills for 1891

there is a dhai on 10 rupees per mensem, who is shown as on duty at Sudder bazar chakla”; she asked for leave “to keep five women in the Sudder chakla, and I gave it to her in ordinary course”?—In the Sudder chakla, you said the Lancers’ chakla before. That is right in the Sudder chakla, no doubt; I thought you said Lancers’ chakla before, that is what I demurred to.

3322. I will give you the references afterwards: The net result is that three women (mahaldarnis) were kept and paid by the cantonment magistrate for a year improperly; and Ameran was kept and paid by the cantonment magistrate for 3½ years (to February 1892) improperly as mahaldarni?—Then I do not agree with that result.

3323. Is that true?—No, I think the net result is not right; and I think that one point of the narrative is incorrect with reference to living in the Lancers’ chakla.

3324. Look at line 2012, it says “the dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers’ chakla, close to the Sudder chakla, with five women she had and I gave it to her in ordinary course”?—It is very difficult to follow; there are three women; we were very much puzzled ourselves, their names are so much alike, Amirjan, Miro, and Amiran, page 40 of the Statement and Notes. “Amirjan used to be the mahaldarni at the Sudder some eight or nine years ago, for two or three years; then she was turned off before the chakla was sold, and Amiran took her place. She was appointed by the doctor and cantonment magistrate. Amirjan afterwards was made matron to the Lock Hospital, some six years ago. Up to the time the chakla was sold she used to come to the Sudder chakla once a day to see that all was right. She did not come after the chakla was sold. But Amiran stayed on till she was turned off, some two years and a few months ago, since when there has been no dhai there. I think she was turned off because inspection was stopped. She used to take the women to inspection, and report disturbances to the police and look after the women.” Then line 2011, “The dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers’ chakla, close to the Sudder chakla, with five women she had, and I gave it to her in ordinary course.” That seems to be so, sir; she seems to have gone to the Lancers’ chakla, too, as well as Miro; I had forgotten that. What is known as the Lancers’ chakla in the Sudder bazar; it is not the chakla in the regimental bazar.

3325. I have given the exact quotation “what was termed the Lancers’ chakla”?—Yes. But with reference to the net result, may I say something in regard to the net result, as you state it?

3326. Yes. I asked you if that is correct?—The three women were doubtless dismissed in 1888, although formal sanction to the abolition of the appointments was only received in July 1889; that is what is meant by sanction being received to dismissal with effect from a certain date.

3327. (*Chairman.*) You mean that the dismissal actually took place at the time mentioned as that from which effect is given to it?—From which effect is given to it; for instance, my leave may be gazetted after it has expired, but it does not alter the fact that my leave began on a certain day which is the day with effect from which it is gazetted.

3328. (*Mr. Wilson.*) An order was issued that the chaklas were to be stopped and closed, and did it require a further 12 months to give effect to that?—Not in the least; effect was given at once, but what was delayed was formal sanction to the emendation of the establishment scale. You had a certain establishment scale sanctioned by Government, bearing on it three appointments in the regimental chaklas; these appointments had been abolished, and the formal orders for their abolition were received, in the Finance Department no doubt, in 1889, effect having been given to the abolition in August 1888.

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3329. Can a magistrate stop paying money to women properly appointed 12 months before he gets an order to do so?—Oh, yes, before he gets the formal order abolishing the appointments. Orders are constantly issued demi-officially, or in the manner described. One point more. I think you say this woman was improperly paid for 3½ years.

3330. It appears to me so?—She was given a properly sanctioned appointment as one of the two matrons of the Lock Hospital, so that the payment was not improper. She was not employed as matron of the Lock hospital apparently, as one was sufficient. The two appointments had been made on the assumption that they would be employed also in the general branch of the cantonments hospital; but at that time the general cantonments hospital had not been built.

3331. She was on the establishment?—As a hospital matron.

3332. And worked as a mahaldarni in the Sudder bazar?—The doctor's evidence says that she did not work as a mahaldarni practically; she seems to have done little or nothing there; she did not work as a Lock Hospital matron certainly.

3333. She did no hospital work?—She did no hospital work.

3334. If she was not doing mahaldarni's work in the Sudder bazar, she was a fraud?—She was doing nothing. Her office was practically a sinecure. Oh, yes, that is so. That is not the woman to whom I refer here; the mahaldarni of whom you have been speaking is not the woman with reference to whom I raised this point; the ladies' evidence is that the woman of whom you spoke was dismissed, and also at the same time a second mahaldarni, the Lancers' old mahaldarni, called Miro. Now she had been dismissed when the chaklas were closed in 1888.

3335. Where does that come in?—Questions 467 to 472, 846, 903 to 917.

3336. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now the next point?—The next point, 450, 454, and 507. In these answers it is stated that the Lancers' mahaldarni at Lucknow was paid ten rupees a month.

3337. Which is that one?—Miro.

3338. Miro was paid?—Ten rupees a month by the cantonment magistrate. As a fact she had not been paid by the cantonment magistrate since 1888, when the chakla was closed.

3339. By whom had she been paid?—By the cantonment magistrate, when she was paid up to 1888.

3340. After 1888?—After 1888 she would not be paid anything; she would take fees from the women.

3341. Subsequent to that her evidence is that she took fees?—From the women whom she kept. That is her own statement, I think.

3342. That is her own statement to you?—Yes, I think it was.

3343. Then your statement is simply that you took the evidence of Miro yourself, and she said that she was not paid except by fees, after 1888?—And, moreover, we know as a fact that she was not. Only two women were paid by the cantonment magistrate, one was Amirani and the other Amirjan, and that is borne out by the establishment bills; it must have gone into the establishment bills if she had been paid.

3344. And you asked the cantonment magistrate and the doctor?—Yes.

3345. Now, then, will you go on?—In the answer to Question 484 it is stated that at Meerut the West Kent mahaldarni said that when she wanted new women she used to get from five rupees to 50 rupees from Colonel Plowden; it must be Colonel Plowden, the cantonment magistrate; without any difficulty whatever.

3346. That was her evidence, was it?—That was her evidence. Colonel Plowden had gone home and we did not see him; but his head clerk, his officials stated that it had never been done within their knowledge. As a fact, a cantonment magistrate could in

no case, even before 1888, have had anything to do with the supply of women for a regimental chakla, but only for the Sudder chakla. He had no concern with the regimental chakla; he could only have to supply them for the Sudder chakla.

3346a. Do you say that, before 1888, he used to supply women for the Sudder chakla?—No; for I do not know. But if he had anything to do with supplying women, that could only have been for the Sudder chakla.

3347. Yes?—It is impossible that such advances should have been made from Government funds; because the accounts are audited by the Accountant-General, and the money must be drawn by a cheque countersigned by the officer in command of the station, or, rather, I think, signed by him; and Colonel Plowden's circumstances were such that we may be pretty certain that the money was not advanced from private funds; in fact, it stands to reason no man would advance money so. We have asked all the officials that came before us about the possibility of such a thing, and they all treat it as absolutely impossible.

3348. Do you know where Colonel Plowden is now?—No, I do not—he is in Europe, he has left India permanently.

3349. Is he in this country?—I do not know at all.

3350. But now here again, all that you suggest and believe is that this was false evidence given to the ladies?—I think it is just possible that the women may have said something about advances before 1888. I do not know whether it would have been possible before then; I cannot tell.

3351. That is hardly worth considering what is just possible; but I understand that you bring this forward as a serious mistake in the evidence, if it was a mistake, and that mistake was the mahaldarni's mistake?—Either that or a misunderstanding of what she said.

3352. Do you not think that it would be as well to suppose that what she said has been recorded, and to say that it was a mistake on her part?—I think, under the circumstances, if it was possible for these advances to be made before 1888, as to which I cannot speak, then I think it is more likely to be a misunderstanding than a false statement by the woman.

3353. We will leave it in that way; we shall see by-and-by. I understand what your position is; that you deny and think you have disproved the evidence as reported of this mahaldarni, and you suggest that they may have misunderstood her?—They may have misunderstood her, or she may have told a lie. I do not for a moment say it is necessarily a misunderstanding.

3354. Will you leave it there, and will you go on?—Question 696 and Question 1350, the statement being that at Umballa women were detained in hospital on account of *menses*: that was not so, I believe.

3355. You say that is untrue?—I think so, sir.

3356. Whose statement is that in the evidence before us?—The lady's. She said: "We had been told at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla that there were certain of their number there for that reason; we asked when we went there, and there were eight patients there, and a number of them were there for this reason. That was stated to us, and the dhai confirmed it."

3357. Therefore the evidence that the dhai at the hospital confirmed a statement previously made that women were there on account of their *menses*?—Yes.

3358. And you say that that statement was incorrect?—Yes.

3359. You do not say that it was unfitting that they should accept the statement from the dhai of the hospital and record it?—No, sir, not at all. I do not see how they could have checked that, except by reference to the doctor.



3360. Will you tell me, before I pass on, whether you mean to say that at no period at Umballa were women in hospital during their period of menstruation?—Not after 1888, and certainly not at this time.

3361. Very well, then, go on?—In Questions 716 and 717 and 1112 it is stated that at Lucknow women who did not attend the examination had to leave the cantonments. As a fact, in Lucknow, the Rules were not put into force at all, and that is not in accordance with fact.

3362. You mean at no time?—Not since 1888.

3363. You have one more, have you not?—Question 749. This is a group of similar points. It is there stated that the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' women at Umballa were turned out of cantonments if they did not attend the examination. This is on the face of it wrong.

3364. What is your comment upon that?—That it is on the face of it wrong, I think; because it was only the women living in regimental bazars who went to examination at all. They would be turned out of the regimental bazar, but not out of the cantonment. And in Question 751, and in Question 1346, it is stated that at Umballa the Gordon Highlanders' women would be fined and imprisoned if they did not attend examination, and that all the women would be taken before the cantonment magistrate, and severely scolded if they did not attend, and would be made to go.

3365. What do you say of the evidence?—As a fact, there would be no fine and imprisonment for not attending examination, and it was not even suggested that any women except those living in regimental bazars should go to examination. Even they would not be taken before the cantonment magistrate.

3366. But only regimental?—Only women living in regimental bazars were supposed to attend examination, and the only penalty for non-attendance was exclusion from the regimental bazars.

3367. Is that all?—That is all on that point.

3368. That is the end of your list?—No, sir, not quite.

3369. I thought you said you had only 14 cases?—I counted a group of questions as one. The next is Question 727 and Questions 1444 and 1445. It is stated that at Meerut the women were taken to the periodical examination by the police. That was not so.

3370. You do not propose to suggest that it was not stated to the ladies?—Oh, no; as a fact, probably what was said was—may I explain and make a suggestion? You would rather I did not. Very well, sir.

3371. I do not see why you can?—I think it is almost certain to one who knows the language what was said. What she said was they were taken by the chaukidar; and in fact the chaukidar, who is a hospital servant, was sent down to tell them what day. The chaukidar was understood by the ladies to mean police, which in some places it does.

3372. (Chairman.) What does it mean here?—

Here it means a watchman, a hospital servant, who was used as a messenger, because he was a man who had nothing to do in the daytime.

3373. (Mr. Wilson.) May I ask you to look at line 1271 of your evidence?—Ah, that was a woman reported under the rules as supposed to be diseased. That was not a periodical examination, that was a special examination under the Rules of 1890. There is no doubt that the police would be used to warn the women to attend for examination under the Rules.

3374. The police are sometimes used?—Never for, periodical examination, this is a question of periodical examination; the two are very distinct.

3375. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Is that all?—Questions 863 to 867. At Lucknow new women were taken to the doctor for examination by the inspector. It says by the inspector, but I presume the inspector of police is meant; I know of no other inspector. That again was not so.

3376. Do you mean that your evidence shows that they were never accompanied to the examination room?—Yes; we asked particularly about that because it was an important point how far the police did interfere in these matters; and our evidence shows that the woman simply had her application returned to her, went off to the hospital herself, and came back without any interference on the part of the police.

3377. How many more have you got?—Four more.

3378. (Chairman.) All making one group?—No, I have just come to the end of one group, and I have three separate questions, not groups. The next one is 1458 and 1459, in which a distinction is drawn as to attendance at periodical examination between women for the use of British troops and those for the use of native troops, and it is stated that in all cases British women would have to leave cantonments if they did not attend such examination. That is not in accordance with fact, I think?

3379. (Mr. Stansfeld.) What do you say is the fact?—That as regards periodical examination there is no distinction between women for the use of British and native troops, and that in no case would women for the use of British troops have to leave cantonments merely because they did not attend examination.

3380. What would happen to them?—Nothing at all, except at Meerut, where they would be reported "supposed to be diseased."

3381. What would happen then?—Then they would be warned that they must either attend for examination or leave the cantonments.

3382. Yes?—Or at Umballa, if they were living in the regimental bazar they would have to leave the bazar, that is all, sir.

3383. These are your instances?—Yes, sir.

3384. I want to know how far they are an impugnement of these ladies themselves, because it is on that point that we wish to call them here to be ready to reply?—Nothing whatever, sir. I have already said that so far as the statement of what the ladies saw is concerned, we have nothing more to say.

Mr. D.  
Ibbetson  
and  
Surgeon-Col.  
Cleghorn.

15 August 1893.

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, Examined.

3385-6. (Chairman.) Is there anything new that you ladies wish to say arising out of what Mr. Ibbetson has said, in respect of your own evidence. I do not think that anything that you profess to have seen yourselves has been called in question, do you know anything that has? I do not seem to remember anything.

3387. (Mr. Stansfeld.) It is the credibility or accuracy of the people whom you yourselves examined that has been alluded to?—(Dr. Kate Bushnell.) It is exceedingly difficult for us to understand what was said; we would have to see the proof.

3388. (Chairman.) That I understand; you say you do not notice anything that you wish to speak about as regards your own testimony?—(Mrs. Andrew.) I had only one thing, and that was in regard to the impression produced as to our description of a chakla. My description, I am speaking for myself, of the high walls of the chakla conveying an idea as if the women were prisoners. I may say that that was not my intention, because I described also chaklas which had no walls, it was simply a description of the chaklas that I intended, and that was what I was called upon to give, and did not seek to convey the impression that the

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women were prisoners. Then as to the chankidar, Mr. Ibbetson used the expression "at the gate." I did not say "at the gate," I said "inside the courtyard." There was a chankidar inside at Lucknow, and at Bareilly, and I did not convey the impression that he was there to keep the women prisoners. I mentioned the chankidar at the chaklas to indicate cantonment supervision of the chaklas.

3389. As to the point you just mentioned in the paragraph at the end of Mr. Ibbetson's report, I may remind you that Mr. Ibbetson did not wish in anything that fell from him to convey that you had drawn that picture intentionally, only that that was the effect that it would produce on the mind of the person reading your story, even without any wish on your part to produce it. It was the effect that would be produced even though you had not intended to produce it; it was the sense of a prison that was created by the evidence?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) That was quite my meaning.

3390. Not that the ladies intended it?—Not the least.

3391. (Mr. Stansfeld.) On the contrary, I understand you, Mrs. Andrew, to distinctly say that you put no such construction upon the evidence, and did not consider that the women were confined as if in a prison?—(Mrs. Andrew.) That is what I meant, exactly. (Dr. Kate Bushnell.) I should simply like to say that, as a whole, as to everything in the evidence, I deny that we ever meant to draw any such picture.

3392. (Chairman.) As it is important and valuable, I am glad to hear that from you; but again, on the other hand, Mr. Ibbetson does not say that you intended to produce that effect, only that the picture you drew was liable to produce such an effect on the mind of a person studying it without a knowledge of India?—(Mrs. Andrew.) As to "crowds of trembling women," we undoubtedly saw those women, being women ourselves, under different circumstances from what these gentlemen of the Commission could possibly see them. They did show the deepest feeling, and that not after an expression of sympathy on our part always; by no means; but right at the first; simply our coming to them as respectable women seemed to touch them so deeply, and then we did express our sympathy with them, and we felt it, and we feel it to-day.

3393. Then so far as that is concerned, what Mr. Ibbetson said of the effect produced by your evidence is not incorrect. He says a picture of "trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust," would be produced?—I should say, not incorrect as regarding their expression of feeling as women to us.

3394. (Mr. Stansfeld.) And even before you had indicated any special sympathy?—Yes.

3395. (Chairman.) So far, Mr. Ibbetson's reading of your evidence is not an incorrect reading apparently?—(Dr. Kate Bushnell.) I would like to say further, that aside from that one point in the sentence which relates to the women's own objection to the examinations, I deny that the picture could lawfully be drawn.

3396. Only that one feature of it which I have mentioned?—(Mrs. Andrew.) Expressing their shame in regard to the examinations. We expressly said that they did not emphasize complaint as to their surround-

ings in any way, except as to the examinations, but whenever these were touched upon they did break out in very deep feeling.

3397. You dissent from the view of the general effect produced by your evidence which Mr. Ibbetson puts forward, except in so far as the grief and dismay of the women is concerned?—In regard to the examinations.

3398. In regard to the examinations; but as far as that one feature of the picture is concerned Mr. Ibbetson's view of the evidence is correct?—Except as to the setting he places it in, as if there were "trembling groups of miserable women pent up within high walls" as if they were in a prison.

3399. But here as regards the grief and dismay and shame of the women; as regards that Mr. Ibbetson's view of the effect produced by the evidence is not an incorrect one?—Not if he means to express it as referring to that.

3400. Of their grief and shame at the examination?—Yes.

3401. Well, now, I think it is the general sense of the Committee that Mr. Ibbetson has had an opportunity of setting forth the discrepancies which he thinks he sees between the evidence which you bring, and the results of his own investigation. As far as the Committee can charge their memories at this moment without reading the evidence, and as far as you ladies can charge your memories, we do not see that any point has been raised by Mr. Ibbetson this morning which brings your personal testimony into question. Mr. Ibbetson's strictures seemed to relate mainly, if not altogether, and I think altogether, to the testimony which you collected from the other people. So far we do not think that you are called upon now, or will be called upon, to make any rebutting statement in reply to Mr. Ibbetson's strictures. But we are quite aware in our own case, and probably in yours the same remark applies, that it is not always easy to carry in one's mind every incident in an examination which has just taken place, but when one sees it in black and white to-morrow it is possible that we shall see that we have overlooked some points. I do not think we have, but it is possible that we may, and I believe that it will be the wish of the Committee that if you then having read the evidence feel any wish to be re-examined, or to have an opportunity of saying anything in reply to Mr. Ibbetson on your own personal testimony, you should have that opportunity; but failing such desire on your part, and failing any discovery by any of us that such re-examination is called for, we think the matter may rest where it is. I understand that to be the sense of the Committee.

3402. (Mr. Stansfeld.) I think so.

3403. (Chairman.) If there is any wish on your part after you have read the evidence to be heard again, we shall endeavour to have it done.

3404. (Sir Donald Stewart.) There is one question I want to ask Mr. Ibbetson. Has M. Samiullah Khan a competent knowledge of English?—(Mr. Ibbetson.) He knew a little English, not much, he could not talk, or hardly at all; he did not talk English.

3405. Is he a good Hindustani scholar?—Oh, yes; accomplished.

3406. Where was he born?—He is a Delhi man, he had a translator always with him, an interpreter to help him.

The Witnesses withdrew.

Mrs. ELIZABETH ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, recalled; and further Examined.

Mrs. E. W.  
Andrew  
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3407. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Dr. Kate Bushnell, have you now examined the several sets of books and papers which were mentioned in your former evidence as having been seen at the lock hospitals in certain cantonments, and brought by Dr. Cleghorn from India?—Yes, I have examined them.

3408. Of the records of the various cantonments

which I shall mention, do they comprise that taken at Meerut? What are the books and documents mentioned in Dr. Cleghorn's note, the Special Commission evidence, line 3320. First, are there not registry sheet of prostitutes attending examination, classified according to regiments?—Yes, there are.

3409. According to what regiments?—Three



regiments, Artillery, Laucaers, Infantry; and then another classification under Sudder bazar.

3410. And to what date do they come down?—They came down to the 24th of April 1893.

3411. Now, what do these records show with regard to the result of examinations between June 1891 and April 1893?—They show 2,297, or 83·3 per cent. were healthy.

3412. Of the women examined?—Of the women examined.

3413. That is to say, of the examination?—Of the examination, that 130 women, or 4·7 per cent. were diseased, and sent to hospital; 330 cases, or 12 per cent. were marked “menses”; and it was not easy to determine what proportion of them were confined in hospital.

3414. But the result of these examinations was that 83·3 per cent. of the women were undiseased?—Have you looked at the Admission and Discharge Book?—I have.

3415. What is the date of the last admission?—The last admission is the 22nd of May 1893.

3416. The total number of in-patient cases in 1892 was how many?—Was 172.

3417. And how many of the 172 were non-venereal?—Seven.

3418. Now, take the Visitors' Book and Diary; have you compared that book with the evidence you gave of its contents; see your evidence Questions 1189 to 1195, and you find that the book confirms that evidence with some discrepancies as to numbers, &c., which were written down from memory after leaving the hospital?—Yes; I find it so.

3419. I would ask you again; it was down on your evidence beforehand; we might as well get it repeated here. If I remember right during these visits, you either took notes at the time or you took notes as soon as possible after you left the hospital, and whilst your memory was fresh. I think you told us that when you got back into your cab you took the notes there and then; you did not wait till the end of that day to put them down?—That was the answer to Question 1209. Shall I read the answer? “I took notes. I went right out, and got in my cab, and put the figures down. It would not have done, I did not think it would, to take them down there; but I did not wait to get home to my stopping-place, but put them down in the cab. There might possibly be an inaccuracy, but I think they are perfectly correct, because I fixed them perfectly in my mind, and put them down just as soon as I was outside the hospital.”

3420. Now, among other entries in this visitors' book, did you find an entry made since your visit on 3rd March 1892; was that the date of your visit?—No, that was the date of the entry.

3421. The entry made on 3rd March 1892, since your visit, did you find an entry made of a recommendation of medical examination for the women who accompanied the West Kent regiment to Chakrata?—Yes, I found it, and it corroborates evidence that Mrs. Andrew gave in answer to Questions 616 to 623.

3422. What was her evidence?—To the effect that the women were going to Chakrata. I will not be able to give it till referred to it. (619) “What information did they give you?—(A.) They said they were taken in covered carts, and taken care of by European guards on the march, that they accompanied the regiment. Then at another interview at this same place there were two women present, and one said that when the soldiers were on the march they went with them in carts, and that Europeans guarded them.” More particularly (Question 621) “What regiment was that?—(A.) This was the 50th West Kent. Then he said that their winter quarters were at Meerut, and their summer quarters were at Chakrata.” (Answer to Question 622.) “And later a woman, in talking with me, dreading to see us go away, said, will you not come to see us when we go up to Chakrata.”

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3423. Well, now, what entry in the Visitors' Book seemed to you confirmation of the evidence of Mrs. Andrew?—That the women said that they intended to accompany the regiment when they marched to Chakrata. This is a recommendation that they be examined before they accompany the regiment to Chakrata.

3424. That was a recommendation, of date March 3rd, 1892, that certain women proposing to accompany the West Kent Regiment to Chakrata should be examined before they were permitted to do so?—Yes.

3425. You produce the entry? These entries are all before us? Have you got the entry?—I have the entry before me.

3426. Have you got the Statements and Notes appended to the Blue Book? Will you look to page 56, line 3,381? How does that read?—“On 3rd March 1892, he notes that he recommended a medical examination of the women who accompanied the West York to Chakrata.” West Kent is as the notes read in the Diary and Visitors' Book of the Meerut hospital.

3427. Then is it West York or West Kent?—West Kent.

3428. Now, shall we go to Umballa? What did you see there?—We saw the attendance register.

3429. Did that show classified lists of women?—It does.

3430. Will you give us the last date of examination of those classified lists?—Well, the 18th Hussars, “2-8-92” the Royal Horse Artillery, 12th July 1892.

3431. What was the last date of examination of the Royal Horse Artillery?—The date given here, which I imagine is incorrect, a mistake in the copyist, is “12-7-92”; 7th of July, the date should be the 2nd of August 1892, for the Artillery bazar.

3432. Well, then, the Gordon Highlanders, you find the last date of the examination?—8th of March 1892.

3433. And the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders the 15th of March 1892?—The 15th of March 1892.

3434. The 7th Dragoon Guards?—The 27th of October 1891.

3435. And the Infantry?—The 3rd of November, 1891.

3436. And when we come to the percentages of the women who were fit or otherwise, am I right in understanding that they refer to the examinations for the six months previous to the last date, with regard to the 18th Hussars, the Royal Horse Artillery, the Dragoon Guards, and the Infantry; but with regard to the Gordon Highlanders they refer to the period from February 4th to March 8th 1892, the whole of that period during which they were there; and as to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, to the period from January 26th to March the 15th of the same year?—Yes.

3437. Now, in your evidence, or in Mrs. Andrew's evidence (Question 1328), the Gordon Highlanders, I find, were not mentioned; you omitted the Gordon Highlanders in the recapitulation of the regiments in answer to that question, did you not?—Yes, it was omitted.

3438. Was the mahaldarni's register produced here also up to the same date?—Of one of the regiments it was, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

3439. The Hussars; was it not the 18th Hussars?—No; what was shown us was of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; but what has been sent home is the 18th Hussars.

3440. Then the one that you saw has not been sent home?—No, it has not been sent home. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) It did not belong to the hospital; we only happened to get it from a mahaldarni. (*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) As I said it was in the hands of a mahaldarni, but kept exactly as the hospital record was, and in the same handwriting as the hospital record.

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3441. Then the register that you saw was in the mahaldarni's hands?—In the hands of a mahaldarni.

3442. And kept by her?—Not kept by her; she had the custody of it; the handwriting was the same as the register in the hospital.

3443. The handwriting was that of some hospital official?—Of some hospital official.

3444. This one that is produced, do you recognise the handwriting?—I recognise it as the same as the one in the register proper of the hospital, I should say.

3445. So that these were officially kept in the hospital?—The two are here for comparison, if you wish to see them, that they are in the same handwriting.

3446. I understand you to say that the handwriting was official handwriting; but do you mean the whole body of the thing?—I mean the whole body of it, that the two books are kept in the same handwriting.

3447. You have handed to me here two books, one of which appears to be a copy of the other, and they both appertain to the 18th Hussars; they are entitled, "Attendance Registers of Women who Volunteered for Examination." Well, now, this larger book, I understand, is the general register applying to all the regiments?—Yes, the book belongs to the hospital.

3448. That, I presume, was kept at the hospital? That was kept at the hospital.

3449. Very well. There is a smaller book here, which was in the hands of the mahaldarni, which applies only to the regiment in connection with whom she was fulfilling her functions as mahaldarni?—Yes, sir.

3450. And these two are the 18th Hussars, and these two are exact copies of one another, and up to date; and when you say that the handwriting is the same, I understand you to mean that the entries in the various columns are by the medical officer in each case?—Yes, sir.

3451. And then did you besides seeing these attendance registers see another register in the hands of a mahaldarni belonging to another regiment?—We did; in the hands of the mahaldarni of the Argyll and Sutherland regiment.

3452. Was it like these in form, the same form as these?—I think it was, as I remember it.

3453. And initialled by the doctor in the same way?—It was initialled by the hospital official in the same way.

3454. Well, now, with regard to Umballa. What do the records show as to the condition of health of women at the time of the examination?—Of 553, over 75.5 per cent. were "fit"; that is, healthy.

3455. Is "fit" the word used?—"Fit" is the word used.

3456. Yes; go on?—Eighty, or 10.9 per cent., were sent to hospital as diseased; 100, or 13.6 per cent., were marked as *uneasy*.

3457. Did you also see the correspondence book?—We did.

3458. Did that contain several letters reporting cases of supposed disease of different women down to the 10th of March 1892?—It does.

3459. Did it report a case of a patient wishing to leave the cantonment, a case of the 9th March 1892?—It did.

3460. What was that case?—It is a letter addressed to the cantonment magistrate by the European physician-in-charge, Dr. Wardrop, to report that a woman named Begum, a patient in this hospital, that is in No. 2 section, wishes to leave the cantonment; will you kindly see that she does leave?

3461. Is not that followed up with a copy of another letter; what was the date of that, the 9th of March?—The 9th of March 1892.

3462. Is there any reply on record?—No, there is no reply on record.

3463. In the Statements and Notes, page 54, I find the same reported, near the bottom of the page, line

3312: On the 9th of March 1892, he informs the cantonment magistrate that a patient in hospital, Section 2, wishes to leave cantonment, and asks him kindly to see that she does leave. That confirms?—Yes.

3464. That book also contained, among other letters, two already in evidence. I will refer you to Question 1331 and to Question 1333 of your evidence?—It contains those two letters.

3465. What was it you said about them (Question 1331)? "Did you see a copy of any letter to the cantonment magistrate?—(A.) There was a letter to the cantonment magistrate, dated 21st December 1891. This letter named six girls that were supposed to be diseased, and requested the cantonment magistrate to order them for inspection." That is the letter which you found?—That is the letter which we found. It mentions seven women.

3466. Well, then, Question 1333, "Did you see another copy of a letter dated 18th January 1892?—(A.) We did. This was addressed to the cantonment magistrate, saying that the prostitute named in the margin of that letter had been indicted by a soldier of a certain regiment named, as having given him disease, and requesting that that woman be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day." It ought to be indicated?—Yes; it ought to be indicated.

3467. Did you find that letter in this correspondence book?—We found that letter under that date.

3468. Well, now, we pass to Meean Meer; did you see the correspondence book?—I did.

3469. Did you find any evidence confirming your own statement in answer to my Questions 1226 and 1228?—We did find such evidence.

3470. What did you find?—A letter stating on what date a certain doctor had taken charge of the cantonment. That evidence was given so as to apply it to the registration ticket to show that the initials in the registration ticket that we procured corresponded to the records in the hospitals regards the surgeon in charge. The second letter was a statement to the effect that the medical officer has the honour to inform the cantonment magistrate that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requested that they be made to appear on the 8th instant. The reading is slightly different in the hospital book before me "—has the honour to report that the undermentioned prostitutes were absent from inspection to-day, and to request the favour of their being made to present themselves for inspection on the 8th instant"; and there are three names following, the names of three women.

3471. Did you find somewhat numerous entries of women being sent for inspection?—We did.

3472. Did you find one particular entry on the 1st of September 1891 of an order for the removal from the list of prostitutes?—Yes, we have found it.

3473. What is that?—To the Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer. — "has the honour to report that the undermentioned prostitutes were absent from inspection to-day, and requesting the favour of their being sent for inspection on the 4th instant"; and then a further note says, "Begum, on retirement, wishes to have her name removed from the list of prostitutes"; showing that there was a list of prostitutes kept.

3474. Did you find in the same book copy letter of Surgeon Grainger to the Cantonment Magistrate about the duties of mahaldarnis; have you got a copy of the letter?—I have got a copy of that letter.

3475. What is the date?—The 12th May 1890. "— Medical surgeon, Meean Meer, has the honour to recommend that Jimani, the present mahaldarni of the Lock Hospital, be dismissed. She is lazy, ignorant of her work, and on the evening of the 9th inst. she allowed two prostitutes to leave the hospital when they had been ordered to be detained. She has never given the slightest assistance in the matter of



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encouraging prostitutes to present themselves for examination, and does all she can to hide their disease. He will recognise the impossibility of carrying on the work of the Lock Hospital satisfactorily whilst such a person remains matron.—*J. Grainger, Surgeon.*

3476. She was matron, was she?—She was matron apparently, called also mahaldarni.

3477. Well then, you found a copy of another letter from the same surgeon, dated 25th April 1890?—Yes, I have it here.

3478. Does that bear upon the question of voluntary attendance?—It seems to.

3479. Will you read what the surgeon says?—In writing to the officer commanding the Artillery, he says, "It is possible only healthy ones (that is, healthy women) turn up," and suggests, "the possibility of the voluntariness being increased" by means of the mahaldarni, &c.

3480. You had better read the letter?—Do you wish me to read the letter in full?

3481. Yes?—"To the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery, Meean Meer.—A number of Royal Artillery bazar prostitutes come regularly for examination at the Lock Hospital, and this being voluntary on their part, it is possible only healthy ones turn up. Undersigned would suggest the possibility of the voluntariness being increased by the application to the mahaldarni in sending diseased women to the Lock Hospital as soon as they become diseased without waiting for the usual fortnightly inspection. (Signed) *T. Grainger.*"

3482. It appeared to be the view of that medical officer that this is a proceeding which would increase their disposition to go?—Yes, their voluntariness.

3483. We will go to a book of requisition for tickets; you have found that, have you not?—There is a note in the white book, at line 3,120: "The duties of the mahaldarnis practically continue the same."

3484. The same as when; as before 1888?—Just so.

3485. That is something you thought worth noting?—We thought so.

3486. Is that a statement in the evidence of what we have called the "White Book," that the duties of the mahaldarnis practically continued the same since 1888 as they were before?—That is as I understand it.

3487. Is there any reference to a date there?—No, not immediately; it says, in a note before, "it is believed that no certificates of this nature have at any rate been granted since the Lock Hospital rules were cancelled," and then it says: "The duties of mahaldarnis continue the same," and the inference is that that is since the hospital rules were cancelled.

3488. Well, now then, we will pass to the book of requisition for tickets?—I have it.

3489. Have you got your evidence, Question 1299?—I have it.

3490. What was your evidence there?—It should be 1229.

3491. 1229: "Did you see a book of blauk forms with counterfoils addressed to the cantonment magistrate?—(A.) We did, and this requested the cantonment magistrate to give prostitute—a ticket enabling her to pursue her avocation, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspection at the Veneeral hospital of Meean Meer cantonment. (Signed)

—Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital." Now I ask you have you got that book?—We have that book; the reading of the order is slightly different, it says: "Please supply a prostitute's ticket to ———, who resides in ———, Meean Meer, and attends the periodical inspections at the Voluntary Veneeral Hospital. ——— Surgeon-in-Charge of Voluntary Veneeral Hospital."

3492. This book is a book with counterfoils, is it not?—It is.

3493. And you can number the counterfoils; how many requisitions to the cantonment magistrate for licensed tickets does it say on the 1st of May 1892?—Twenty-one.

3494. For what period was that; is that all in one day?—That is all for one day.

3495. Does it say on counterfoils of tickets in respect of the 19 new requisitions on 15th June 1889?—It does.

3496. Therefore that is evidence that the issue of tickets at any rate endured longer than May?—Yes, than the 1st of May; it shows that it continued until the 15th June 1892.

3497. At any rate, on the 15th June a requisition was made for 19 tickets?—Nineteen tickets.

3498. According to the Military Reports before us, page 18 on line 904: "Women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892; it was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer; I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continued," and it appears from what you have now produced, that at any rate requisitions were made as late as the 15th June; that is so, is it not?—Yes, sir.

3499. Those requisitions on that date, the 15th June, as well as on several other dates do you find some, and how many issued for the women in the Royal Artillery bazar?—I counted 20 that were for the Royal Artillery bazar women.

3500. Have you seen the Report of the commanding officer for the regiment dated 19th June 1893, and does it state that no tickets had been issued for the regiment since February 1891?—Yes, I saw that statement; it is page 2 of the supplementary sheet, line 95, under Meean Meer. The evidence of Captain Goff, commanding the Royal Artillery. That note says, "No registration of prostitutes or issue of tickets in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present battery came to the station, February 1891."

3501. What you find is that 20 tickets were issued in 1892?—Yes, sir; since this book was opened, not since 1892. It is since February 1891, according to this book some 20 tickets have been issued for the Royal Artillery.

3502. Up to what date?—Up to June 15th, 1892.

3503. What is the date of the latest issue of tickets to women in the Royal Artillery?—I have not the book at hand, now, I passed it on to Sir D. Stewart, but, I think, June 15th 1892; those that are turned down refer to the Royal Artillery.

3504. You produce a ticket here which you obtained from one of the women; what was the date of that ticket; was not the date of the year 1892?—It was dated 1892, headed 1892; that we procured at the Artillery bazar chakla.

3505. (*Mr. Wilson.*) At Meean Meer?—At Meean Meer.

3506. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did I understand you to say that you found 20 tickets were issued to the women of the Artillery?—Yes, 20 counterfoils left are of the Royal Artillery.

3507. Since the beginning of that book?—From February 1891 to June 15th 1892. Within that time 20 tickets had been issued to the Royal Artillery bazar prostitutes. That fact, which is testified to by the counterfoils of this book, is inconsistent with the statement of the commanding officer in his Report?—It is.

3508. (*Sir James Peile.*) Who issued the tickets?—The Order for the tickets has a blank for the signature of the cantonment hospital surgeon.

3509. Yes; but does the Royal Artillery officer take any part in the matter there?—I would not be able to state.

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3510. I find here it is said, no issue of tickets in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present batteries came to the station. Does that show that it was done by the Royal Artillery?—It seems to me that that shows a jugglery of words, unless it means that the tickets were not issued by the cantonment magistrate to the prostitutes, because it was not customary at all for the commanding officer or the regiment itself to issue tickets under any circumstances.

3511. He goes on to say, five women who resided in the Royal Artillery bazar until the present month have now left—that is, June 1893, so that there were five women residing in the bazar to whom these tickets might have been issued.

3512. (Mr. Stansfeld.) But surely the tickets would not be issued by the commanding officer.

3513. (Sir James Peile.) I was simply taking what is quoted; what he said.

3514. (Mr. Stansfeld.) So that his view, I suppose, would be that he had not issued or asked for any ticket. I do not see any inconsistency in that; it is very likely, I think?—The ticket itself bears on it certain initials that we interpreted as meaning Artillery bazar prostitutes, Sudder bazar, Mean Meer.

3515. Let us pass on to Peshawur. Did you see a register book there?—I did.

3516. What does it show as to the continuation of weekly examinations with the regimental classification?—It shows that the Royal Artillery examinations were continued up till the 29th of February 1892; that the Royal Welsh Fusiliers were continued up till the same date.

3517. What became of the regimental women when they were turned out of the regimental chaklas?—They were finally all turned together into the Sudder bazar; the Sudder bazar women proper seem to have been examined up to January 18th 1892, and then the examination of all of them continued up to the date before given, 29th February 1892.

3518. In this case of Peshawur, does the register book enable calculations to be reliably made as to the percentage of healthy as compared with diseased women, as in other cases?—No, it is not given in such shape that the results of the weekly examinations can be very readily made out.

3519. And therefore you have not endeavoured to work out conclusions which you would not think would be reliable?—I am afraid they would not be certain.

3520. Is it stated anywhere when the periodical examinations ceased? Is the date given in the evidence attached to what we call the White Book, the Military Reports?—The White Book does not state the date when the periodical examinations are officially reported to cease; but the same book does state, in line 2,182 that no register was kept since 1888, although other reports from the same place give April 1891 as the date of discontinuance, although other reports from the same date.—

3521. What are those reports?—They are to be found in line 2182 and 2318.

3522. Paragraph 4. Peshawur Office; and what evidence did you find to the contrary?—We find it in the book itself. The registers continue up to February 29th 1892.

3523. There is a reference here to certain manuscript reports, if I read it aright, as if the same as you and Mrs. Andrew saw, and referred to in your evidence, Questions 1288-98, and as confirming that evidence?—That manuscript report is the annual report of the Cantonment Hospital in Peshawur for the year ending December 31st 1891.

3524. And how does it confirm your evidence?—In many particulars—first, as to one copy being kept in the Hospital itself, this is marked "office copy;" second, as to its being written, not printed; then, third, we gave a sort of a rough sketch of what these annual reports were like, which corresponds quite closely to the original document.

3525. Well, now, we go on to Sitapur and Rawal Pindi. We will take those two together?—There were no reports sent from Sitapur or Rawal Pindi; we have no documents.

3526. You made a request for them?—We made requisition for the annual reports at both those places.

3527. Which, I suppose, went out, I take it. Well, now, we will take Benares. Have you got a record of the admissions of indoor patients?—That record is here.

3528. Does it confirm your evidence in any special particulars?—It does, especially as regards the proportion, and the large proportion, of cases of *meneses* taken care of in hospitals. As stated in answer to Question 1430, up to the time we visited the hospital there had been 34 in-patients in the hospital, and of those 34, 25 were for *meneses*.

3529. During what period of time?—From the first part of the year up to the date of our visit. Our visit was March the 12th. From January 1st to March 12th there were 34 patients; up to that date there had been 34 patients; of these 25 were entered as *meneses*. I wish to say here, in Mrs. Andrew's evidence we noticed that it stands that there were 37 *meneses*. That is a typographical error which was over-looked.

3530. Will you go on. Is there any further confirmation that you derived from that?—No; I think not. We culled for the registration list of chaklas, but it was not sent. We record in our Journal that there were 16 names on this list.

3531. And that also has not been sent here?—That has not been sent.

3532. Well, now, I will pass to Bareilly. Did you see a visiting book there?—We saw the visiting book at Bareilly.

3533. I think on reference to your evidence, Question 1357-58?—We saw that book, and it confirms the points as regards the surgeons and others who visited the hospital from time to time.

3534. What points does it confirm?—We mentioned the names, which have been left blank in the proof, of various surgeons and others who had recorded their visits in this visiting book at Bareilly, and the book confirms our statements.

3535. As to the names of the surgeons?—As to the names of the surgeons.

3536. Do you find that last entry of voluntary inspection; and under what date is there an entry of voluntary inspection, on the 14th January, 1893?—There is; 22 women reported themselves for voluntary inspection; none were found diseased.

3537. Did you see the admission-book?—I did.

3538. Did you find anything confirming your evidence in answer to Question 1362?—I did. That is in regard to the variety of cases treated at the hospital. The question is—"Did it contain any other cases save venereal?—(A.) Yes, it contained a good many cases besides venereal; cases, such as rheumatism and ague, dysentery, hepatitis, and other diseases." Those are recorded in the admission book.

3539. Your evidence was based upon an inspection of that book, was it?—It was.

3540. Have you anything to say about the hospital account book, showing the wages of the staff?—There is a hospital account book for Bareilly in which is entered on a loose sheet the establishment of Cantonment Hospital, Bareilly. There is mention made of the salary of the matron and the dhia; the matron's salary, 15 rupees, and the dhia's, 5 rupees. That is what they told me, and what we gave in evidence.

3541. And that is confirmed?—Yes.

3542. Did you see the annual report?—We did. In my evidence I speak of that. I refer to sixteen cases of secondary syphilis which appeared in this annual report. I note those cases in the annual report as sent.



3543. Does the annual report mention a certain Mrs. Barrett?—This is another annual report, not an annual report of the patients, perhaps it went with it, but it is in the physician's handwriting, simply an annual report speaking in a more general way of the hospital. In that annual report mention is made of Mrs. Barrett, matron of the Lock Hospital, a woman whom we interviewed when we were there.

3544. I see there is a reference to your evidence, Questions 1378-79. What was that evidence?—The question is in relation to this matron of the hospital; was she an Englishwoman? The answer is: "She said her mother was Portuguese, her father Scotch; she was living in the immediate neighbourhood, and was connected with the hospital in some way. The girls said she examined them every other day. We went over to her home and interviewed her; but this dhai so interfered with us that we did not get a great deal of information. She said she received 15 rupees a month.

3545. Mrs. Barrett?—Mrs Barrett.

3546. As matron?—As matron of the hospital.

3547. Well, now, is this the same lady referred to in what we call the White Book, line 571 to 573?—It is the same woman.

3548. And line 716 to 720. Now, how is she referred to there?—First of all, line 571 to 573, page 12.

3549. This is the report of Major-General Graham: "Apparently the majority of these houses (in the chakla) belong to the matron of the cantonment hospital. This I have only just ascertained, and am issuing orders that she must either relinquish her post as matron or her connection with the houses." Now, does that refer to this Mrs. Barrett?—I judge it does.

3550. The other reference is 716-720 (page 14): "Mrs. Barrett is the name of the owner of most of the houses occupied by prostitutes." So that Mrs. Barrett was the paid matron of the hospital and she owned the chakla?—She owned the chakla.

3551. (Mr. Wilson.) This is a statutory declaration made by Mr. E. Morgan, late head assistant of the Commissioner of the Lucknow Division, made the 22nd of June 1893, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Cooper, at Bombay:—

#### COPY OF DECLARATION of Mr. E. MORGAN.

I have since the year 1887 taken an interest in the subject of regulated prostitution in India. This subject was at that time brought before the District Conference at Lucknow of the church of which I am a member; and it was often discussed by missionaries and others visiting Lucknow who were guests at my house. In December 1887 I accompanied Mr. Alfred J. Dyer, of London (now of Bombay), during part of his investigations in Lucknow into the working of the system of regulated vice; and I from to time in the interval kept myself informed by personal observation of the working of the said system locally. On 3rd May 1893 I went to the Lucknow Sudder bazar (cantonment), between the hours of 4 and 5 p.m. I went to the barracks or serai provided for the residence of prostitutes kept for English soldiers. This is the place which was visited by Mr. Alfred S. Dyer in my company in December 1887. It is called by the natives "chakla waste Gora ke" (places of resort for soldiers, to prostitutes).

In this place I counted over fifty rooms. They are occupied by women and girls of different castes (no Europeans or Eurasians). I went up to the woman in No. 53, to the left as I entered the square. Her name was "Chidana." Of course she did not know my purpose in visiting the serai. She offered me a seat, but I at once, to avoid any advance, inquired of her whether the women were still examined. She replied, "Oh, yes; once a week." In answer to further questions she said that all women who are visited by soldiers have to go through that ordeal;

that she and others had tickets, and they took these once a week with them to the Lock Hospital.

At this juncture three other women came up to the room No. 53, who said their names were, respectively, "Hafizan," "Jumun," and "Elahi Jan." I left, saying I would return on some future day. While this conversation was going on I could see that a soldier had come to one of the opposite rooms, No. 20.

The serai presented the same appearance that it had done in December 1887, and on several occasions when I had visited it for information between that date and the present occasion, 3rd May 1893.

From the serai, on 3rd May 1893, I went to the Lock Hospital, the same building that I visited with Mr. Alfred S. Dyer in December 1887. I found on 3rd May that there were seven women in the hospital under treatment for venereal complaints. The native doctor's name is "Moula Baksh." The female jamadarni (warder) is "Amir Jehan." I was told by Moula Baksh that the examinations are four times a month. The former native doctor, whose name is Moula Baksh also, has been pensioned, and lives in the Sadr bazar. I was informed that the visiting surgeon is Surgeon Lane, and I have ascertained that there is such a person.

The respectable natives speak disparagingly of this system of Government prostitution.

A lock hospital used to exist within the city of Lucknow, but the inhabitants petitioned against it to the Viceroy, saying that the system was disgraceful and open to abuse. The hospital was abolished in that place by order of the Government of India somewhere between 1868 and 1870. This is within my own recollection.

Having seen a printed statement implying that the Government had ceased to own the above-described barracks or serai for prostitutes at Lucknow, and were, therefore, not responsible for its continuance, I called, on 26th May 1893, upon a native banker in the Sadr bazar, Lucknow, named "Salig Ram." He told me he had bought the serai of the Government for 4,000 rupees, and that one of the conditions of the sale named by the cantonment authorities was that he must not turn the women out, but maintain the property for the purpose of their residence. He would be glad to sell the property to me or others, he said, to be used for legitimate business, but the military authorities would not permit it. He would be thankful to be rid of the bother and the shameful income.

#### Benares, Bareilly, and Cawnpore.

On 19th May 1893, between 7 and 8 a.m., I went to the Sadr bazar, Benares, accompanied by Mr. W. Orman.

In a street about two hundred yards from the European married soldiers' barracks we found the quarters of the registered prostitutes. About eight women were sitting in front of their dwellings. I found that one of these, by name "Bhanguanti," is the hospital dhai (nurse). I learned that she lives among these women, and that her duty is to see that any woman who gets diseased goes immediately to hospital. Bhanguanti receives a salary from Government. I saw the hospital and the native doctor in charge. His name is "Safdar Beg." He informed me that Surgeon-Captain Paterson was in superior charge, and that the women were examined once a week.

In conversation with a married sergeant of the West Yorkshire Regiment, in the course of my inquiries at Benares, he said that the system of regulated prostitution demoralised the men of the Army, while the natives generally viewed the whole thing as shameful; but many soldiers were disgusted at this machine-like provision for their vice, and, refusing to consort with the registered women, went to a place called "Rajaka bazar," a mile away out of the cantonment.

I visited the Sadr bazar at Bareilly, on 29th May 1893. I was informed by two natives that the houses

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occupied by registered prostitutes are now owned by a clerk in the cantonment magistrate's office, whose name was given to me as Hyland; and that his wife is employed in the hospital where these women are examined and treated. Mr. A. J. Hyland's house was pointed out to me, and I went to see him. He told me he was head writer in the cantonment magistrate's office; and that it was correct that he had purchased the property where the registered prostitutes live. He also said that his wife is nurse in the hospital, and visits the women at their dwellings and sees that no diseased woman remains out of hospital. If any woman conceals disease and does not enter hospital she is liable, when found out, to be taken before the cantonment magistrate and punished.

I also visited the hospital where Mrs. Hyland is employed. The compounder informed me that the name of the native doctor is "Kurroem Buksh," and that he had been in charge for several years.

I have since seen Mr. Alfred S. Dyer at Bombay. On informing him of my visit to Bareilly, he turned to the note-book which he carried with him during his investigation at Bareilly in December 1887. I read therein that at that time Mr. Hyland stated to Mr. Dyer that Mrs. Hyland was in charge of the women at the Lock Hospital at Bareilly, and that he himself was cantonment magistrate's clerk. I also read therein that Mr. Dyer saw the native doctor, whose name was "Kurroem Buksh." It appears, therefore, that the same persons are in charge now as in December 1887.

I visited Cawnpore on 23rd May 1893. I went to Mirpur, the part of the Sadr bazar where the prostitutes resorted to by soldiers reside.

The name of the native nurse in charge of the women is "Rookwin." I asked some of them why they lived here, and did not go to any other part of

the town. I was met with the reply that they were kept there for the soldiers, and were subjected to examination once a week. They said they had no alternative but to abide by the "hookum" of the "Sircar" (order of the Government). The system of regulated vice seemed to be no less in operation here than in the other places which I have described.

(signed) E. Morgan,  
late Head Assistant to the Commissioner,  
Lucknow Division (23 years).

Declared this 22nd day of June 1893,  
Before me.

(signed) C. W. Cooper,  
Chief Presidency Magistrate and  
Justice of the Peace, Bombay.

SEAL.

3552. (Mr. Stansfeld.) How does he identify Mrs. Hyland with Mrs. Barrett?

3553. (Sir Donald Stewart.) Are they the same person?—Mrs. Barrett lives in the house that Mr. Hyland lives in; she is called Mrs. Hyland; they live in the same house; the name Hyland is on the gate.

3554. (Mr. Stansfeld.) Is there no Mrs. Hyland?—We did not ask.

3555. But I mean, unless Mrs. Hyland and Mrs. Barrett are the same person, did you ascertain whether there was any other lady better entitled to the name?—We did not.

3556. (Mr. Wilson.) But you understood, or some persons told you, that she was sometimes called one and sometimes the other?—We know that she is sometimes called one and sometimes the other name. We interviewed her personally; but of course we would not ask such a question directly of her.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. DENZIL IBBETSON, recalled; and further Examined.

Mr. D.  
Ibbetson.

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3557. (Mr. Wilson.) I want to ask you a few questions, Mr. Ibbetson, to clear up certain points. So far, I think, there is some evidence that the hospital staff at Meerut acted very much as mahaldarnis, and I refer you to your evidence, the evidence you collected, line 1537, where it says, the chaukidar of the hospital used to tell the women to go. At line 1538 it says the hospital assistant visited the absentees?—Yes.

3558. At 1554 it says: "If new women come, the doctor knows, because we tell of them; and the hospital assistant makes inquiries also"?—Yes.

3559. At 1428 the doctor says the hospital establishment would report when new women came?—Yes; when new women came.

3560. My question is, whether that is not evidence that the hospital staff acted as mahaldarnis in getting the women to come?—That would not be in any degree the business of a mahaldarni, I think; but there is no doubt that the medical officer used his hospital staff to make inquiries about new comers, and about the reason why women absented themselves from examinations. Instead of reporting them at once to the magistrate without inquiry, he sent either his chaukidar or his matron, or his hospital assistant, to see what the matter was.

3561. That is to say, he did not deal with them merely as patients when they came to the hospital?—No.

3562. But he employed those people, or they employed themselves to drum them up and to get them to come there?—Yes, and to find out the cause of the absence.

3563. I want you just to look almost at the end of the report of your evidence, line 4002?—That is not my evidence; that is the Report of the General.

3564. It is included in your statement?—I wished

to explain that before, but I was stopped; it is printed with my evidence, but has nothing to do with the evidence or the Report. The reports of the seven cantonments were submitted to the Committee separately. These three, it was felt, had become useless because we had inquired into the state of matters in these three cantonments; but the Government of India thought that it would not be wise not to send them, and so asked me whether there was any objection to printing them as a sort of Appendix to our Report, and I said, "Not the least." I looked through them to see if there was anything that might conflict with our Report. I found there was not, and I printed them at the end. They form no part of our Report in any sense of the word.

3565. You have just said you looked through them to see if there was anything that would conflict with your Report?—If I had found there was anything in serious conflict, I should have asked that they be sent separately.

3566. They are sent with the Report?—They are sent with the Report.

3567. I want to ask you a few questions to see whether they do conflict. If you look at line 3998 you will find that Major-General C. E. Nairne, C.B., commanding the Meerut district, says: "Regarding the actual facts at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Bushnell I cannot, therefore, speak of my own knowledge; but perusal of all the instructions issued from time to time, and the well-known strictness of my predecessor, the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enable me to state positively, that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past"?—Yes.

3568. Do you agree with that statement in view of



the evidence you have collected?—I do not know any point in which the Act has been infringed at Meerut, even taking the rules under the Act as part of the Act.

3569. Now then, in the same way will you look at Major-General Low's Report, he being the general commanding the Oudh District. At line 4453 he says: "So far as I am aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out." You do not agree with that?—Absolutely, I should say, except in so far as that voluntary examination has been held ever since 1888. In all other respects the system has been abolished entirely; more completely than anywhere else, I should say; and so far as the examination now is voluntary, there is not now a continuance of that old system, the old examination being compulsory.

3570. At line 4470 he says: "There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them." I want to ask you, was he playing on the word "regulation," nor did he really not know what was going on with the military police?—I can only say I think it is almost certain that as a fact he did not know. I found that the cantonment magistrate and other officials that we spoke to did not know in the least that there was this action on the part of the military police, turning the natives out of Gora chaklas. If that is so, it is still more probable that the General himself would not know that.

3571. But in view of the evidence you have got from the women, at line 1770: "If the soldiers do not pay we cannot do much; but the military police sometimes make them pay. The men sometimes pay, and then take the money away again. The men do sometimes beat us when drunk, but very seldom. The guard takes them away." From the provost-sergeant, at line 2371: "Up to 10 p.m. we never interfered with natives who had any sort of business there; only with loafers. At line 2366: "We used to go at 10 p.m. to clear it of men without a pass, and at 12 p.m. to turn out all British soldiers. Natives are not allowed in the chakla. If we found any male natives there by day or night we turned them out; and if they offered any opposition we reported them to the cantonment police. There is no order to that effect; but it is not right for natives to go where British soldiers go for their women." You say, of course, that that was wrong?—No, I think he is right as to the regulation. There is no doubt as to the practice, that natives were turned out of all the chaklas; but there was no regulation preventing the natives from visiting them; in fact, there were men who did so.

3572. Will you look at line 4486, paragraph 9: "No women are authorised to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now." That is Lucknow?—Yes.

3573. You do not agree with him about that?—Yes; quite. This was written in 1893. Oh, yes, that is quite true.

3574. Do you agree with him, or disagree?—I agree with him entirely.

3575. You know that Dr. Ranking says, at line 2282, that the matron and the dhai performed the operation: "The examination was made by me, in the presence of the hospital assistant and the dhai, the last inserting the speculum"?—Yes.

3576. And that Dr. Ranking did it up to last year?—Ah, but that year was not 1893; last year was 1892. I am speaking of the time at which this was written; and, moreover, paragraph 9 refers to the duties of the mahaldarni in the chakla.

3577. The duty of examining the women I am speaking about?—I see you mean, as a fact, when this was written there was a woman who received pay as a hospital matron and used to take part in the examinations of women. That is so; yes, sir.

3578. In two instances?—No, in one instance.

Amiran had been discharged long before that; before April 1893.

3579. I seem to have omitted the reference there. I will not stop with it. There is a second case. I unfortunately have not got the figures?—Amiran is described just below, line 2315 and 2310, but she was turned off in December 1891, and a compounder appointed in her place.

3580. I have missed putting in the reference. Well then, if you look at paragraph 14, line 4498, he says that women on the march are not allowed with the men; you do not quite agree with that?—I do not agree with that.

3581. At line 4503 you still think he is correct about the guard?—I think he is correct about the guard.

3582. Line 4525, do you agree with him about that, that no medical examination would be required?—Entirely; unless she had left the cantonment because she had been reported as supposed to have been diseased, or as diseased and not remaining in hospital; in that case a medical examination would be required.

3583. Will you look at line 1895 of the evidence, and you will see that Major Campbell says; "I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the Sudder bazar as a prostitute whether she agreed to be examined."—Yes, and that he had discontinued of late. You will find that stated in his evidence and in the doctor's. That custom had been dropped. It had continued until recently, but it had been dropped at the time.

3584. You think he is speaking purely of what was in existence at that moment when you were going round?—His report is dated before we were going round, I think; and describes what was in existence on the date of his Report, I presume.

3585. I believe considerable changes took place a fortnight or three weeks before you went; a lot of women had been turned out, after all the Indian newspapers had said you were coming?—No, I do not think anybody had said we were coming. I did not know till June 2nd that I was going.

3586. But the newspapers all said somebody was coming?—I do not remember that; I presume the General's report describes the state of affairs on the 20th April 1893.

3587. Will you look at 2220?—This is said by Surgeon-Major Ranking. He says: "When a new prostitute came to the place she brought a petition with an endorsement from the cantonment magistrate asking for a report on her condition"?—Yes; he had been away from Lucknow for some years.

3588. Yes, certainly?—Oh, yes, it used to be so, there is not the least doubt about that: we did not define the date exactly, but it was, I fancy, two or three months before we came, perhaps three or four months, but not more than that, I think Major Campbell told us that the practice was discontinued.

3589. Dr. Ranking was there when the American missionaries were there?—He left the same month; I think he was there when the ladies came.

3590. So that that was perfectly true when they were there?—Yes, perfectly.

3591. Just to take up certain points, Mr. Ibbetson, if you will turn to your report at the beginning. I will ask you to look at page 3, line 92, it says: "All land included in the cantonment boundaries is the property of the Government"?—Yes.

3592. I believe it is never sold?—I believe never. Only building grants are made.

3593. So that when that land was granted to the prostitute Hira to build a chakla it was without payment?—I should think so, like all other land.

3594. The point was discussed the other day, and General Roberts was under the impression that land was sometimes sold?—He is much more likely to know than I am, of course.

3595. I took it that the word "granted" meant without payment?—I understood it so, certainly; but

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of course he is more likely to know than I am what the custom is.

3596. Turning over several pages I will ask you to look at page 11, line 538, I think in reference to that case of that girl whom the ladies proposed to get away from the chakla. You say this in the Report: "The fact that a police constable thought otherwise is merely another instance of the extraordinary persistence of established observances among natives?"—Yes.

3597. But you know it is stated in the ladies' evidence that the magistrate said that the police did not know the law had changed; it is not the policeman clinging to a custom, but the magistrate said "the police did not know that the law had changed; the policemen knew nothing about the matter." Major Campbell, in his statement to you, does not deny having said that?—I do not think we asked him about that.

3598. But he would know what had happened?—He had read the ladies' evidence, but I take that to mean nothing more than that they said "How is it that those policemen say so and so," and he would reply in an off-hand way, "Oh, they would know nothing about it."

3599. I understand that the ladies maintain that they gave a correct statement of what the magistrate said, and he said the police did not know?—Yes.

3600. He did not complain of them that they had forgotten or that they were exceeding their duty, but he declared as a fact that they did not know what the law was?—Well, I do not think we asked Major Campbell any question about that, but he had read the evidence, of course.

3601. Then it would stand, of course?—Yes.

3602. Then I will put this to you: if the police did not know the law and did not know of a change in the law, is it likely that any women would know of a change in the law?—The women would be less likely to know than the police. Certainly, if that is the point, the women did know, as we know from the ladies' evidence.

3603. Now I will ask you to look at page 14 of your Report, at line 697—the question about the women being known by the regiments?—Yes.

3604. You say there "This was a mere name signifying nothing"?—Yes.

3605. "Women living as they did in the Sudder bazar ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment"?—Yes.

3606. Will you look lower down at line 710, you repeat the statement to the same effect?—Yes.

3607. Well, now, I want you to look at line 1488 of your Report?—Yes.

3608. And you will find there "On three or four occasions since the weekly examinations were discontinued he found an outbreak of disease in a regiment (generally, if not always, the Artillery) and sent the matron to ask the women living in the bazar of that regiment to come to him"?—Yes.

3609. If you will also look at line 1246 of the Appendix you will find: "For November (1889) there was a falling off in the number on the register owing to the closing of the infantry chakla on the departure of the 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers for Burma." Putting these two passages together does it not suggest that the names of the chaklas were something more than mere names, and were connected with these two regiments?—No, I think not, not with respect to the chaklas I mention in paragraph 35 of my Report. The point is that the chaklas to which you refer in the subsequent passages of my Report, and of the evidence, are chaklas in the regimental bazars.

They no doubt contained women who practically confined themselves to the men of that regiment; but these three particular chaklas that I mention in paragraph 35 were chaklas in the Sudder bazar, or in what was practically a part of the Sudder bazar, that was the Lal Kurti, or Infantry bazar, at Meerut, and in two cases the women still retained the name of the Lancers' women, and their chakla was called the Lancers' chakla, because it was occupied by women who had been in the Lancers' bazar, and had been turned out; but directly they came into the Sudder bazar they ceased to have any special connection with the regiment.

3610. I ask you to look at line 1218 of the Report at page 23: "Those entries are nothing more or less than addresses"?—Yes.

3611. And notwithstanding in the two cases that I have mentioned, the women living in a chakla under a particular name were supposed to have in fact disengaged themselves of a particular regiment, you still think it has nothing to do with it; it is nothing more nor less than addresses?—Not at all, sir. In the case which you mentioned, in which the Artillery women were supposed to belong to that regiment, they did live in the bazar of that regiment, and they were confined to that regiment; but these cases which I mention in paragraph 35 were entirely different. I am only speaking of three individual chaklas in this particular paragraph. I am not speaking of chaklas generally: "Where, as in some cases the group of women who had occupied one of the regimental chaklas (or the greater number of them) moved with their mahaldar into separate quarters in the Sudder bazar, they continued to be known as the women, and the building they occupied began to be called the chakla, of the regiment to which they had belonged. But this was a mere name signifying nothing. The women, living as they did in the Sudder bazar, ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment, which never had any concern whatever with the building which they occupied; at Meerut an enclosure like to but smaller than the Sudder chakla; at Lucknow a small row of ordinary houses open to the street. This accounts for the 'Lancers' chaklas spoken of by Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell, as still existing at Meerut and Lucknow." And then I go on to speak of the Lal Kurti or British Infantry bazar at Meerut which lies "outside the regimental limits, and is in all respects but name, a portion of the Sudder bazar." I only mention that paragraph to refer to these three chaklas, and not at all to chaklas in general.

3612. In order to be quite clear, will you say exactly to what three chaklas you refer?—I refer to what the ladies call the Lancers' chakla at Meerut, and to what they call the Lancers' chakla at Lucknow, and to what the ladies call the Infantry chakla at Meerut, which they existed at the time of their visit, and to those three only.

3613. Is it not rather a pity you did not indicate this?—It did not strike me as open to misinterpretation; one does not know how one's English may be understood.

3614. Look at your marginal heading "Misconceptions regarding regimental chaklas"?—It would have been better to have said, certain regimental chaklas.

3615. It would have been better to have said three regimental chaklas. I think it makes a picture which you did not intend?—I did not in the least; if it were interpreted as referring to chaklas generally, it would be very misleading. There is no question that women residing in a regimental chakla would be practically confined to the men of the regiment in the bazar of which they lived.

3616. Take another subject, page 21, line 1088 of the Report, and likewise line 1100, which is just below?—Yes.



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3617. You see that the mahaldarnis had books?—Yes.

3618. They are in the same handwriting as the hospital books?—The entries were.

3619. Relating to the same persons?—Yes.

3620. And initialised by the same surgeon?—I believe so.

3621. Do you think they differ in any important respect from a certificate?—Not in any respect I should think. In regard to the women living in the regimental chaklas, I should think it was a joint certificate to all women in that particular chakla.

3622. So that if tickets to particular women were abandoned, and these mahaldarnis' books were kept, it amounted practically to the same thing, except that it gave the mahaldarni a little more control over the women?—Just the same with respect to the women regarding whom these books were maintained.

3623. It would also be true that any soldier knowing that any woman had been to examination on a given day, and finding her at large, would know practically that she was healthy?—Yes, he would; because if she did not stay in hospital she would be ordered out of the cantonment probably.

3624. Will you turn to page 35 of the Report, line 1892, this is a general question about what constitutes a voluntary examination or a compulsory examination?—Yes.

3625. I want just to try to get exactly your view on the point; I want to put this question to you: that supposing the caretaker of these offices in which we are at this moment, was required to attend at Westminster Abbey on Sundays under penalty of not being allowed to remain here, would his or her attendance at the Abbey be voluntary, or not?—I should say it would be voluntary if he had the office of caretaker of another office close by at the same pay but not quite so conveniently situated at his disposal. Just that difference there would be in this case. All the penalty that the women incurred was transfer from one bazar to another not quite so convenient to them. It seems to me there is no compulsion there, but it is purely a question of what you mean by a word. I suppose no two men would agree.

3626. Now I get on to the summary of conclusions at page 42; I want to direct your attention again to the opening words of No. 1 and Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 33, 44, and 47?—Yes.

3627. Now, I want to ask you, do you not think the opening words of those paragraphs are calculated to convey to the ordinary reader, who has not much time, and who wants to see what the conclusions are, that they have a very much wider application than merely the three cantonments you visited?—The whole of the conclusions, no doubt, would convey that impression, if you took them without reading the lines before them.

3628. And that if such words as these had been used "in each of the three cantonments," and "in no case in the three," and so forth, instead of saying "none," "no," it would have made that impossible?—Yes, only that I should have had to do that probably in almost every one of my 48 headings.

3629. It only applies to those I have given you. I want to ask you whether you happen to have seen the "Times of India" of the 6th July 1893?—No, I never see the "Times of India" except by the merest chance; that I am sure I have not.

3630. This is given: "The Report of the Committee (that is your Committee) "on the Contagious Diseases question makes out a strong case for the Government of India. In nine cases out of ten the orders given by the Government of India have been

scrupulously observed." And then it goes on to throw imputations on the ladies?—That is purely imaginary.

3631. It has produced that effect?—Our Report was not published; it is a confidential document presented to the Government of India. We have none of us said anything to anybody, that is the pure imagination of a penny-a-liner.

3632. It refers to several of the points of your Report?—That may be.

3633. Printers' boys and people of that sort may have got access to it?—When they begin by saying that nine out of ten cantonments are to be reported upon, and mentions certain points in nine out of ten cantonments, it shows the whole thing is imaginary, because we only went to three.

3634. But it says that this Report, which is bound up in a Blue Book, and which is called a Blue Book, and which will be considered of greater authority than the military Reports at the end. The impression that is produced on a person who has read it is, I think, that it relates to the whole?—I do not think even the proofs were passed on the 6th of July. Yes, I passed them on the 4th or the 5th, but they were only just passed.

3635. I only want you to see how liable it is to misconception?—I do not say it is misconception; I say it is imagination. I doubt if that man had ever seen the Report, or known anything about it.

3636. Will you look at your conclusion in clause 35, you state there: "The examination was made individually by the British medical officer"?—Yes.

3637. You have already, I think, admitted one case, and I have said there was another which I could not give the reference for, and in which the actual examination was made by the dhai?—Yes. Well, unless there was some sign of disease, in which case the officer, who stood where he could see what was going on, and if he saw the slightest suspicious appearance, or had any doubt on the subject, used then to go down and examine; that is what we then understood.

3638. Still it is not strictly correct that it was made by him where in two cases out of the three it was made by the woman?—I doubt the second case; and in the one case I should say it was absolutely correct to say that the examination was made by the medical officer, although the actual insertion of the speculum might have been made by the dhai under his superintendence. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) If the medical officer was present and deputed the duty of examination to the other, and it was done in his presence; it was certainly done by the medical officer if he was looking on.

3639. Now, will you look at the summary of conclusions, page 47, paragraph 41; if I have read the rules correctly this is not correct in two respects: "If a woman suffering from a contagious disease leave the hospital before being formally discharged." Now the words of the rule are "Leaves the hospital before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder." There is an important distinction, surely?—Do you think so; sufficiently important?

3640. I will tell you what I think the distinction is, that if the woman was found to be incurable she would never be discharged. She has to be pronounced free from the disorder before she can go away at all; is not that so?—That is so. I merely took the words as they stood; they seemed to me to be almost the same thing as the rules.

3641. I ask you upon these rules, is it not the case that a woman who is incurably diseased could not be legally discharged?—She would have to leave can-

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tonments or stay in hospital always, one or the other ; she could not get the certificate unless she was free from disease.

3642. Further on in the same paragraph it says that if she left the hospital she would be liable to the like penalties ?—Yes.

3643. Now she is not liable to any penalties, I take it, provided she would go out of the cantonment ?—She would be ordered either to return to hospital or to leave cantonments ; and if she disobeyed and did neither she would be liable to be fined or imprisoned.

3644. Excuse me, if she leaves the hospital before she has been pronounced free from the disorder, she has to leave the cantonment ?—Yes.

3645. This is the only thing that is ordered then and there ?—Yes.

3646. And then if she commits a fresh offence by not leaving the cantonment she becomes liable to penalties ?—Yes.

3647. But she does not make herself liable to these penalties by the mere act of leaving the hospital ?—No, I think that is so.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned.

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Dear Mr. Russell,

Dunbar, Scotland, 12 August 1893.

WILL you oblige me by showing the enclosed note to the Members of your Committee, with my request that it may be annexed to the report which I understand will accompany the Despatch from the Government of India, explaining the action taken in that country to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons on the subject of the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in Military Stations.

To G. Russell, Esq., M.P.,  
&c., &c., &c.,  
India Office.

Believe me,  
Yours very truly,  
ROBERTS.

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Dunbar, Scotland, 11 August 1893.

HAVING read the reports of Mr. Ibbetson's Committee, in regard to the working of the rules dealing with the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in cantonments in India, and also the reports of the officers commanding the seven stations which the Committee did not visit, I frankly admit that the statements of the two American missionary ladies, who made a tour through Upper India in the cold weather of 1891-92, for the purpose of inquiring into the matter, are in the main correct.

I hoped and believed that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had been everywhere obeyed. In some stations the rules have been strictly enforced, but in others it now turns out this has not been completely the case.

I deeply regret this, and I feel that an apology is due from me to the ladies concerned. This apology I offer unreservedly.

In doing so, I would remark that, I think, it would have been better if the missionary ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India. We could have assisted them to carry out the work on which they were engaged; omissions and shortcomings would have been remedied at the time; a great deal of unpleasantness would have been avoided; the ladies themselves would have found their task considerably lightened; and there would have been less chance of their drawing wrong deductions from some of the circumstances which came under their notice, as in sundry instances they would seem from Mr. Ibbetson's Committee Report to have done. This was owing, no doubt, to a want of knowledge of the language, and of the habits and customs of the people of India.

ROBERTS.

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[illegible]

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## APPENDIX II.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 9 July 1887.

BISHOP of Lichfield calls attention in House of Lords to existence of official regulations for provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars, British and native. I apprehend the system is indefensible, and must be condemned. Meanwhile please prepare full report in your Military Department, and send home, with copies of all Orders and Regulations in force bearing on this subject, as distinct from the Indian Contagious Diseases Act, against which also very strong representations are being made throughout this country.

Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 75 Military,  
dated 29 March 1888.

My Lord,

I HAVE received and considered in Council your Lordship's Military Despatch, No. 17, dated 24th January 1888, replying to my telegram of the 9th July 1887, asking for a full report on the alleged existence of official regulations for the provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars, together with copies of all orders and regulations in force bearing on the subject.

2. Your Lordship now forwards copies of reports from the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and from the Quartermaster General in India, from which it appears that the system does not exist at all in the Bombay Presidency, and to a very limited extent in Madras. Major General Chapman's letter, though it does not expressly say so, leads to the inference that the system, though not regulated by specific General Orders, is recognised officially in the Bengal Army, and I understand that it has been made the subject of confidential instructions to commanding officers of divisions and districts. If this is so, I shall be glad to be furnished with copies of such instructions, and to receive, as soon as possible, the further communication promised in paragraph 2 of your Despatch, which will, I trust, report the steps taken by the Commander in Chief in India for limiting the action of the military authorities in all cantonments to what is really required to give effect to the provisions of the Cantonment Act in the matter.

3. Meanwhile, the matter is attracting attention in this country, and I attach copies of questions which have been put in the House of Commons on the subject, and the replies which have been given. In accordance with the promise made by Sir John Gorst on the 23rd February, I forwarded, for the careful attention of your Government, a letter by a Mr. A. Dyer, which has been published\* and extensively circulated amongst Members of Parliament and others here, and which, if accurate in its main facts, leaves no doubt that the regimental bazaar system is in force in many of the military cantonments in the Bengal Presidency.

4. I request your Lordship to favour me with a very early reply to this Despatch, and I trust that the further report will afford the fullest information obtainable as to the actual position of the regimental system, and the steps taken by your Government to stop such practices as those complained of in the letter of Mr. Dyer, if such are found by you to actually exist. In making this request, I need hardly say that I am fully satisfied that in any measures which the military authorities have thought it right to adopt, they have been actuated by the single desire to maintain the efficiency of the Army by the mitigation of the evils of prostitution.

5. I should also be glad to receive from you the official reports upon which your Government acted when, in February 1887, they ordered the re-opening of certain Lock hospitals which had been experimentally closed in January 1885 (see paragraph 3 of Military Despatch from your Government, No. 41, dated 1st March 1887).

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Cross.*

Enclosures.

House of Commons, 23 February 1888.

Mr. Williamson. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has knowledge of the scandal of licensing of prostitutes in military stations in India by the public and military authorities.

Whether his attention has been called to the last official report, wherein it is stated with satisfaction, with respect to Sitapur, "that the houses of these registered women are well kept."

Whether he is aware that at Sitapur there is one licensed harlot to every 11 soldiers, and that on a recent march to Lucknow a number of these women were sent by the commanding officer as an escort to the men *en route* to the exercise camp there, who pitched their tents near to those of the English soldiers night after night.

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Whether the tents of these women are placed in prominent positions, and that soldiers are put over them on patrol duty.

Whether the Chaplains of Scotch regiments, such as the Seaforth Highlanders, have to endure the humiliation of being moved with the regiments which are accompanied by these licensed harlots.

And whether he will promise to take immediate steps with the view of cancelling this licensing of immorality in India.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

In July 1887 the Secretary of State, in accordance with a promise made to the Bishop of Lichfield in another place, addressed a Despatch to the Government of India on this subject. Communications have since passed which are not yet complete.

The official information, however, which is so far in the possession of the Secretary is at variance with the statements upon which the question appears to be founded. These statements are contained in a report which has been published and circulated in this country, dated Umballa, 14 January 1889, and signed Alfred S. Dyer. The Secretary of State will send this document to the Government of India, and request a detailed report on the various allegations therein contained. If anything like the practices alleged by Mr. Dyer prevails in India, measures will be taken to secure that any such practices shall be stopped forthwith.

28 February 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is the case that in the cantonment of Benares a number of prostitutes were told off by the Government authorities to accompany the troops to the musketry camp during the musketry practice of 1886.

And, whether such an arrangement is common in India.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

I already stated last week that the Secretary of State has no information which corroborates such statements as that implied in the question, but that he was in communication with the Government of India on the subject.

1 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is the case that in the cantonment of Muttra the medical officer, under the Contagious Diseases Acts, reports complaining that the regimental matron lacks energy, and does not take trouble to attract good-looking women," and suggests that "she should be got rid of, and a more suitable woman appointed."

Whether he further reports that, "if, as a precaution against venereal diseases, women are necessary to be entertained, steps should be taken to ensure that attractive women are kept."

And, whether similar recommendations have been made by the medical officers of any other cantonments.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

I can only refer the honourable Member to the answer which I gave to him on Tuesday, when I informed him that I had "already stated, last week, that the Secretary of State has no information which corroborates such statements as that implied in the question, but that he was in communication with the Government of India on the subject."

2 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of any official Report entitled "Thirteenth Annual Report of the working of the Lock Hospitals of the North Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31 December 1886," signed by "J. Richardson, Surgeon Major, Officiating Sanitary Commissioner for the North-West Provinces and Oudh"?

Whether there is a copy of that Report in the possession of the India Office?

Whether he is aware that the Report referred to states, with respect to venereal diseases among the troops, that "The present ratio is still higher than the mean of the previous five years, and also than the mean of five years prior to the opening of the Lock hospitals."

Whether he is aware that, in the Report referred to, the medical officer for the cantonment of Bareilly, in order to meet the increase of venereal diseases which has taken place under the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts system, states that, "It is proposed to endeavour to induce a greater number of prostitutes to reside in cantonments, by making their residence there more attractive," and continues, "Assistance would be given from cantonment funds, which are in a flourishing condition, to enable women to furnish their houses so as to make them convenient both for themselves and for their visitors."

And, whether he is aware that there are in the Report other similar recommendations?



REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

No copy of the Report referred to has been yet received at the India Office.

6 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the "Twelfth Annual Report of the working of the Lock Hospitals of the North Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1885" is in the India Office; and, if so, at what date it was received there.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

The Report referred to was never sent home. In a Despatch, dated 11th August 1887, the attention of the Government of India was called to the want of regularity in the transmission of provincial reports on Lock hospitals, and, in consequence, that Government issued circular instructions to local Governments and administrations, dated 29th September 1887, and for their regular transmission in future.

8 March 1888.

In reply to Mr. Stuart, Sir J. Gorst said:—As questions on this subject are becoming frequent I trust the House will allow me to make such a statement as will, I hope, obviate the necessity for more.

A letter from Umballa, which contains statements shocking to the moral and religious sentiments of many persons in this country, has been extensively circulated, and it is upon this letter that the questions seemed in the first instance to be founded.

I stated at the outset that the official information in the possession of the Secretary of State was at variance with this letter. Similar charges were made in 1873, and were officially denied by the Government of India. But I promised that the letter should be sent out to the Government of India, and that they should be requested to submit a detailed report on the various allegations therein contained, and that, if anything like the practices alleged in the letter prevailed in India, measures would be taken to secure that any such practices should be stopped forthwith.

As to the Acts for the repression of disease which are in force in various parts of India, the attention of the Government of India has been called to the strong representations made in this country against the maintenance of such Acts, and a full report upon the entire subject has been asked for, and is expected shortly to arrive. But the Secretary of State has no power to withdraw this matter from the cognizance of the Legislative Council of the Governor General and the Legislatures of Madras and Bombay, to which the duty of making laws for India has been delegated by Parliament; nor can he sanction any statement being made by me in the House of Commons which would prejudice that full consideration of the whole subject by the Secretary of State in Council which will take place as soon as the report referred to arrives.

Of the reports mentioned in the question, all are in the India Office except No. 1, and, as I informed the honourable Member on Tuesday, No. 6.

For the reasons already stated, the Secretary of State declines to express any opinion at present upon the conclusions drawn by the honourable Member in the second paragraph of the question.

The cantonment referred to in the third paragraph is in the North-West Provinces, and I have already twice stated that the reports from this district have not been received.

The Secretary of State does not consider it necessary to ask for further district reports till the full report now expected has been received.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 4 May 1888.

ADVANCE COPY, my Military Despatch 75, dated 29 March 1888, paragraph 2. When may I expect copies of confidential instructions and report of steps taken by the Commander in Chief. Quartermaster General's Memorandum of 17 June 1886 has been published in newspapers here. Is it authentic? How has it obtained publicity? Send telegram for answer in Parliament.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 7 May 1888.

My Military Despatch of 29 March 1888. Regimental bazaars. Can I state that the system of provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars therein referred to, if it exists, has, as directed, been totally prohibited. If not, please order at once.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 8 May 1888.

YOUR telegrams received. As document quoted is authentic, perfectly inconsistent with report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887, and strict inquiry necessary. Utterly indefensible.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 15 May 1888.

Your Military Despatch, 27 March. Last night House of Commons informed regimental system stopped. Contagious Diseases Act suspended, and while Cantonment Act maintained, regulations now under revision by Government of India. I wish you to await receipt of Despatch by next mail, 18th May, before issuing these revised regulations.

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Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 123 (Military), dated 17 May 1888.

My Lord,

I HAVE received and considered in Council your Lordship's Despatch in the Home Department, No. 6, dated 27th March 1888, on the question of the operation of the (India) Contagious Diseases Act, and the cognate subject of the rules passed under the provisions of the Cantonment Acts of 1880, for inspecting and controlling brothels, and preventing the spread of venereal disease.

2. I am glad to find that your Lordship agrees with me in thinking that these two subjects should be separately considered. With regard to the first, I observe that the Contagious Diseases Act was, at the time of your writing, in operation only in the towns of Madras and Bombay, and in the town of Bassein, in Lower Burmah, in which latter place it has been applied at the special request of the Municipal Committee.

3. Notwithstanding the reasons for thinking that the enforcement of the Act has not been unproductive of good from a sanitary point of view, your Government have come to the conclusion, on other grounds, that it is no longer desirable to maintain the Act even in its present limited area, and not being now prepared to propose a more extended application of the law, you have decided therefore to suspend its operation in the localities above mentioned.

4. This is a matter which is by law within the discretion of the Government of India, and I assent to the course you have taken, but as it appears from your Despatch under reply that you were of opinion that the operation of the Act had, on the whole, been beneficial in those places in which it had been in force, I request that the effect of the suspension of the Act may be carefully watched, and that you will from time to time communicate the result for my information.

5. With respect, however, to the second point for consideration, that is to say, the operation of Section 27, Clauses 7 and 31, of the Cantonment Act, No. III. of 1880, the matter stands on a different footing, and is more strictly limited in its application.

6. I am aware that the subject has long been one of anxious consideration in India from the time when the measure was first brought into operation by the Government of the late Lord Lawrence until the present date, and that the protection of the health and efficiency of the British garrison as a paramount duty of the ruling power has been kept steadily in view. The maintenance generally of the cantonments in a proper sanitary condition, the prevention and cure of ordinary disease (mentioned in the 6th section of the 7th clause of the Act), and the preventing the spread of venereal disease (mentioned in the 7th section) are equally matters of the highest importance; and all infectious disease ought to be dealt with as a question of police. No examination should be imposed upon women compulsorily, but, on the other hand, no person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed in the cantonment except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all.

7. The result of the latest inquiries which you have instituted into the operation of these rules, and the experiment tried in 1885-86 of suspending their operation and closing the Lock hospitals in 15 of our larger cantonments, have shown the necessity for some regulations for the repression of prostitution and the prevention of venereal disease within cantonments. The duty is therefore imposed upon the Government of endeavouring to give effect to the existing law by rules framed on the principles I have above indicated. The rules which have been framed under Clauses 7-31 of Section 27 of Act III. of 1880, appear to me to require careful revision; and in such revision the principle should be steadily borne in mind that the efforts to control prostitution, and to mitigate its attendant evils, should not be developed into anything that can assume the appearance of an encouragement of vice by the Government and its officers. There should be no regulations which can be justly construed into a legalisation of prostitution.

8. I desire, however, to express my hope that the operation of the regulations will be confined within the smallest possible area round cantonments, and that it may be found practicable to restrict the exercise of the authority given in Section 31 of the Act of 1880 within the narrowest limits, especially in the neighbourhood of towns.

9. Since I received your last Despatch a paper has been placed in my hands, purporting to be a copy of a circular Memorandum issued from Army Head Quarters in India, and I learn from your telegram of the 8th instant that such circular is authentic. I have no reason to doubt that the copy placed in my hands is correct; and, although it has already been withdrawn, I feel bound to express my deep regret, in which I know your Excellency shares, that any such document should ever have been issued, nor can I in any way reconcile its contents with the report made to you in Quartermaster General's letter, No. 3713 B., of 2nd August 1887, and contained in the enclosures to your Despatch of the 24th January 1888.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Cross.



Despatch from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 136 (Military), dated 14 June 1888.

My Lord,

I FORWARD herewith, for the information of your Lordship in Council, the accompanying copy of a Resolution which was passed by the House of Commons on Tuesday, the 5th June. It will, of course, receive at your hands that careful consideration which a Resolution of the House of Commons deserves, and I request that its terms may be communicated to the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Cross.

Enclosure.

House of Commons, 5 June 1888.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 193 (Military), dated 15 October 1888.—(Received 5 November 1888.)

My Lord,

In reply to your Military Despatch No. 136, dated 14th June last, we have the honour to inform your

Telegram, dated 9th July 1887.  
Despatch No. 75, dated 29th March 1888.  
Telegram, dated 4th May 1888.

" " 7th May 1888.  
" " 8th May 1888.  
" " 16th May 1888.  
Despatch No. 123, dated 17th May 1888.

\* Received under cover of Despatch No. 136, dated 14th June 1888.

Lordship of the action taken by us in conformity with the instructions conveyed in your communications marginally noted, on the subject of the regulations under the Cantonment Act, and in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888.\* The steps taken to repeal the Contagious Diseases Act (XIV of 1868) and local Acts subsidiary thereto, are reported in our Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), of 16th October 1888.

2. In our Military Despatch No. 81, dated 18th May 1888, we informed your Lordship that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that we had directed the cancellation of all circulars relating to this subject. Reports have been made by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within these limits has been abolished, and that all Circulars relating thereto have been cancelled.

3. We explained to your Lordship in our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July, that we proposed to abandon the power contained in the provisions of Section 27(7) of the Cantonments Act (III of 1880), and in the corresponding Acts in Madras and Bombay, which authorised the Local Governments to make rules to provide for "inspecting and controlling brothels, and preventing the spread of venereal disease." And we stated that we proposed to deal with these matters under a general power to make rules for the exclusion from cantonments of persons whom it is inexpedient to permit to remain in them, and for the treatment of persons suffering or suspected to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. Accordingly upon receipt of the sanction given in your Lordship's telegram, dated 19th September 1888, we introduced, on the 12th instant, the new Cantonment Bill, in which provision has been taken to such general power.

4. In paragraph 7 of our despatch No. 81, dated 18th May 1888, we informed your Lordship of our intention to revise the regulations framed under the Cantonment Act. In furtherance thereof we directed the assembly of a Committee to revise those portions of the Cantonment Rules which related to Lock-Hospitals and prostitutes, and the regulations framed by the Committee are now under our consideration.

5. In obedience to your Lordship's Military Despatch under reply, we forwarded, on 26th July, copies of the Resolution of the House of Commons to the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and to all Local Governments and Administrations, with instructions that, pending the issue of new regulations, the existing rules should be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution. On the 18th August the Bombay Government replied that these instructions had been carried out. On the 20th the Quarter-Master-General in India forwarded a copy of a confidential Circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts, directing that, pending the issue of revised rules, no registry of prostitutes was to be kept, no tickets were to be issued, nor compulsory examinations held.

It will be seen from the telegram from the Madras Government, dated 31st August 1888, that the instructions were carried out in all commands in that Presidency, except the Bangalore Division, in which the compulsory examination of women had been stopped, but the registration and granting of licences continued under the control of the Civil power; it was at the same time stated that the Resident had been requested by the Commander-in-Chief, Madras Army, to issue the necessary orders on the matter.

The attention of the Foreign Department was drawn to the fact in our Military Department Memorandum No. 3704-D, dated 4th September 1888; and we now submit copy of a telegram, dated 7th September, from the Resident at Mysore, showing that the necessary instructions have issued.

6. The Government of Bombay, on the 21st August, having telegraphed that they proposed to discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals, we informed them on the 29th that their suggestion was approved; and the Quartermaster-General having already given effect to this proposal in his confidential Circular above quoted, which states that the Cantonment Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution, orders to this effect were also conveyed to the Government of Madras, in Military Department telegram dated 28th August; and we were informed on the 31st that the instructions had been communicated to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the "Indian Contagious Diseases Act" and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licences to practise prostitution, have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Dufferin.*  
*F. S. Roberts.*  
*G. Chesney.*  
*A. R. Scoble.*  
*C. U. Aitchison.*  
*C. A. Elliott.*  
*J. Westland.*

No. 3006-E. Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, the 26th July 1888.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *E. H. H. Collen*, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India.

In continuation of Military Department Letter No. 2315-D, dated 14th June 1888, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to request that you will move His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to draw the attention of Commanding Officers of cantonments to the fact that it is the intention of the Government of India to reconsider the rules framed under the Cantonment Acts.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules, the Government of India desire that, in view of the recent resolution of the House of Commons on the subject [copy attached], the existing rules should be so worked that there shall be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licences to practise prostitution.

Copy forwarded to—

The Secretary to the Government of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Madras} \\ \text{Bombay} \end{array} \right\}$  Military Department, for the information of  
His Excellency the Governor in Council.

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Home Department.

The Chief Commissioner, Burma.

The Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.

The Chief Commissioner, Assam.

The Chief Commissioner, Mysore.

The Resident at Hyderabad.

The Agent, Governor General, Central India.

The Agent, Governor General, Rajputana.

The Foreign Department.

House of Commons, 5 June 1888.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises or permits such measures ought to be repealed.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary, Government of Madras, Bombay, dated 26 July 1888 (No. 3007-D).

Following letter No. 3006-D, dated 26th July, has been issued to Quartermaster-General in India.  
THE Governor General in Council desires that similar instructions may be issued by the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of Bombay, Poona, to Secretary to Government of India, Military Department—(No. 68-M., dated Poona, 18 August 1888).

YOUR telegram No. 3358-D. Instructions contained in letter and telegram therein quoted have been carried out.



No. 12, Cantonment Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, 6 August 1888.

Circular Memorandum from Major-General *E. F. Chapman*, C.B., R.A. Quartermaster-General, in India, to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital rules, framed under Clause 7, Section XIX. of Act XXII. of 1864, and continued under Section 2 of Act III. of 1880.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is, in fact, to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Military Department, Poona, to the Secretary to Government of India, Military Department—(No. 69-M. dated 21 August 1888).

YOUR letter No. 3006-D. of 26th ultimo. This Government proposes to discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals. Does Government of India approve?

Telegram from Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department, Ootacamund, to Secretary to Government, Military Department, Simla—(dated 28 August 1888).

YOUR No. 3358-D., 16th August. Immediately on receipt of letter No. 1921-D., Army requested to carry out instructions contained in paragraph 3 thereof and to cancel Quartermaster General's circulars. Similarly, directions were given on receipt of 3007-D. Army now reports circulars cancelled by notification to all commands, and copies 3007-D. communicated to General Officers commanding Divisions for guidance. Reports of action taken by them are shortly expected, on receipt of which further communication will be made. Please see my 5730, despatched 22nd August.

Telegraph from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department—(No. 3608-D., Sanitary, dated Simla, 28 August 1888).

YOUR telegram 28th. It is to be clearly understood that the existing rules are now so worked that there is no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licences to practise prostitution in the cantonments of the Madras Army. Also please discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of Bombay, Military Department—(No. 3611-D., dated 29 August 1888).

YOUR's 21st. Government India approve discontinuance compulsory detention women under treatment in Lock Hospitals.

From Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department, Ootacamund, to Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, Simla—(No. 5927, dated 31 August 1888).

YOUR 3608-D., dated 28th August. Compulsory examination and registration of prostitutes and the grant of licences to them have been discontinued in all commands of this presidency except Bangalore division, in which compulsory examination of women has been stopped, but registration and the grant of licences continue under control of Civil power. Resident has been requested by Army to issue the necessary orders in regard to these points. General Officers commanding divisions and districts have been informed that, pending issue of final orders by Government India on the subject, Cantonment Lock Hospitals are to be worked as purely voluntary institutions.

Memo. from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department—(No. 3704-D, "Sanitary" Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, 4 September 1888).

In continuation of Military Department No. 3006-D., dated the 26th July 1888, the undersigned is directed to inform the Foreign Department that, from a telegram received from the Government of Madras, it appears that the registration of prostitutes and the granting of licences is still being continued at Bangalore, and to request that early communication be made by wire to the Resident at Mysore in view to ascertain if these practices have been stopped.

2. The undersigned is also to ask that it may be ascertained by telegraph, for the information of the Military Department, exactly what action has been taken in the cantonments in the administrations under the Foreign Department, on Military Department 3006-D, dated the 26th July 1888, in respect to the orders contained therein.

3. The Military Department would be glad if, in making the enquiry, the Foreign Department would be so good as to inform the various administrations that the Lock Hospitals are to be worked as purely voluntary institutions, and that compulsory detention of women is to cease.

Telegram from the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, Abu, to Foreign Secretary Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

No. 3604-G. Your telegram No. 3603-I, dated 6th instant. Copy of the letter referred to was sent to Commissioner, Ajmere, and Commandants local corps for information. There are no Lock Hospitals where the local corps are stationed.

Telegram from Resident in Mysore, Bangalore, to Foreign Secretary, Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

No. 3041. Your telegram No. 3603. Instructions have been issued to police to discontinue registration of prostitutes and grant to them of licenses to practise their trade.

Telegram from First Assistant Agent to the Governor General in Central India, Indore, to Foreign Secretary Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

200 G-473. Your 3603-I. Only two spare copies of Military Department No. 3006-D, dated 26th July 1888, regarding working of Cantonment Acts and prostitution, were received—one sent to Cantonment Magistrate, Sipri, other Nowgong, for information and guidance on 27th August. Your present instructions regarding working of Lock Hospitals will be communicated to all Cantonment Magistrates.

No. 3669-I.

A copy of the foregoing telegrams is forwarded to Military Department, for information, with reference to that Department's Office Memorandum No. 3704-D, dated the 4th September 1888.

2. The reply from Hyderabad will be communicated when received.

By order,

(signed) G. R. Irwin,

Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Department ; Simla,  
the 12th September 1888.

Telegram from Resident, Hyderabad, Bolarum, to Foreign Secretary, Simla—(dated 20th September 1888).

No. 46-B. Your telegram No. 3603, dated 6th instant. Compulsory examination, registration and licensing prostitutes discontinued immediately receipt Military Department No. 3006, dated 26th July. Letter follows.

No. 3798-I.

A copy of the foregoing telegram is forwarded to the Military Department, in continuation of the Foreign Department's endorsement No. 3699-I, dated the 12th September 1888.

By order, &c.,

(signed) G. R. Irwin,

Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Department ; Simla,  
the 22nd September 1888.

From A. P. Howell, Esq., Officiating Resident, Hyderabad, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Simla—(No. 159, dated Hyderabad Residency, 21st September 1888).

In continuation of my telegram No. 46-B, dated 20th instant, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter No. 419-C-C, dated 15th instant, and of its enclosure, received from the Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad, reporting the action taken by him on receipt of the orders of the Government of India, relative to the compulsory examination, registration and licensing of women as prostitutes.

From Captain A. M. Muir, Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad, to the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad—(No. 419-C-C, dated Secunderabad, 15th September 1888).

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 4078 of the 13th instant, with a copy of a telegram from the Government of India, on the subject of the Lock Hospital at Secunderabad, and inquiring what action has been taken with reference to your office endorsement No. 3718 of the 21st ultimo.

In reply I have the honour to report that a copy of the endorsement and of the papers therewith forwarded was at once sent to the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital with a request that immediate action might be taken to carry out the orders of Government, and that thereupon all compulsory examination of women, registration of women, and granting of licenses to practise prostitution were put a stop to. The women under treatment in hospital were at the same time informed that they were at liberty to leave the Lock Hospital whenever they wished.



I may mention, for the Resident's information, that notwithstanding these measures, 50 prostitutes then under treatment broke out of the Lock Hospital on the night of the 4th instant.

The Medical Officer's report is submitted.

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From the Officer in Medical Charge, Lock Hospital, Secunderabad, to the Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad—(No. 95, dated Secunderabad, 5 September 1888).

I have the honour to report that last night (Tuesday, the 4th instant) 50 out of the 52 patients of this hospital absconded by picking the lock of the new back door, taking with them the Government Sadees.

2. The orders of Government on the subject of the altered Lock Hospital system were duly read to the women and clearly explained to them, and their continuance at the hospital was by their own free will and consent.

3. On the date on which the order referred to was received and promulgated, there were 84 diseased cases on the rolls, of these 32 were discharged cured up to date. The others were still suffering from ulcer vaginæ, and gonorrhœa. Yesterday only five were found fit to be discharged, and were accordingly sent away.

4. Up to the last moment the women showed no signs of discontent. They were often told that their stay in hospital was not compulsory. They were allowed greater freedom than under the old regime, and relations were permitted to bring them coffee, betel, &c., at stated hours.

5. The only reason that occurs to me to account for their departure is that they were in expectation of being sent off in large batches, and that the discharge of a few only at a time must have made them impatient of treatment; and as they were frequently told that there was no restraint on them they appear to have concerted a combined leaving, in order to at once regain the free exercise of their old roving and intemperate habits.

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No. 3925-I.

A copy of the foregoing letter, with its enclosure, is forwarded to the Military Department for information in continuation of the Foreign Department endorsement, No. 3798-I, dated the 22nd September 1888.

By order, &c.

Foreign Department;  
Simla, 3 October 1888.

(signed) *G. R. Irwin*,  
Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

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Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 17 (Sanitary) dated 16 October 1888.  
(Received 5 November 1888.)

My Lord,

We have the honour, in reply to your Lordship's Military Despatch, No. 136, dated 14th June last, forwarding a copy of a Resolution passed by the House of Commons on 5th idem, to inform your Lordship of the action we have after careful consideration taken with a view to carry into effect the wishes of the House as expressed in the Resolution.

2. A copy of the Despatch under reply was forwarded as desired to the Governments of Madras and Bombay on 19th July, with a request that immediate steps should be taken to repeal any local Acts which might exist subsidiary to the Contagious Diseases Act (XIV. of 1868).

3. On 25th July a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor General repealing Act XIV. of 1868 (Indian Contagious Diseases Act), Act XXVI. of 1868 (Municipal Lock Hospitals Act), and the words "the application of the Indian Contagious Diseases Act" in Section 113 of Act IV. of 1884 (Madras District Municipalities Act). The Bill was passed at the meeting of the Council on 5th ultimo.

4. The Madras Government reported on 3rd August that there were no local Acts subsidiary to Act XIV. of 1868, and that all local rules and regulations framed under that Act had been rescinded by its orders of 5th June. The Bombay Government made a telegraphic report that there was no local law subsidiary to Act XIV. of 1868. The letter from the Government of Bombay of 25th July, a copy of which is enclosed, shows the action which has been taken in the town of Bombay. We have expressed our approval of the action taken by the Local Government, but suggested to it the desirability of changing the designation of the hospital, on the ground that the term "Lock Hospital" is not strictly applicable to an institution of a voluntary character.

5. Your Lordship will be separately addressed in our Military Department as to the measures taken to alter the regulations on the subject in cantonments.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Dufferin*.  
*F. S. Roberts*.  
*G. Chesney*.  
*A. R. Scoble*.  
*C. U. Aitchison*.  
*C. A. Elliott*.  
*J. Westland*.

## ENCLOSURE.

Letter from Government of Bombay, No. 2597, dated 25 July 1888.

From J. Nugent, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter No. 160, dated the 19th May last, requesting that the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act XIV. of 1868 may be suspended in the town of Bombay and desiring that the results of the measure may be carefully watched, and that the existing Lock Hospital may be replaced by a specially organised system of dispensary and hospital relief strictly voluntary in its application for the use of all classes of patients suffering from venereal diseases.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the operation of the Act has been suspended in the town of Bombay from the 1st instant; but in order to meet the wishes of the Government of India His Excellency the Governor in Council has decided to maintain the present Lock Hospital and to establish a new dispensary in the centre of the locality where public prostitutes most abound, as institutions where all classes of patients suffering from venereal diseases may be treated or examined medically if they so desire. In order to secure a careful watch being kept on the results of the new system, the Surgeon General with the Government of Bombay has been directed to submit monthly a report of the working of the Lock Hospital and dispensary, together with such statistics and information as he may be able to obtain as to the effects in respect of the prevalence of venereal disease in the city of Bombay amongst soldiers, sailors, and the general population consequent on the suspension of the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act.

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Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 80 (Statistics and Commerce), dated 22 November 1888.

My Lord Marquis,

I HAVE received your Despatch, No. 17 (Home, Sanitary), of 16th October 1888, reporting the steps that have been taken to give effect to the recent Resolution of the House of Commons regarding the repeal of your Contagious Diseases Act (XIV. of 1868), and of all laws and regulations subsidiary thereto. The action taken by your Government appears to meet the requirements of the case.

2. I notice that the Government of Bombay propose, by the periodical submission to them of reports and statistics, to keep a careful watch on the results of the working of the new system. It will be desirable that similar information should be acquired in all other parts of India also.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Cross.

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Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 113 (Military), dated 14 June 1889.  
(Received 20 July 1889.)

My Lord,

In our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we forwarded the draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to cantonments, and we stated that the Bill was the outcome of the discussion which had taken place for many years past on the subject of the administration of Indian cantonments, especially as regards the occupancy of land and the difficulty which military officers experience in obtaining houses near their lines, or other places of duty, or even within the limits of cantonments.

2. Your Lordship, in your Despatch No. 230, dated 11th October 1888, sanctioned the introduction of the Bill, which was accordingly brought before the Legislative Council at the meeting of the 12th October 1888, and was referred to a Select Committee on the 21st December 1888.

3. The consideration of the Bill by the Select Committee has, however, been retarded from delay in the receipt of replies to references made, in the ordinary course, to the various local Governments and Administrations, with regard to its provisions. Moreover a great many representations have been received from house-proprietors and others, whose interests are affected by Chapter V. of the Bill, which relates to the condition on which lands and houses may be held in cantonments. Having regard to the magnitude of the interests involved, we are of opinion that it would not be desirable to proceed with this part of the Bill at all events until the Council reassembles in Calcutta.

4. In the meantime, much inconvenience has arisen from the want of legislative authority to deal with other matters of discipline, to which the Bill relates, and we accordingly propose to proceed at once with the remainder of the Bill, leaving Chapter V. to be taken up as a separate measure on the return of the Government to Calcutta.

5. In paragraph 4 of our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we informed your Lordship that it was our intention to take power to make rules (among other matters) for the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering, or believed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious illness. By these rules, prepared in accordance with the principles laid down in your Lordship's Despatch, No. 123, dated 17th May 1888, it is possible that we may be able to check, to some extent, the spread of venereal disease, which is reported to be greatly on the increase since the suspension of the regulations heretofore enforced under the present Cantonment Act, among our troops. This spread of venereal disease will form the subject of a separate communication hereafter. We now forward a copy of the rules which we propose to issue on



the subject as soon as the Cantonment Bill is passed, and we request that your Lordship will communicate to us, by telegram, your sanction to the immediate passing of the Bill (omitting Chapter V.), and to the promulgation of the rules, with any minor alterations which further consideration may suggest.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*F. S. Roberts.*  
*G. Chesney.*  
*A. R. Scoble.*  
*C. A. Elliott.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*

DRAFT of Rules to be issued under Section 29, Clause (24), and Section 30, Sub-section (4), of the Revised Cantonment Act.

"Under Section 29, Clause (24), and Section 30, Sub-section (4), of the Cantonments Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules, namely :—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.
2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.
3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if he is unable to support himself, and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence-allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.
4. In either of the following cases, namely :—
  - (a) If a person suffering from an infectious or contagious disorder refuses to go to a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from the disorder or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before the medical officer in charge thereof has pronounced him to have recovered from the disorder,
  - (b) If a person suspected to be suffering from such a disorder refuses to afford to the medical officer in charge of the hospital all facilities necessary for enabling him to determine whether such person is suffering from the disorder,

the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of the medical officer, cause the person to be removed from the cantonment and prohibit him from re-entering it without the written permission of the medical officer for the time being in charge of the hospital.

5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from re-entering a cantonment after removal therefrom, re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, he shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, and with a further fine which may extend to five rupees for every day after the first during which, after so re-entering the cantonment, he remains therein."

[N.B.—The following rule should be made generally applicable to all rules under Section 29 :—

"In these rules, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context, words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to include females."]

Telegram from Viceroy, dated 12 September 1889.

Our Military Despatch, No. 113, 14th June, paragraph 5. We propose to pass Cantonment Bill at next meeting of Legislative Council. Rules have been modified in accordance with your views, but we employ term "suspect" instead of "reason to believe," because latter expression has special technical meaning under Penal Code. Explanation follows by post.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 183 (Military), dated 23 September 1889.

(Received 28 October 1889.)

My Lord,

In continuation of our telegram of the 12th September 1889, informing your Lordship that we propose to pass the new Cantonment Bill at the next meeting of our Legislative Council, and that the rules to be framed under Section 26, Clause 21, and Section 27, Sub-sections 2 and 4 of the Act, had been modified, we have the honour to forward a copy of these rules as they now stand after emendation.

2. We desire to explain, with regard to paragraph 4, that we have used the expression "or is suspected to be suffering," advisedly, instead of "there is reason to believe to be suffering," as at first drafted. The latter words have a definite technical meaning in Indian Criminal Law, as will be seen from Sections 26 and 52 of the Indian Penal Code, the former section of which states that "a person is said to have reason to believe a thing if he has sufficient cause to believe that thing, but not otherwise," while the latter section provides that "nothing is said to be done or believed in good faith which is done or believed without due care and attention."

3. We are advised that if the words "there is reason to believe" were to be retained, and the rules strictly construed, as they no doubt would be, by the light of the above definitions, the mere suspicion, however reasonable, that a prostitute was suffering from contagious disease, would not be regarded as a sufficient cause for believing that she was affected or as implying the "due care and attention" upon which a *bonâ fide* belief must be founded. Medical officers would probably not care to run the risk of being called to account in case they made a mistake, if anything more than suspicion were to be held necessary in order to justify their action; and the rules would not be really efficient.

4. We believe that there is not much chance that the rule, as now amended, will involve any hardship. If the medical officer *suspects* a woman to be infected, she has the option of either going to hospital or leaving the cantonment. If she goes to hospital, she must either remain there until she is pronounced free from disorder, or leave the cantonment. If the suspicion proves unfounded, she will get her discharge from hospital at once; if it proves to be well founded, she will have the opportunity of skilful treatment on the sole condition that she must not return to the cantonment until cured.

5. We trust your Lordship will approve of the action taken by us in this matter.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*F. S. Roberts;*  
*G. Chesney.*  
*A. R. Scoble.*  
*C. A. Elliott.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*

List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 183 (Military), dated the 23rd September 1889, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial Number.	No. and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	—	—	Rules to be framed under Section 26, Clause 21, and Section 27, Sub-sections 2 and 4 of the Cantonment Act.

(signed) *A. C. Toke,*  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

#### Enclosure of a Letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-Sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonments Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules, and to direct that they shall be general for every cantonment in British India:—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.
2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.
3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence-allowance not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.
4. If the medical officer, for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is suspected by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment, within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.



5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

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Telegram to Viceroy, dated 2 October 1889.

YOUR telegram of 12th ultimo. I sanction Cantonment Bill, omitting Chapter 5. Earlier sub-sections of Section 29 must be amended accordingly. Modified rules approved, but I must object to the word "suspect." Please substitute some other term.

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Telegram to Viceroy, dated 3 October 1889.

YOUR Legislative Despatch 43, of 30th August. Cantonment Bill, Clause 21, Section 26. Substitute word "supposed" or some other word for the word "suspected."

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Telegram to Viceroy, dated 12 November 1889.

CANTONMENT Act. Paragraph in "Statesman" of 19th October interprets Clause 2, Sub-section 2, to mean that existing rules condemned by House of Commons may be continued. Please explain by telegraph intention of clause. I trust new rules have been carefully framed, and presume I shall receive a copy as soon as possible in ordinary course.

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Telegram from Viceroy, dated 30 November 1889.

YOURS 12th. Cantonment Act not yet brought into force. Rules condemned by House of Commons are not and will not be continued in operation. New rules approved in your telegram of 2nd October, with "supposed" in substitution for "suspected" in Rule 4, will be brought into force as soon as possible after the Act comes into operation.

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Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 241 (Military), dated 31 December 1889.

(Received 27 January 1890.)

My Lord,

In continuation of the telegram from the Viceroy, dated the 30th November 1889, we have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, the former notifying that the Cantonments Act, XIII. of 1889, shall come into force from 1st January 1890, and the latter publishing a draft of the rules which it is proposed to issue under Section 26, Clause (21) of the Act, providing for the treatment and control within cantonment limits of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders. These rules are the same as those which formed an Enclosure of our Despatch No. 183, dated 23rd September 1889, with a slight verbal alteration, viz., the substitution of the word "supposed" for "suspected" in Rule 4.

2. Local Governments and Administrations have been asked by telegram to republish the Government General Orders above referred to in the Local Gazettes as soon as possible.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*G. Chesney.*  
*A. R. Scoble.*  
*C. A. Elliott.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. M. Barbour.*

List of Enclosures of Letter No. 241 (Military), dated 31 December 1889, from the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Papers.	From whom or to whom.	SUBJECT.
1	No. 1065, dated 20th December 1889.	Government General Order.	Notifying that the Cantonment Act (XIII. of 1889) shall come into force from the 1st January 1890.
2	No. 1066, dated 20th December 1889.	Government General Order.	Publishing a draft of the rules proposed to issue under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Cantonment Act.
3	No. 5305-D, dated 21st December 1889.	To Local Governments and Administrations.	Asking them to republish Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, in the Local Gazettes.
4	No. 5306-D, dated 21st December 1889.		

(signed) *A. C. Toher*,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,  
Military Department.

#### ENCLOSURES to Letter No. 241, dated 31 December 1889.

##### Enclosure No. 1.

Government General Order, No. 1065, Judicial, dated Fort William, 20 December 1889.

THE Governor General in Council is pleased to appoint the first day of January 1890 as the day on which the Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, shall come into force.

##### Enclosure No. 2.

Government General Order, No. 1066, Judicial, dated Fort William, 20 December 1889.

THE following draft of proposed rules under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, is, as required by Section 27 of that Act, hereby published for the information of persons likely to be affected thereby.

The draft will be taken into consideration on the expiry of three months from the date of this notification.

##### DRAFT RULES.

Under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Rules, and to direct that they shall be general for every cantonment in British India:—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment, as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the district magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if such person is without means of support, and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment, within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.



5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

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Enclosure No. 3.

Telegraphic, No. 5305-D, Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Fort William, 21 December 1889.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretaries to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Punjab, and North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and to the Chief Commissioners of Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma.

IMMEDIATELY on receipt of "Gazette of India," dated 21st December, please republish in Local Gazette Government General Orders 1065 and 1066, Cantonment Act and draft rules thereunder.

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Enclosure No. 4.

No. 5306-D, Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Fort William, 21 December 1889.

From the Officiating Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department.

I AM directed to request that, under the orders of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, published in the "Gazette of India" of the 21st December 1889, bringing into force the Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, and publishing the draft rules proposed under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Act, may be republished as early as possible in the Local Gazette.

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Telegram to Viceroy, dated 8 July 1890.

CANTONMENT Act, General Order No. 1066. Have rules contagious diseases been taken into consideration? Are they now in force? Question in Parliament. Telegraph reply as quickly as possible.

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Telegram from Viceroy, dated 9 July 1890.

YOURS 8th. Rules were taken into consideration and brought into force by notification 5th instant.

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Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 134 (Military), dated 6 September 1892—(Received 26 September 1892.)

My Lord,

WE have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of correspondence relating to the protest of the Free Church of Scotland against the Indian Cantonment Act, No. XIII. of 1889, and the rules framed under it, in so far as it concerns venereal disease. The correspondence shows the steps we have taken in the matter.

It will be seen that we caused inquiry to be made in respect to the allegations put forward; and our conclusions will be found in the letter (No. 3034-D) addressed to the Quartermaster General in India by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, on the 29th June 1892. We invite your Lordship's attention to the last paper in the file of correspondence, viz., the circular memorandum from the Quartermaster General in India, No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*Roberts.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*  
*A. E. Miller.*  
*H. Brackenbury.*  
*C. H. T. Crosthwaite.*

List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 134 (Military), dated 6 September 1892, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	SUBJECT.
1	Dated 7th August 1891.	From the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
2	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourie.	- - ditto - - ditto.
3	Dated 7th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Foveran Free Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
4	Dated 23rd August 1891.	From the Free Church of Gamrie.	- - ditto - - ditto.
5	Dated 15th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen.	- - ditto - - ditto.
6	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas in the Island of Lewis, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
7	- - -	From the Deacons' Court of the Free Church of the Parish of Barvas in the Island of Lewis, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
8	- - -	From the Kirk Session of Carntyne Free Church Congregation.	- - ditto - - ditto.
9	No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891.	To Quartermaster General in India.	Requesting that careful and confidential inquiries may be made on the above subject, and a report submitted to the Government of India as soon as possible.
10	Dated 17th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of the Congregation of the Free Church of Kilealmonell, Argyshire, Scotland.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
11	- - -	From the Session and Deacons' Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock.	- - ditto - - ditto.
12	- - -	From the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court of the Free Church Congregation of Brodrick, Arran, Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
13	Dated 23rd September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
14	- - -	From the Garioch Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
15	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy.	- - ditto - - ditto.
16	Dated 12th October 1891.	From the St. Mark's Free Church Kirk Session.	- - ditto - - ditto.
17	Dated 7th October 1891.	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
18	- - -	From the Elgin and Inverness Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
19	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Middle Church, Perth.	- - ditto - - ditto.
20	Dated 16th October 1891.	From the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
21	Dated 13th October 1891.	From the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy.	- - ditto - - ditto.
22	Dated 13th October 1891.	From the Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.



Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	SUBJECT.
23	Dated 12th November 1891.	From the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
24	- - -	From the Aberdeen Synod of the Free Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
25	Dated 5th November 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh.	- - ditto - - ditto.
26	- - -	From the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kilmarnock and Ayr.	- - ditto - - ditto.
27	- - -	From the Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church by Glasgow.	- - ditto - - ditto.
28	Dated 9th November 1891.	From the Dundee Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
29	Dated 24th November 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Perth.	- - ditto - - ditto.
30	Dated 25th November 1891.	From the Committee on Temperance and Public Morals of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
31	Dated 1st December 1891.	From the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen.	- - ditto - - ditto.
32	- - -	From the Annandale Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
33	Dated 15th December 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Arbroath.	- - ditto - - ditto.
34	- - -	From the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee.	- - ditto - - ditto.
35	- - -	From the Elders and Deacons of the Free Church Congregation at Kemnay, Aberdeenshire.	- - ditto - - ditto.
36	Dated 8th December 1891.	From the Presbytery of Dumbarton of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
37	No. 449-D, dated 29th January 1892.	To Quartermaster-General in India	Enquiring when a reply to Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, may be expected.
38	Dated 28th December 1891.	From the Presbytery of Islay	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
39	Dated 30th December 1891.	From the Greenock Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
40	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Ardersier, Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
41	Dated 29th December 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Breadalbane, Perthshire, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
42	Telegram No. 397-B, dated 10th February 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Says that reports from all commands have been received except those from Madras.
43	- - -	From the Free Church Presbytery at Fordyce.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
44	No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24th March 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards reports from their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay, and from General Officers Commanding Districts in Bengal, replying to the points on which information was requested in Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891.
45	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreebush, Stonehaven, N.B.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.

No. i	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom and to whom.	SUBJECT.
46	No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards copy of a telegram from the Quartermaster-General, Bombay Army, stating that no compulsion of any kind is used at Nasirabad to enforce hospital attendance.
47	No. 2656-B, dated 9th June 1892.	- ditto - - ditto - -	Reports that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment in the three presidencies.
48	No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892.	To - - - ditto - -	Requesting the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to all General Officers Commanding Districts in Bengal, on the subject of the treatment of venereal and other contagious diseases, and the prohibition of registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars.
49	No. 3115-D, dated 4th July 1892.	To Government of <sup>Madras</sup> Bombay	Forwarding copy of Military Department letter No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892, and requesting the issue of similar confidential circular memoranda to all General Officers Commanding Districts in <sup>Madras</sup> Bombay
50	No. 3492-B, dated 18th July 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards copy of a circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts, regarding the observance of the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns venereal diseases.

(signed) *P. J. Maitland*,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

#### ENCLOSURES to DESPATCH, No. 134, dated 6th September 1892.

##### Enclosure No. 1.

To the Most Most Noble the Marquis of *Lansdowne*.

My Lord Marquis,

I beg to enclose memorial to your Lordship by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act.

I also enclose, for your Lordship's consideration, copy of the Report presented to last Assembly by the Committee on the State-regulation of Vice.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *R. R. Simpson*,  
w. s., Deputy Clerk of Assembly.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland crave leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the Rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

The General Assembly have in former years sought to draw the attention of the British Government to the same subject. But this year they feel that there is laid upon them a more urgent necessity than ever to make their appeal, and that the appeal they make rests on a still more solid foundation than before.

They have received, with great grief, signed communications from missionaries and chaplains, stationed in various parts of India where Cantonments exist, and connected with various churches and societies, which convince them that, at least in some places, practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating and so a licensing of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even providing for it. Instead of embodying in this memorial the statements just referred to, the Assembly beg respectfully to lay before your Lordship, and to commend to your Lordship's careful perusal, the Report of their Committee, presented to and received by them, in which passages are marked that constrain them to come to the above conclusion.

The Assembly desire to record their firm conviction that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888, which condemned such legislation as even *permitted* the proceedings complained of, and at variance also with Lord Cross's Despatch to the Indian Government, in which strong disapproval was expressed of any measures that could justly be construed as legalising vice; not to speak of its being at variance with the great legal and moral and religious principles on which is based



Assembly's uncompromising enmity to any modification whatever of the Contagious Diseases Acts system.

The Assembly do therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your serious consideration, and, by such means as your Lordship will best know, to get the present evil condition of matters brought to a thorough end.

In the name and by authority of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland,

(signed) *Thos. Smith, D.D.,*  
Moderator.

REPORT by the COMMITTEE on the State Regulation of Vice, May 1891.

The Committee have to report, first of all, that in terms of the deliverance of last Assembly, a memorial on the subject of the new Cantonment Act was duly sent to the India Office. Lord Cross's reply, while it explained away the apparent re-enactment of suspended rules, gave no satisfactory assurance that the practice under the new rules would be better than we were led to fear by facts placed before his Lordship.

The British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, met at Stockholm in September 1890. In accordance with the instructions of the Assembly, a communication was sent "expressive of the Church's warm sympathy with, and desire to forward, every effort for the attainment of the end aimed at by the Federation." The meeting was a successful one, and encouraging reports were presented with reference to the progress of the cause on the Continent. Professor Stuart, M.P., was able, for instance, to say, "In Paris the system of regulated prostitution is in ruins. In Holland we gain every year. Three years ago the system was abolished in four of its great towns, two years ago it was abolished in six, and at present there are eight towns of importance in which our friends have triumphed." In this connection, and to show how the influence of our Church's action is felt, it may be mentioned that the address of the Assembly's deputy to the Congress at Geneva in 1889, in which he spoke of the position taken up by the Free Church of Scotland on this question, and of the duty of other churches to make a similar stand, was translated into Dutch, and inserted in the organ of the Dutch National Church, with friendly remarks on the part of the editor.

Information has just come to hand that there are prospects of improvement in Italy as regards the regulation of vice, and in Amiens it is to be put an end to.

At the same time much—very much—remains to be done on the Continent, and your Committee feel the obligation resting on the Church to promote abolition work wherever it is needed, and the privilege of being permitted to aid in it. Belgium is a country in which regulation has long prevailed and been carried far. There is ground, however, to hope that the downfall of the system is not far off. The subject will be before the Legislature about the end of this year. It is extremely desirable that Abolitionist principles should be spread and strengthened. Accordingly it has been arranged that the Federation should hold its congress in Brussels in October next. Every effort will be made to secure as impressive a demonstration as possible, and your Committee have resolved to co-operate to the utmost of their ability. They have requested the convener to attend the congress, and have asked J. Campbell White, Esq., of Overton, to represent the laity of the Church; failing this, the convener has been empowered to make the best arrangement he can. They would beg the Assembly to recognise their deputies as representing it, and to authorise them to express in the strongest way the Church's profound and immovable conviction of the unrighteousness of the regulation system, however modified, and her unfeigned and most hearty prayer that God would stimulate to increased effort for its universal abolition, and would crown the endeavour with success.

Your Committee beg now to lay before the Church what they must regard as a very important part of their work during the past year.

They resolved that a letter should be written to such missionaries and ministers in India, belonging to the Free Church or other Churches, as would be likely to be able to give information with regard to the actual working of the new Cantonment Act, asking them to give all the reliable information they could. Accordingly the following letter was prepared and sent to 49 ministers and missionaries, whose names were kindly given by the Rev. Andrew, of Chingleput.

"Dear Sir,

"Kemnay, Abereen, N.B., 8 December 1890.

"In name and by appointment of the Free Church of Scotland's Committee on State Regulation of Vice—a committee, including Revs. Principal Rainy, D.D., Professor Lindsay, D.D., Professor Laidlaw, D.D., and others, both ministers and laymen—I beg earnestly to request the favour of your kind aid in an inquiry we are anxious to prosecute as thoroughly as possible.

"You are aware of the Resolution passed by the House of Commons in June 1888, to the effect 'that any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures, ought to be repealed.' And you know that in consequence of that Resolution, and of instructions from the India Office, the C. D. Act had been repealed in Bombay, Madras, and Bassein, and a new Cantonment Act, with rules under it, has been passed and in force for some time.

"Now, grave fears are felt by those opposed to the C. D. Act system, that the new regulations not only may be, but actually will be, and by some are intended to be, used to cover the carrying on of a practically compulsory examination of women, by making summary ejection from the cantonment the penalty of refusal to submit to the examination. In that case there would be a practical regulating and licensing of the vice of the women who submit; they would be certified as physically fit for the market of lust, and men would be encouraged in immorality.

"Those fears are not groundless. A portion of the Anglo-Indian press has boasted that 'the old order of things will be carried on under a new name.' Mr. Gregory, of the "Bombay Guardian," and others, have sent alarming reports as to proceedings at Lucknow and Peshawar during the alleged suspension of the old Act. And when Professor Lindsay was in India last year, an army surgeon said to him: 'We will do for you—we are so arranging that we will do for you.'

"Now, if things really are as we are compelled to fear, it is absolutely necessary that the attention of Parliament be called to the matter, and an honest and thorough carrying out of its own drastic Resolution insisted on.

"What is needed at present is careful, reliable, exact information as to the actual working of the Cantonment Act. And we appeal to you to be so good as to furnish us with all the facts you may know, or may be able to ascertain, either from personal observation or the testimony of the most trustworthy informants. Your doing so will be regarded by us as a great favour, and will be an important service to a most worthy cause. Should you wish your own or any other name kept secret, your wish will be scrupulously complied with.

"I may mention that the British Committee of the International Federation for the Abolition of the State-Regulation of Vice regards our effort to collect evidence as very valuable. They are projecting investigations by means of an agent on the spot. But his sphere of work, I am sure, would be such as not at all to supersede a communication from you in response to this letter.

"The following are some of the points on which information would be welcomed:—

"1st.—Are the prostitutes confined to certain quarters? Are they subject to any, and what, control therein?

"2nd.—How is the rule, allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion worked, I mean, suspicion of illness? Are the men ordered to denounce them? Are there periodical examinations in order to ascertain their state?

"3rd.—What is the practical effect on such women of ejection from the cantonment?

"4th.—Is there any such thing as a demand for certain number of women for a regiment, anything like an official purveying of immorality? if so, how is it managed?

"5th.—How far do the women feel themselves under compulsion, and look on their culling as licensed?

"If you can inform us in regard to any or all those points, or any others that occur to you, we shall be greatly obliged. And will you be so kind as let me hear as soon as you conveniently can? All possible information is desired before the end of January 1891 (though it might be supplemented afterwards), for that is the time when, should things not be quite satisfactory, our friends in Parliament propose to take action.—Believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely,

(signed) *Rev. John Dymock, Convener.*"

It is disappointing to have to say that only seven of the 49 have sent replies, and that the four Free Church Missionaries written to are not among the seven. The request for a very speedy answer may in part explain this failure, and your Committee propose to approach the Free Church Missionaries again, and also to avail themselves of the kind offer, most cordially made, of the Rev. Henry Rice, of the Established Church Mission at Madras, to render all the help in his power, should ample time be given him to prosecute inquiries. Meantime they feel very grateful to those who have so obligingly furnished them with important information, including a chaplain and a native Christian not directly written to.

No movement has yet been made in Parliament, for it is felt that there must first be very broad and very sure ground to stand upon in the shape of ample and thoroughly satisfactory evidence. The British Committee of the Federation (of which, by the way, your Committee's Convener has been made a member), are having investigations carried on in India, and a strong Committee may by this time have been formed in Calcutta itself. Meanwhile the British Committee attach much value to the inquiries of your Committee, and have taken copies of the letters received from India.

The questions put in the letter of inquiry have not always been directly answered; but the following is an attempt to summarise the information conveyed, under the heads of the several questions. It should be mentioned that the Indian authorities give no facilities for acquiring information. A missionary tells, that when the Senior Apothecary of an hospital to whom he had addressed inquiries, asked the Brigade-Surgeon whether he should answer the questions, the reply was: "By no means, you are not allowed to publish the secrets of this office."

Q. I.—In one cantonment the prostitutes are said not to be confined to certain quarters; but in others it is said they are—special huts being assigned to them or "tents kept for the purpose," and these being quite near the quarters of European cavalry and infantry. One writer states also that times are set apart for the men visiting them. They are represented as being under the control of the military authorities.

Q. II.—Two writers state explicitly that a soldier suffering from disease is required to go in the company of a policeman and point out the woman from whom he believes disease has been contracted. She is then compelled either to enter the Lock Hospital and submit to treatment, or to leave the cantonment within 24 hours; a woman refusing to do either was recently imprisoned for six days. "The police detest the duties forced on them." "An English policeman is now ordered to do the dirty work. He is exceedingly reluctant, and for remissness has been threatened with dismissal." "The chief constable has been asked to meet the surgeon in charge of the hospital twice a week, and when he met him, he was required 'to do something more.'" That is the constant cry of the Regulationists: they always want "something more."

With regard to periodical examinations: in one cantonment they are said not to be held, but in two they are—in one case weekly.

Q. III.—As to the practical effect on the women of ejection from the cantonment, one informant says that it entails the loss of all gain, and another, that it issues in the spreading of disease.

Q. IV.—With regard to one cantonment it is stated that the authorities do not play the part of procurers. But from another cantonment we have this testimony—given by a native Christian, belonging to the legal profession, whom a missionary certifies as having access to most reliable information: "Of course, a definite number of prostitutes are required for British troops. Here they get plenty of them without much trouble. But in small cantonments, whenever there is a paucity of these women, the officer in command orders the



bazar chowdhary to procure them through the bazar chowdhary of a neighbouring big cantonment. I believe this is the usual method. A third correspondent says that "a direct command is not known of, but these women are encouraged to take up their residence in certain places in the bazar."

Q. V.—The women's sense of the compulsion of the examination, and of the license given to their calling. One writer says explicitly: "The compulsory examination is continued." Another adds the qualification: "Only when they are denounced." A correspondent, whose letter follows in full, after stating that the women, when denounced, must go to the hospital, says that they consider themselves not now under compulsion. Those accounts are easily reconciled. There is no evidence of the formal licensing that once prevailed being continued. "Tickets," or certificates, are not given. But it is emphatically stated: "The women consider themselves licensed." "They now say they wish it" (the examination) "as it gives their profession a standing."

So much for the particular questions, with the answers returned to them. We may next put on record some general statements, which the letters from India contain. Again and again it is asserted that, while there may be a few slight and nominal changes, the old policy is substantially and practically adhered to. The native writer says: "The opinion of our Hindu and Mohammedan fellow subjects is this: they know the Government is determined by hook or crook to drag prostitutes into hospitals for the benefit of British lust." He also says that the new rules are really meant for the prostitutes, and that the officials openly mention this; that the old ones were quite sufficient in the case of ordinary contagious diseases, but that the Indian Government wish to provide hiding for a defiance of the Resolution of the House of Commons, on the part of cantonment authorities, "by making the rules as broad as possible so as to include everything from syphilis to measles." The women are said to get more and more hardened under such an administration as is still going on, and to be seldom reclaimed. The effect on the morals of the men is represented as extremely bad; they are encouraged in vice. One correspondent uses these terrible words: "I have been distressed to find that this sin is almost universal in the army; that it causes little shame, and, indeed, by many is advocated and justified as a necessity."

Your Committee offered to withhold correspondents' names and places where that was desired. None insisted on secrecy, and one expressed willingness for publicity should it serve any important end. But the only case in which it seems desirable to withhold nothing, is that of the following important letter from the Rev. Dr. Huntly, which your Committee feel ought to be printed entire.

"Dear Sir,

"Nusseerabad, Rajputana, 6th January 1891.

"Your letter, as sent for information to the Rev. James Grey, Ajmere, was forwarded by him to me, as there is a cantonment here in Nusseerabad and not one in Ajmere.

"With regard to Nusseerabad, I may state in the first place generally that though ostensibly since the repeal of the Contagious Disease Acts the prostitutes are on a different footing, virtually the same methods and practice are carried on.

"There is a lock hospital as before, that is to say, the same building is employed now as heretofore for the examination of those women, and the retention and treatment of such as require them.

"An English surgeon draws a monthly perquisite of Rs. 50 for superintending this department.

"There are no 'tickets' given, but every Friday morning the women adjourn to this place to be examined by the doctor, who pays his weekly visit on this day. These women now say they wish it, as it gives their profession (?) a standing.

"There is a special quarter of the native bazar where they reside, and certain hours set apart during which soldiers visit these quarters.

"When a soldier has been found suffering from venereal disease, he is taken (so my native doctor states on ocular evidence) to pick out the woman, who is then sent to the contagious diseases hospital. The women consider themselves licensed, but not now under compulsion.

"I cannot give definite answers to (3) and (4): to all intents and purposes the old *régime* is enforced, and the private soldier goes in the belief that the examination by the surgeon of certain women makes these women safer and is a guard to himself, and in the case of young soldiers from home the same old and damnable encouragement to vice is thus given.

"I sometimes wonder if the Indian authorities really are aware of the terrible evil and harm they are inflicting on the old country in thus opening up in India avenues of vice, and tacitly encouraging young ignorant fools—both officers and privates—to enter on such a life. They, we will say, escape disease (this is a medical lie, as they don't escape) in this country, but acquire the gross habit, and sink their moral nature. The men at the end of short service are shipped home and let loose on England with their acquired lust-thirsting to be satiated; and in their lust fresh victims are added to the list of fallen women, and the danger to pure women in all societies from the highest to the lowest is increased. This, in my opinion, lies at the root of all increase in this vice; unformed, unstable young fellows among officers and men, the sons often of good parents, forget their obligations and their religion and manhood, to run riot as they think without bodily danger, till manly control is lost and the vice has them in its clutches, and the punishment and shame are borne by England. Not merely India's women are ruined by Indian regulations, but by these same regulations the virtue and honour of thousands of England's women are endangered. I have not seen this point emphasized, and I think it one of the most important bearing on the subject. It is on behalf of England's women we must fight this out.

"Am glad to give evidence and name freely on behalf of the cause. Medically even their contentions cannot be upheld.

With best wishes for the success of the movement,

I am, &c.,  
(signed) "William Huntly, M.D., B.S.C.

"U.P. MISSION, NUSSEERABAD, INDIA.

"Have no wish for secrecy of name—no, emphatically no."

All who have written breathe ardent desire for the overthrow of the Regulation System, and one missionary closes his letter in these words—"May the Lord, our Omnipotent Jehovah, who knows the dreadful iniquity of the Indian Government, enable you and all the friends of purity at home to stop the awful sin perpetrated by them."

On a survey of the foregoing information from India, your Committee feel bound to come to the conclusion that the Resolution of the House of Commons is not being honestly and thoroughly complied with, inasmuch as the existing legislation does permit a practically compulsory examination of women, and a practical licensing and regulating of prostitution. They commend the materials which they have gathered to the earnest attention of the General Assembly and of the whole Church, and they fervently hope that the Assembly will resolve to anew memorialize the India Office and the Government of India on the ground of the fresh information received, and will also strongly recommend the forwarding of similar Memorials from Kirk Sessions and other Courts of the Church. They will hold themselves in readiness, should they be reappointed, to contribute as far as possible to the effectiveness of any movement that may be made in Parliament during the ensuing year; and they would specially solicit, on behalf of the cause they seek to promote, united and earnest and believing prayer, the power of which has again been signally manifested in connection with the Anti-Opium Crusade.

In conclusion, they desire to express their sense of how much gratitude we owe as a nation to God for the abolition of vice-regulation in Great Britain and Ireland, and for the passing and working of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

(signed) *John Dymock*, Convener and Secretary.

*Omitted by inadvertence.*—Mr. Rice says—"I am given to understand that there is little doubt that the new Regulations are in some places being evaded." This obviously means that there are places where even the semblance of regard to the Resolution of Parliament, paid by the new Rules, is thrown off.

#### Enclosure No. 2.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,—

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourie, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India and connected with different churches. The writers put their names to the documents and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,

In name of the Kirk Session,

(Signed) *Alexander B. Brown*, Moderator.

#### Enclosure No. 3.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Free Church, Foveran, Aberdeenshire, 7 September 1891.

Your Lordship,—

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Foveran Free Church, beg respectfully, but most urgently, to solicit your Lordship's very earnest attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was confirmed by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

We learn on reliable authority that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,

(signed)

*William B. Inglis*, Moderator.

*Peter Murray*, Elder.

*James Benzie*, Elder.

*Robert Gray*, Elder.



## Enclosure No. 4.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

23rd August 1891.

WHEREAS it is written—Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people,  
Whereas in June 1888 the Commons House of Parliament passed a resolution “that any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorizes or permits such measures, ought to be repealed.”

Whereas, by instructions from the India Office, the Contagious Diseases (Women's) Act has been repealed in Bombay, Madras and Bassein, and a new Cantonment Act passed and enforced,

And whereas a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at Cantonments in different parts of India, who unite in certifying that the existing legislation permits a practically compulsory examination of women, and a practical licensing and regulating of prostitution. (*Vide* Proceedings and Debates of General Assembly, Appendix Report XXXVII),

We, the elders of the Free Church of Gamrie, met in Kirk Session, pray your Lordship to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices as shame our national faith in the sight of the heathen.

And your petitioners will ever pray. In name of the Kirk Session.

(signed) *James Simpson*, Moderator interim.

## Enclosure No. 5.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

3, Sprinkbank Place, Aberdeen, 15th September 1891.

I HAVE been requested by the Members of the Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen, to state how grieved we are to find that the old system of the licensing of vice is still carried on in different parts of India. We would humbly, but very earnestly, press upon your Lordship to do all in your power to have this most iniquitous system abolished. From letters sent by missionaries in India we are made aware of the actual state of things. We feel that it is not only our soldiers who are wronged by this freedom given to vice; but that hundreds of our women at home in England are affected by it. They become the victims of those who have in India given full rein to their appetites and passions.

We pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In name of the Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen.

Your obedient Servant,

(signed.) *G. McMurray Ross*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 6.

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cross*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India, in connection with the Cantonments Acts in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution.

This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B.

(signed) *N. M. Morison*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 7.

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cross*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of the Parish of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly\* of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In name of the Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of the Parish of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B.

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,  
(signed) *N. M. Morison*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 8.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Carntyne Free Church Congregation, beg humbly, but urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned in the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it. We grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

We pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices, in some way, as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,  
In name of Carntyne Free Church Kirk Session,  
(signed) *James Allan*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 9.

From Major General *E. H. H. Collen*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 4123-D.—“Sanitary,”—dated Simla, the 21st October 1891).

I AM directed to forward herewith the correspondence noted in the margin relative to a protest of the

Letter from the Rev. R. B. Simpson, Deputy Clerk of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, dated Edinburgh, 7th August 1891, and enclosures, viz. :—

Memorial.

Report by the Committee on the State Regulation of Vice.

From the Rev. A. B. Brown, Moderator of the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourne.

From the Rev. B. Inglis, Moderator, and the Elders of the Free Church, Foveran, Aberdeenshire, dated 7th September 1891.

\* 4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed, by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in, or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in, or re-entering a cantonment, remains in, or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

the points on which information is more especially required are whether the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules\* is resorted to.

2. I am to ask that it may be definitely stated whether it is true that anything which can fairly be described as “official purveying for immorality” is countenanced. The allegations of Dr. Huntley as to the Nussacrabad Cantonment also require special notice and inquiry.



3. I am further to request that the Commander-in-Chief may be moved to make similar inquiries confidentially in connection with the British troops and the working of the rules framed under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies from the respective Commanders-in-Chief of those presidencies.

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Enclosure No. 10.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*, dated Kintyre, Scotland, 17th September 1891.

Your Lordship,

I HAVE the honour to transmit the accompanying memorial which was adopted by our Kirk Session on the 17th instant, and I am,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
(signed) *Alex. MacRae*.

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To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Congregation of the Free Church of Kilcalmonell, Argyleshire, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

From duly certified communications received by a committee of our church from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches, we learn the Resolution of Parliament of the 5th June 1888 on this subject is virtually ignored, and that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with.

We pray your Lordship, therefore, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, and of the danger to our own country's morality, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Kirk Session of the Kilcalmonell Free Church Congregation.  
(signed) *Alex. MacRae*, Moderator.

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Enclosure No. 11.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, the Session and Deacon's Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act, as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Session and Deacon's Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock.  
(signed) *W. Lewis Robertson*, Moderator.  
*John Wilson*, Session Clerk.  
*John Peden*, Junior, Clerk of Deacon's Court.

## Enclosure No. 12.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of Brodrick, Arran, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or any other way, of practices that are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

In the name of the Courts of the Free Church Congregation of Brodrick, Arran,  
(signed) *J. K. Cameron*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 13.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

23rd September 1891.

WE, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer Your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray Your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

In the name of the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church.

(signed) *W. Fulton*, M.A.,  
Moderator of Session and Minister of Whifflet Free Church,  
Conbridge.

## Enclosure No. 14.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Garioch Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland, beg humbly, but with the greatest urgency, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India under the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Parliamentary Resolution of June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the new Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.



We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the actual working of the Cantonments Act in connection with sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Presbytery,  
(signed) *J. C. Robertson*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 15.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy,  
(signed) *John Mac Rae*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 16.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India, Glasgow,  
12 October 1891.

Your Lordship,

WE, the members of St. Marks Free Church Kirk Session, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the members of St. Marks Free Church Kirk Session,  
(signed) *Geo. Milne*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 17.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India, Fortingall, Perthshire,  
N.B., 7 October 1891.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licenced.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B.,  
(signed) Rev. *W. H. Tulloch*, Moderator.  
(signed) *James Simpson*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 18.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Elgin and Inverness Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church begs respectfully to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

They have learned with sincere grief from the medical missionaries of their own and other Churches that there are places in India where cantonments exist, and where examinations of women, practically of a compulsory character, and other practices, are carried on which amount to a regulating of sexual immorality, and so license and encourage it, and even positively provide for it. In the opinion of the Presbytery such a state of things is at variance with the resolution adopted by the House of Commons on 5th June 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of; it is at variance with despatch addressed to your Lordship by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, in which strong disapproval was expressed of any measures that could justly be construed as legalising vice; and it is at variance also with the fundamental principles of law, morality, and religion.

The Presbytery, therefore, very respectfully and earnestly crave your Lordship to take such measures as may appear to your Lordship best fitted to bring the present evil condition of matters to an end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,

(signed) *George Rolson*, D.D., Moderator.  
(signed) *A. A. Robertson*, Presbytery Clerk.

Enclosure No. 19.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Middle Church, Perth, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licenced.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

In name of the Free Middle Church Kirk Session, Perth.  
(signed) *D. Waits Kennedy*, Moderator.



## Enclosure No. 20.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis,

Alford, Aberdeen, 16 October 1891.

I AM instructed by the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church to forward to your Lordship the enclosed Memorial of the Presbytery.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's humble servant,

(signed) *James B. Duncan*, Presbytery Clerk.To the Most Noble the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

The Memorial of the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists have received information from most reliable sources, that, notwithstanding the suppression of the Contagious Diseases Acts which followed the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, there virtually still prevail, at least in some places, the same practices which were then condemned, and which amount to a regulating, and practically a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of, if not even a positive providing for, such immorality.

The Presbytery therefore earnestly entreat your Lordship to give these matters your consideration, and by such means as may seem most suitable, to get the present evil condition of things brought to an early and complete termination.

In name and by authority of the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church,

(signed) *Colin Nicol*, Moderator.(signed) *James B. Duncan*, Clerk.

## Enclosure No. 21.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

U. P. Session House, Leven, 13 October 1891.

WE, the undersigned, the members of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice. It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

From precise information received from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with different Churches, and who have put their names to the documents, it appears that they unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We therefore pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

In the name of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy,

(signed) *John Wilson Thomson*, Moderator,

U. P. Manse, Kinghorn, Scotland.

## Enclosure No. 22.

Your Lordship,

Holm, Orkney, 13 October 1891.

I AM instructed by the Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church to forward the accompanying memorial to you regarding Indian Cantonment Act.

Yours most respectfully,

(signed) *Charles Runciman*, Presbytery Clerk.To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church have had their attention drawn to certain reports concerning the working of the Cantonment Act in India, which, if true (and they fear there is too much truth in them), they cannot but regard with the greatest disapprobation and concern. The allegations are that the medical examination of women supposed to be suffering from venereal disease is still carried on, and that soldiers therefore are encouraged to indulge in vice.

The Presbytery therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises, which they believe have already been brought under your notice, into your consideration and use such means as will get the evil complained of removed.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,  
 (signed) *Robert Reid*, Moderator,  
 (signed) *Charles Runciman*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 23.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis,

Edinburgh, 12 November 1891.

I ENCLOSE herewith, by instruction of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, a memorial of the Presbytery in reference to sexual vice in India.

I have the honour to be,  
 Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
 (signed) *Robert Gray*, Presbytery Clerk.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor General of India.

My Lord Marquis,

THE Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church begs most respectfully yet urgently to call your attention to facts which have reached them, proving that in spite of the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June 1888, the system of licensed vice, which was condemned by that Resolution, is again virtually in force amongst our soldiers under the new Cantonments Act.

The Presbytery humbly but earnestly begs your Lordship to make investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as it affects sexual vice, and to see that nothing at present going on can possibly be construed into a setting at nought of the Resolution of Parliament above referred to.

Signed in name and by authority of the Presbytery,  
 (signed) *John Sutherland*, Moderator.  
 (signed) *Robert Gray*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 24.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Aberdeen Synod of the Free Church of Scotland, convened at Aberdeen, on the 12th day of October 1891, beg humbly but with the greatest urgency to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act as that Act bears on sexual vice.

Fears were all along felt that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly increased by the rule under the new Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts are such as to vindicate the apprehensions felt beforehand.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
 In name and by appointment of the Free Church Synod of Aberdeen,  
 (signed) *Thomas L. Wilson*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 25.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

35, King-street, Edinburgh, 5 November 1891.

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Free St. Andrews' Church, Edinburgh, beg humbly but urgently to request your Lordship's attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.



It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would be found not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly strengthened by the rules made under the Act, and it is now, we grieve to say, fully justified by the facts.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church; and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of the practices complained of, practices which are at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Kirk Session of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh,  
(signed) *Robert J. Sandeman*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 26.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

The Memorial of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kilmarnock and Ayr

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists have had their attention directed to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonment Act and its bearing on sexual vice.

They are thankful for the changes which have been effected by that Act, but regret that from communications received from various parts of India there are forms of the evil still existing, such as are repugnant to the moral sense and Christian feeling of the nation, harmful to Christian missions, and dishonouring to our rule. They fear that the new Cantonment Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, has not effectively excluded it, as required by that Resolution.

They therefore respectfully and earnestly urge your Lordship to give this whole matter your most serious consideration, and to respond to the feeling which is rising throughout the country for the *total suppression* of all arrangements which in any way provide for the regulation of vice and thereby licence it.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,

(signed) *George Morris*, Moderator.  
*James M. Copland*, Clerk,  
United Presbyterian Manse, Calrim, Mauchline, N.B.

Enclosure No. 27.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church, by Glasgow, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and therefore is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In the name of the Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church,  
(signed) *John Duke*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 28.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

Dundee, 9 November 1891.

THE Dundee Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

They have had statements submitted to them from gentlemen in India who are in a position to speak authoritatively on the subject, which lead them to believe that in some places practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

Being convinced that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, and also with the Secretary of State for India's despatch to the Indian Government on the subject, the Presbytery would respectfully request you to take all the circumstances into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship may deem best, to get the present unsatisfactory condition of things brought to an end.

In name and by authority of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Dundee,  
(signed) *A. B. Connell, D.D., Moderator.*

## Enclosure No. 29.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

Perth, Scotland, 24 November 1891.

IN the name and by appointment of the Free Church Presbytery of Perth, we beg humbly but very earnestly to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India, in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearings on sexual vice.

In common with many of our fellow countrymen we have all along been afraid that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would turn out not to have *excluded* it, as it ought to have done in terms of the Parliamentary Resolution. Our fears had been very greatly increased by the rules under the Act, and now, we are very sorry to say, it turns out that our fears have been too well grounded.

A Committee of honoured ministers and elders of our Church, in answer to a request for accurate and specific information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers all unite in testifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with all our hearts, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or otherwise, of such practices as are really at variance with the Parliamentary Resolution.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
(signed) *Archibald Campbell, Moderator.*  
*John Rainnie, Clerk of Presbytery.*

## Enclosure No. 30.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor General of India.

Your Lordship,

Dysart, N.B., 25 November 1891.

THE Committee on Temperance and Public Morals of the United Presbyterian Church beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention to the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, and the Rules connected with it.

Information has been received from India, among others from one of the missionaries of our church, to the effect that practically the system condemned by Resolution of Parliament is in operation in some places, that the examination of women is continued, and vice thus regulated and encouraged.

The Committee, therefore, humbly prays your Lordship to institute an investigation into the working of the Act and Rules referred to, in so far as they relate to sexual vice. The church which we represent has always opposed the system of licensed vice in any form whatever.

In name of the Committee,  
Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
(signed) *William Guthrie, Convener.*

## Enclosure No. 31.

To the most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord,

13, Balmoral Place, Aberdeen, 1 December 1891.

As instructed by the Presbytery, I beg to forward the enclosed memorial to your Excellency.

Yours most respectfully,  
(signed) *Robert Semple, Presbytery Clerk.*



To His Excellency the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the members of the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen, beg humbly to approach your Excellency with special reference to the bearing of the recent Cantonments Act on sexual vice in India.

We do not believe that the New Act was ever intended to sanction any proceedings inconsistent with the Resolution adopted by the House of Commons on the 5th June 1888. But our horror of the condemned system has led us to watch narrowly the rules adopted under the new Act, lest unhappily in actual operation any part of that system should be found to reappear; and to our intense sorrow this fear has been confirmed by facts to which testimony has been borne by persons holding responsible positions in various parts of India.

In answer to a request for information, a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland has received communications from missionaries and chaplains with reference to several cantonments. These communications are duly signed and vouched, and they unite in certifying that in substance the condemned system is carried on under the new rules in several places. It appears that sexual vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and such regulation in its practical effect amounts to a system of license. Details have already been submitted to your Excellency in a memorial from the General Assembly of our Church, to which we respectfully beg to refer your Excellency for a full statement.

Believing as we do that the statements made in the communications above mentioned are thoroughly reliable, and that your Excellency is equally desirous with ourselves to have every complaint removed, we most earnestly beg that the working of the new Cantonments Act may be made the subject of early and thorough investigation, and that immediate steps may be taken for the entire suppression of all such practices and proceedings as are at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In the name of the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen,

We have, &c.,  
(Signed) *W. M. Clow*, Moderator.

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Enclosure No. 32.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor-General of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Annandale Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

It has been brought to the knowledge of the Presbytery through signed communications from missionaries and chaplains, stationed in various parts of India where cantonments exist, that, at least in some places, practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery considers this state of things to be at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th of June 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of; not to speak of its being at variance with the great moral and religious principles on which is based the Presbytery's uncompromising hostility to any modification whatever of the Contagious Diseases Acts system.

The Presbytery, therefore, humbly entreats your Lordship to take the premises into your serious consideration, and to use such means as your high office may afford for bringing the present evil condition of things to a thorough end.

Signed in name and by authority of the Presbytery,  
(signed) *Adam C. Welch*, Moderator.  
*James Ronald*, Clerk.

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Enclosure No. 33.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Free Church Manse, Friockheim, Forfarshire, N.B.; 15 December 1891.

My Lord,

At the request of the Free Church Presbytery of Arbroath, I beg to deliver to you the enclosed memorial.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *James Nicoll*, Clergyman, Clerk of Presbytery.

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To The Right Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that

*substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church; and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Arbroath Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland,  
(signed) *J. Moffat Scott*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 34.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonment Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In name of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee,  
(signed) *Charles Shaw*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 35.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Excellency,

We, the Elders and Deacons of the Free Church Congregation at Kemnay, Aberdeenshire, met in October 1891, desire with all respect but with the greatest urgency to entreat your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things now prevailing in India in connection with the Cantonments Act as that Act bears on sexual vice.

Fears were always entertained that the new Act, however well meant and however far from *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of June 5th 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* that system, as the Parliamentary Resolution required it to do. The Rules under the Act increased this apprehension. And now, unhappily, the facts (so far as we can ascertain them) shew that our grave suspicions were far from groundless.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers sign their communications, and they unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still *regulated* in a variety of ways and so is necessarily *licensed*.

We understand that a copy of the Committee's Report, in which details are given, has been laid before your Excellency, and accordingly we content ourselves with referring to that Report and begging your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, to make an immediate and thorough investigation into this matter, which involves, we are persuaded, the very highest interests of the Empire, and to bring about a complete suppression of practices which are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons as well as with moral and religious principles.

In name and by appointment of the office-bearers,  
Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
(signed) *John Dymock*,  
Moderator of Kirk Session and Deacon's Court.

Enclosure No. 36.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

Dumbarton, 8 December 1891.

THE Presbytery of Dumbarton of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland crave leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonments Act, and the Rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.



They have received with great grief information from missionaries and chaplains stationed in various parts of India, where cantonments exist, and connected with various churches and societies, particularly from Dr. William Huntly of Nasirabad, connected with this Church, which convince them that at least in some places practically compulsory examinations of women are continued and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating and so a licensing of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery desire to record their conviction that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of, not to speak of its being at variance with the great legal and moral and religious principles on which is based the Presbytery's uncompromising hostility to any modification whatever of the contagious diseases system.

The Presbytery do therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship will best know to get the present evil condition of matters brought to a thorough end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,  
(signed) *William Smith, Moderator.*

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Enclosure No. 37.

From Major *J. E. Broadbent, R.E.*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 449-D, dated Fort William, 29 January 1892).

I AM directed to request that under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, the Government of India may be informed when a reply to Military Department letter No. 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, relative to the working of the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, may be expected.

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Enclosure No. 38.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Portmahaven, Islay, Scotland, 28 December 1891.

WE, the undersigned Presbytery of Islay, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act would prove not to have excluded the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, and we grieve to say the fear has been justified.

A Committee of our Church has received from Indian missionaries and chaplains a consensus of testimony that there has been *substantially* no change upon the old system.

We therefore pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, with a view to make the Resolution of the Commons really operative.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,  
In the name of the Free Presbytery of Islay,  
(signed) *Archd. Stewart MacIntyre, B.D., Moderator.*

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Enclosure No. 39.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B., 30 December 1891.

As instructed by the Greenock Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, and on their behalf, I beg to inclose, for the favour of your consideration, the accompanying memorial on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Bill.

I am, &c.,  
(signed) *J. B. R. McIntyre, Presbytery Clerk.*

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To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Presbytery of Greenock of the United Presbyterian Church craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Bill, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

The Presbytery has reason to believe that, at least in some places, practices obtain which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery desires to record its conviction that the state of things complained of is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, which condemns such legislation as even permitted the proceedings referred to.

The Presbytery does therefore entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship may think best, to get the present evil condition of matters brought to an end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,  
(signed) *James Adams, Moderator.*  
*J. B. R. McIntyre, Clerk.*

## Enclosure No. 40.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Ardersier, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Contonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.,

In name of the Kirk Session.

(signed) *D. M. Macleod*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 41.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

Fortingall, Perthshire, 29th December 1891.

WE, the undersigned, Free Church Presbytery of Breadalbane, Perthshire, N.B., beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.,

(signed) *Murdoch Corbet*, Minister at Tummelbridge.

*John McCallum*.

*John McKee*, Minister at Aberfeldy.

*John MacBean*, Minister at Killin.

*Allen Mackenzie*, Minister at Lowms.

*D. R. C. MacLagan*, Minister at Logierent.

*W. H. Tulloch*, Minister at Fortingall.

*John Campbell*, Elder at Fortingall.

## Enclosure No. 42.

Telegram from Quartermaster General in India to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(dated Calcutta, the 10th February 1892).

No. 397-B. Reference Military Department No. 449-D of the 29th ultimo. Reports from all commands have now been received, except those from Madras. The latter have again been telegraphed for, and on receipt the whole will be submitted without delay.



## Enclosure No. 43.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Free Church Presbytery of Fordyce, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fears.

A committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very precise and reliable information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.  
In name of the Free Church Presbytery of Fordyce,  
(signed) *J Watson Gaddie*, Moderator.

## Enclosure No. 44.

From Major General *E. Stedman*, Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 448-B-Camp, dated Fort William, the 24th March 1892).

In reply to Government of India, Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, I am directed by his Excellency to forward for the information of the Government of India, reports from their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief, Bombay and Madras, and from General Officers commanding districts in Bengal, replying to the points on which information was requested.

2. The points raised by Government were :—

1. Whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonments Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.
2. Whether any compulsion existed in excess of the authorised rules 4 and 5.
3. Whether it is true that anything which can be fairly described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.
4. That the special allegations of Dr. Huntley relative to the Nasirabad cantonment might be made the subject of special notice and inquiry.

3. The reports forwarded in original with a *précis* attached show fully that there is no foundation whatever for considering that the military authorities are not keeping strictly within the terms of the rules contained in the Cantonments Act and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. There is no compulsion beyond what is authorised by rules 4 and 5. It is quite untrue that anything exists which can be described as "official purveying for immorality."

4. With regard to the fourth point, I am to invite special attention to the reports by the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, and the Officer Commanding Nasirabad, categorically denying the charges made.

5. His Excellency desires to strongly repudiate what he considers to be most unfounded allegations.

PRÉCIS of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892.

Reports received with.	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised compulsion is exercised.	REMARKS.
Presidency District No. 104, dated 9th December 1891.	Fort William - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	There is no recognition of prostutes. The women in the bazars are not interfered with either directly or indirectly.
	Barrackpore - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	
	Dum Dum - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	
Allahabad District No. 88-D, dated 14th November 1891.	Allahabad District -	No - -	No - -	Not stated. - Definite information is being called for.	
Nerbudda District No. 74-C-D, dated 3rd November 1891.	Nerbudda District -	No - -	No - -	No.	
	Agra - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	British soldiers rarely resort to women living in cantonments, so much so that more than once the women complained that they were not sufficiently patronised by soldiers. A statement is forwarded which shows that a large number of the poorer class are treated gratuitously for other than venereal diseases.
Bundelkhand District No. 67, dated 23rd November 1891.	Jhansi - - -	No - -	No - -	No.	There is no cantonment hospital, but certain of the women present themselves voluntarily at the station hospital for examination and treatment.
	Nowgong - - -	No - -	No - -	No.	
	Sipri - - -	See remarks -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	No - -	
Oudh District No. 184-C-L, dated 1st December 1891.	Oudh District -	No - -	No - -	No - -	At present there is a terrible increase of venereal.
Rohilkhand District No. 249, dated 21st November 1891.	Barcilly - - -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	No - -	No - -	Prostitutes attend for examination at their own request, and no pressure is put upon them.
	Shahjahanpur - -	No - -	No - -	No.	The Cantonment Magistrate states that a portion of the sudder bazar has been closed to prostitutes; he also gives his views on prostitution in India. Women presenting themselves voluntarily are treated in the cantonment hospital.
	Ranikhet - - -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	No - -	No - -	
Rohilkhand District No. 261-D, dated 12th December 1891.	Nolul Tal - - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	Immoral women are not allowed to reside within cantonments; they have asked to be allowed to do so and have stated that they would submit themselves to medical inspection. No fines or punishments have been inflicted.
	Moradabad - - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	Prostitutes are not confined to certain quarters; action is not taken against them, on suspicion; men are not ordered to denounce them, neither are periodical examinations held.



Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—continued.

Reports received with.	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised compulsion is exercised.	REMARKS.
	No - - -	No - - -	No - - -	No - - -	For convenience of inhabitants prostitutes are confined to one quarter of the town which is not in the regimental bazars or near them, and no time is set apart for men to visit it.
Meerut District No. 169-C, dated 2nd December 1891.	Other stations -	No - - -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	Not stated -	There is no cantonment hospital at Delhi. Action is not taken against women on suspicion, men have not been asked to denounce them, but they are invited to attend once a week for examination.
Sirhind District No. 11, dated 14th November 1891.	Unballa - - -	No - - -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	No - - -	Reports from remaining stations in the command are being called for.
Lahore District No. 537-C, dated 17th November 1891.	Lahore District -	No - - -	No - - -	No.	
Rawal Pindi District No. 11-C, dated 19th January 1892.	Rawal Pindi -	No - - -	No - - -	No.	
—	Sialkot - - -	See remarks -	See remarks -	No - - -	The Officer Commanding 2nd Dragoon Guards reports that prostitutes are allowed to reside in the regimental bazar and are subject to no supervision whatever, except that while residing there they agree to be medically examined, which they willingly agree to. The Officer Commanding does not consider this "official purveying."
—	West Ridge, Rawal Pindi.	See remarks -	No - - -	No - - -	The Officer Commanding Manchester Regiment reports that there is a quarter in the bazar of his battalion available for prostitutes, but they come and go as they please; they have the same rights and freedom as other residents. The property in which they reside does not belong to the State or to the battalion.
—					The Officer Commanding King's Royal Rifle Corps states that prostitutes live in tents pitched in line with others in the bazar; they are not confined to certain quarters, and are subject to no control other than remaining inhabitants in the bazar.
—					The General Officer Commanding has been told that in accordance with Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888, the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars is prohibited.
—	Murree - - -	No - - -	No - - -	No.	
—	Campbellpore -	No - - -	No - - -	No.	
—	Attock - - -	No - - -	No - - -	No.	
Peshawar District No. 463-C-R, dated 19th December 1891.	Peshawar - - -	No - - -	No - - -	No - - -	Reports from remaining stations in the command being called for.

Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 488-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—*continued.*

Reports received with	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised expulsion is exercised.	REMARKS.
Quetta District No. 5242-B, dated 18th December 1891.	Quetta - - -	See remarks -	No - -	No - -	There is no hospital for treatment of women for contagious disease in the cantonment.
Bombay Army No. <sup>15-104</sup> <sub>334</sub> , dated 27th January 1892.	Dcolali - - -	No - -	No - -	No.	
—	Nagpur District -	Not stated -  Definite information is being called for.	No - -	No - -	As a rule prostitutes live in the same quarter of the bazzars, but of their own free will, and are subject to no control so long as they behave themselves. If a woman is said to have spread the disease, she is examined, but is at liberty to refuse, provided she leaves cantonments. Men are not ordered to denounce them. The General Officer Commanding submits that the absence of control over these women is a matter for much regret, and the source of much harm to the soldiers.
—	Deesa District -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The Cantonment Magistrate at Deesa states that on two or three occasions women have actually applied to him to be registered, but their request has not been granted.
—	Sind District -	No - -	No - -	No.	
—	Aden District -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The General Officer Commanding states that the implied allegation of interference is derived from the fact that the women generally live in one quarter of the town; he points out that any one with a knowledge of Oriental habits must be aware that particular races, castes, sects, and even trades invariably live together, and that these people would themselves be the first to resent the intrusion of others such as the women among them. Such implications, he adds, show how carelessly the allegations have been made, and how untenable they are, for it proves that the person making them took no trouble to pay any heed to innate customs of the country, but by his misguided zeal has made those very habits, which the people cling to and respect, the subject of his allegation against responsible officers.
—	Poona District	No - -	No - -	No.	
—	Mhow District.				
—	Mhow - - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The police are not employed in the detection of contagious disease.



Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—*continued.*

Reports received with	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised expulsion is exercised.	REMARKS.
—	Neemuch - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	Prostitutes are not confined to any place, but live where they please in the bazar. Men when admitted into hospital are not sent to pick out the women from whom they contracted the disease; no action is taken against the women on suspicion, and the police are not employed to bring women to hospital.
—	Nasirabad - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	As regards Dr. Huntley's allegations, the officer Commanding Nasirabad states:— (a) The building formerly used as a lock hospital has been utilised as a cantonment hospital simply as a matter of economy. (b) An English surgeon is in charge on a monthly salary, but this is for contagious diseases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely for venereal. (c) With regard to the weekly visit, the attendance of the prostitutes being purely voluntary, the medical officer has to fix a day to enable him to get through his other medical duties. (d) No special quarter in the bazar is set aside for the compulsory residence of prostitutes, nor are there fixed hours for men to visit them. (e) Soldiers are sent to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease, but then the procedure laid down in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890 is strictly followed. (f) The effect of ejecting the prostitutes from cantonment is simply that they stay with their friends until cured, and spread no more disease than if they remained unchecked in cantonments. (g) As regards men being encouraged in vice by the belief that these examinations of prostitutes form a safeguard to themselves, it is notorious that soldiers do not seek registered prostitutes, but village and labouring women, classes exempt from interference.
Madras Army No. 129-B, dated 15th February 1892.	Madras Presidency -	No - -	No -	No - -	Prostitutes reside where they please, and no particular quarter is set apart for them.

From Major General Viscount *Frankfort De Montmorency*, Commanding Presidency District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 104, dated Fort William, 9th December 1891).

In reply to your memo. No. 5370-B, dated 31st October 1891, enclosing Government of India No. 4123-D, I have the honour to inform you that I have made careful inquiries and have to report that the military authorities of cantonments in the Presidency District are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have received the assurance of the Officers Commanding Barrackpore and Dum Dum that they are not interfering either directly or indirectly with women in the bazars. As far as the garrison of Calcutta is concerned, I can state myself that there is no sort of recognition of prostitutes and no more interference with them than in any town in England. "Official purveying for immorality" most certainly does not exist in the Presidency District command.

From Brigadier General *A. A. Kinloch*, Commanding Allahabad District to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 88-C-D, dated Allahabad, the 14th November 1891).

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in your confidential memo., Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, No. 5371-B of 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries regarding the working of the rules of the Cantonment Act relating to contagious diseases in the several stations in this command, viz., Allahabad, Dinapore and Benares; and I am perfectly satisfied that the powers conferred by the Act are in no way exceeded. I can also state that nothing is done in any of these cantonments which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality."

From Brigadier General *H. D. Barnard*, Commanding Nerbudda District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 74-C-D, dated Jubbulpore, 3rd November 1891).

In the district under my command the military authorities keep strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have no reason to believe, and I know that no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is exercised.

It is absolutely untrue that anything which can be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Brigadier General *G. De C. Morton*, Commanding Bundelkhand District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 67, dated Agra, 23rd November 1891).

In compliance with your No. 5373-B—Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that, after making confidential and careful inquiries from the cantonment authorities of Agra, Jhansi, and Nowgong—

(1.) The military authorities of those cantonments are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State;

(2.) There is no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to;

(3.) It is not true that anything which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

2. At Sipri, where there is a company of British infantry, there is no cantonment hospital, but certain of the women present themselves voluntarily at the station hospital for examination and treatment, no compulsion being enforced.

3. From the personal knowledge I have of the Agra Cantonment Hospital, I may add that the British soldiers rarely consort with the women who live in cantonments and who attend the cantonment hospital, so that more than one petition has come under my notice from these women complaining that they were not sufficiently patronised by the soldiers and asking that measures might be taken to better their trade. To these petitioning replies have invariably been made that if the women find their profession unremunerative in cantonments they are at perfect liberty to go elsewhere and ply their trade. This will show that neither compulsion nor official purveying are in any way countenanced.

4. I may also add that under the able and zealous charge of Surgeon Green, Indian Medical Service, the cantonment hospital at Agra has been of immense benefit to the poorer classes of natives residing in cantonments. A glance at the accompanying return will show the large number of patients who are treated gratuitously for other than venereal diseases.



STATEMENT Showing the Diseases of the In-door and Out-door Patients Treated in the Cantonment Hospital during the Month of October 1891.

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B. McCreery, Surgeon-Captain,  
In Medical Charge Cantonment Hospital, Agra.

Agra, 1<sup>st</sup> Nov. 1891.

From Lieut.-General *Æ. Perkins*, c.b., r.e., Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 184-C-L,—“Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals,” dated Lucknow, 1 December 1891).

IN reply to Government of India, No. 4123-D (strictly confidential), dated Simla, 21st October 1891, and forwarded under your Strictly Confidential No. 5374-B of the 31st October 1891, I can only repeat what I have already stated in the report on the subject submitted to you in my No. 100-C-L dated 26th November 1890, viz., that in this command all orders and instructions on the subject have been and are being obeyed.

2. I have, however, again made careful inquiry on the points on which you desire a report, and find that the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly adhered to, and neither as regards prostitutes or others is any compulsion resorted to in excess of that which is authorised.

3. Such a thing as official purveying for immorality had not been heard of till receipt of the papers forwarded with your endorsement already quoted: there is no such thing done.

4. But I may add that I am at the present moment confronted by a terrible increase of venereal, which is a distressing circumstance.

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From Brigadier General *R. C. Low*, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 249-D,—“Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals,” dated Bareilly, 21 November 1891).

I HAVE the honour to forward reports from the officers commanding Bareilly, Shahjehanpur and Ranikhet, with reference to the working of the Cantonment Act in those stations.

I am forwarding these to save time. Further reports will be forwarded from Moradabad and Naini Tal, but in neither of these stations has any compulsion been used to make women attend hospital, nor has there been anything done which could be in any way construed into “official purveying for immorality.”

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From Major *Henry Hare*, 2nd Battalion, Royal Munster Fusiliers, Commanding at Shahjehanpur, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rohilkhand District,—(dated Shahjehanpur, 11 November 1891).

WITH reference to Sanitary Circular marked “Strictly Confidential” from the Military Department of the Government of India, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, to the Quartermaster General in India, forwarded by you to me for report, I would beg to state, for the information of the General Officer Commanding Rohilkhand district, that, in accordance with instructions contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of same, I have caused careful and confidential inquiries to be made, and find that the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly adhered to at Shahjehanpur, and that no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to. Nothing which can be described as “official purveying for immorality” is countenanced. Confidential circular above quoted passed to officer commanding Ranikhet this day.

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#### REPORT by the Cantonment Magistrate of Bareilly.

ON receipt of orders on the subject, the lock hospital in the Bareilly cantonment was at once closed, and the regulations regarding compulsory examination were cancelled.

The building itself was reconstructed, and separate wards, including cholera and small-pox wards, were built. In these, patients suffering from all sorts of diseases are treated, and consist of all classes. Out-door patients also attend, and prostitutes are received entirely at their own request for examination or treatment. The number availing themselves of this is not a large one, and no pressure whatever is put upon these women.

The front wall of the hospital has been pulled down, fruit trees planted, and the place opened out, so that the premises resemble any ordinary hospital.

Formerly a part of the sudder bazar was specially reserved for prostitutes, who used to live in houses and compounds enclosed by walls. These walls have been demolished and the place is now similar to any other part of the bazar. Any one can live there that wishes and no control whatever is exercised.

In no single instance in Bareilly cantonments have the rules regarding the forcible ejection of women been acted upon, nor has any punishment been inflicted or needed. The question of official purveying for immorality is so disgustingly offensive that I will not further allude to it, and merely say it does not exist in Bareilly.

(signed) *R. Annexley*, Major,  
Cantonment Magistrate.

Bareilly, 4th November 1891.

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#### REPORT on Cantonment Act Rules for Cantonment Hospitals.

WITH regard to paragraph 1 of Government of India, Military Department No. 4123-D, to Quartermaster General in India, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report that no women have been brought up before me by the medical officer in charge of the cantonment hospital under Rule 4 therein marginally noted, nor has any order been made for any prostitute to remove from the cantonments.

2. In reference to paragraph 2 of the same letter no “official,” demi-official, or private “purveying for immorality” has taken place in this cantonment, nor has there been any request from any military authority for aid in such respect.



3. On the receipt of the rules for regulation of cantonment hospitals, it was proclaimed by beat of drum in the bazar and to a deputation of prostitutes in court that no restriction on their calling was now legal, and that, subject to the application of the medical officer in charge, cantonment hospital, mentioned in rule 3, no prostitute need attend for examination. How far women may have voluntarily attended is unknown to me, and their numbers can be obtained probably from the medical officer in charge, cantonment hospital. The number of prostitutes plying their profession here even is unknown to me, but probably amounts to hundreds, say two hundred. Whether a diminution in the number of venereal cases among troops has or has not occurred since the introduction of the new regulations can be ascertained from the medical officer's returns.

4. I may answer briefly the questions addressed by the Free Church of Scotland to the missionaries and ministers of India in page 2 :—

I.—In the sudder bazar, Ranikhet, the women formerly resided in all parts of the bazar (in the regimental bazars which are under the control of the various commanding officers it is believed no women openly professing prostitution are allowed to reside). During the past winter, a season when few prostitutes remain up here owing to the withdrawal of all the garrison except one company, the respectable residents of the bazar, such as tradespeople, shopkeepers, clerks in various offices, &c., complained of this as an intolerable nuisance, alleging that these women created a disturbance at all hours, endeavouring to attract soldiers into their houses, and also that soldiers more or less intoxicated, knowing that such women lived all over the bazar, endeavoured to enter the houses of such residents in search of prostitutes. As these respectable residents were entitled to consideration, rather less than half the bazar, that is the portion mainly occupied by shops and private residences, was closed to the prostitutes; the only result of such order so far is that prostitutes have endeavoured by various pretences to get a foot-hold in this closed portion under the impression that such residence would give them a status of respectability and attract more customers. After allotting them their portion of the bazar for residence no further control whatever has been exercised over them.

II.—The rule allowing action to be taken against prostitutes on suspicion has not been worked so far as I know; at any rate no woman has been brought up before me on complaint. Whether the men have been ordered to denounce them can be ascertained from commanding officers. There are no periodical compulsory examinations so far as I know. The number attending voluntarily can be ascertained from the medical officer in charge. I have no information whatever.

III.—No woman having been ejected I cannot say what the practical effect of ejection is. I, however, imagine that such ejection would practically result in their moving to the next big bazar.

IV.—No demand has been made for women for a regiment.

V.—I cannot say whether women feel themselves under compulsion or not. I have heard nothing on the subject. After the proclamation above referred to, informing them of the new regulations, I cannot understand how they could feel themselves under compulsion or licensed in any form.

5. Prostitutes in India are generally born in that "caste," both Hindus and Mussulmans; that is, their mothers have been prostitutes before them for generations. They feel no shame about this; they are never recruited from seduced girls as in England, or among European nationalities. It is their trade as much as a carpenter's is his. If a girl from among the non-prostitute classes is seduced she does not become a prostitute. Her offence among the lower classes is thought little of, and is condoned after some domestic punishment. Many of the young women of the trading classes have lovers, but they do not promiscuously cohabit with men. They are not, and never have been, affected by lock hospital regulations. A prostitute sometimes marries, but such marriages are generally with male descendants of prostitutes, seldom outside this (their own) class. Marriage does not necessarily entail their forsaking prostitution. A few women this season have informed me of their intention of marrying. I have generally found that this has been a pretence to get into the forbidden and closed portion of the bazar, and that their so-called husbands are men who have been living in their quarters as bullies and hangers-on. They have been uniformly told that their marriage was their private concern; that if they can show they have any means of livelihood outside prostitution they can live in the closed portion of the bazar, but any return to prostitution entailed a return to the portion of the bazar assigned to prostitutes. No woman would promise to fulfil this condition, i.e., abstention from prostitution.

6. As long as sexual differences exist so long will prostitution exist, and the complete abolition of all control, which the Free Church of Scotland and similar reformers desire, would be the most efficient means of attracting women to the ranks of prostitution in European countries. Out here, as above explained, it is a caste, and control neither adds to nor diminishes its numbers, nor does it beneficially or injuriously affect the morals of its members. It may cause dissatisfaction as tending to curtail their freedom; but so do all laws have a repressive action on the criminal classes, which, however, has never been found a satisfactory reason for their abolition.

(signed) *W. Plowden*, Cantonment Magistrate.

Ranikhet, 14 November 1891.

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From Colonel *F. Gormin*, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster General of India—  
(No. 261-D, "Sanitary,"—dated Bareilly, the 12th December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to forward reports from the Officers Commanding Muradabad and Naini Tal in continuation of my No. 249-D, dated 21st November 1889.

From Major *Croker*, Commandant, Naini Tal, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Bareilly,—(dated Naini Tal, the 8th December 1891).

In reply to No. 5375-B, Office of Quartermaster General in India, Simla, 31st October 1891, marked strictly confidential, I have the honour to state that in the Naini Tal Cantonment the rules referred to are strictly adhered to and no compulsion whatever is resorted to and no inducement is offered to prostitutes.

There is a cantonment hospital in Naini Tal where women are treated who voluntarily present themselves.

I may mention that these women, generally two or three per month, come from the Naini Tal bazar and not from cantonment. No immoral women are allowed to reside within the limits of cantonments, their chief habitation, known as the Potato Fields, close to cantonments, is placed out of bounds for the British soldier.

These women referred to are allowed to live in cantonments, and stated that if allowed to do so they would submit themselves to medical inspection, which request was not granted.

There has been no return of prostitutes to the cantonment, therefore no fine or punishment has been inflicted.

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From Major *A. R. Henneel*, 1st Battalion, Hampshire Regiment, Commanding Moradabad, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Bareilly,—(dated Moradabad, the 7th December 1891).

In reply to confidential communication No. 4123-D, Government of India, Military Department, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report that there is only one cantonment hospital at this station for the use of natives suffering from diseases of any kind, and those suffering from venereal are treated similarly to those suffering from any other disease.

With reference to questions marked A—

1. Prostitutes are not confined in certain quarters and are not subject to control.
2. No action whatever is taken against women on suspicion of illness or otherwise; men are not ordered to denounce them, neither are periodical examinations held.
3. No women have been ejected from cantonments during the period of my command.
4. There is no demand for a certain number of women for the detachment, nor is there any official purveying for immorality.
5. There being no compulsion whatever used, the women about here cannot feel under any compulsion whatsoever, neither can they look on their calling as licensed.

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From Major General *Sir J. Hudson*, Commanding Meerut District, to Quartermaster General in India—(No. 160-C, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,"—dated Meerut, 2 December 1891).

In reply to your No. 5376-B, dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to state that I have personally communicated with those officers who are most qualified to know the truth as to the actual state of the cantonment hospital at this station and to the way in which it is conducted, and I have to report as follows:—

2. With reference to paragraph 1 of the letter from the Government of India, Military Department, to your address, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to state that the rules set forward in the Indian Cantonment Act are strictly observed in this cantonment, and that they are in no way exceeded.

3. I am able to state, having perused the allegations of Dr. Huntley as to the Nasirabad Cantonment, that nothing that can be described as official purveying for immorality is carried on here.

4. With regard to the five specific queries set forward in Mr. John Dymock's letter, I have to report as follows:—

- (1) The prostitutes are confined to a certain quarter of the bazar. This is solely for the convenience of the inhabitants, who would object and have objected, whenever a prostitute has lived in any other respectable quarter. This has always been the case here, and seems to me nothing more than is done in every town in Europe or elsewhere, where the presence of a prostitute in a street inhabited by well-ordered people would not be allowed for a moment. The quarter to which they are confined is not in the regimental bazars.

The prostitutes are not under any control whatever, beyond what is exercised over every inhabitant in the bazar.

- (2) There is no rule allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion. The men have, in no instance, been asked to denounce them. The women are invited once a week to attend at the hospital on a certain day to submit themselves for examination. This is merely for the convenience of all parties. There is no registration or compulsion whatever.

- (3) There has been but one case of ejection from the cantonment. A woman voluntarily came to the hospital infected with the disease. She was treated there, but before her recovery, she demanded to leave the hospital. She was permitted to do so, and her condition was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, who ordered her removal from cantonments. She was subsequently found to have followed the troops to the neighbourhood of the camp at Pur.

- (4) Nothing of this sort is carried on at Meerut.

- (5) As far as is known, the women can have no grounds whatever for feeling themselves under compulsion, or for looking upon their calling as licensed.



5. With reference to a further point in query 5, page 3, of the printed correspondence, I have further the honour to say that the quarter set aside for the residence of the prostitutes in the bazar is nowhere near the quarters of the European cavalry, infantry, or artillery, and that no time is set apart for the men visiting them.

6. With regard to the other stations in this district, I may add that on the occasion of my visits, I make a point of personally inquiring whether the Cantonment Act and rules enjoined by the Secretary of State for India are strictly complied with, and from the results I feel convinced that they are. There is no cantonment hospital at Delhi.

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From Brigadier General *G. T. Pretymann*, Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 11,—dated Umballa, 14 November 1891).

In reply to your No. 5377-B, dated 31st October 1891, forwarding Government of India, Military Department letter, No. 4123-D, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that after careful and confidential inquiries on the matters therein noted, it appears that the terms of the Cantonment Act have been adhered to in this cantonment, and there is no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is resorted to.

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From Lieutenant General Sir *Hugh Gough*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 537-C,—dated Meean Meer, 17 November 1891).

In reply to your No. 5378-B, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital," marked "Strictly Confidential," and dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, from all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

I have no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules, is anywhere resorted to.

I can state definitely that it is not true that anything which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced in any of the cantonments under my command.

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From Major General *W. K. Elles*, Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 11-C, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital,"—dated Rawal Pindi, 19 January 1892).

In reply to your strictly confidential letter No. 5379-B, dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to state that I have made careful and confidential inquiries from all commanding officers in this command, and I append their answers written after perusal by each of all the documents attached to your letter under reply. I consider it necessary to place you in possession of these reports as it would be impossible for me to convey in a single report the exact tenour of the whole.

2. In regard to the points on which information is more especially required by the Government of India, I beg to record my own opinion as follows :—

- (1) The military authorities of this district are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.
- (2) Compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is not resorted to.
- (3) There is nothing which can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality.

3. The only instance I know as having occurred to my knowledge which might, to any possibility, be considered to come under head (2) is the following : It came to my knowledge last August by rumour that at an out-station one commanding officer had ordered his men to point out women from whom they had contracted disease, and on their failing to do so, had punished them with a regimental entry. The practice had ceased before I became aware of it, but the effect remained. I took an early opportunity of visiting the station and of inquiring personally into the matter. I found that some five or six men had been so punished. I caused the regimental entries to be erased.

4. With reference to the remarks of Lieutenant Colonel Kay, 2nd Dragoon Guards, I agree with that officer in considering that the practice he refers to does not constitute an official purveying for immorality.

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From Lieutenant Colonel *F. C. L. Kay*, Commanding 2nd Dragoon Guards, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 86-A-C,—dated Sialkot, 2 January 1892).

In reply to Government of India, Military Department letter No. 4133-D, dated Simla, the 21st October 1891, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that prostitutes do reside in the regimental bazar. They come and go of their own free will and are subject to no supervision whatever, except that while residing there they agree to be medically examined periodically. This they willingly agree to ; there is no compulsion, and I find that during the last six months, the time the women have resided in the bazar, the cases of venereal disease have considerably decreased in the regiment, and further, I do not consider the medical inspection "an official purveying for immorality."

From Major *W. A. F. Frere*, Commanding Murree Depôt, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi, District—(No. 31-C, "Sanitary,"—dated Murree, 26 December 1891).

With reference to your No. 651-C, dated 23rd November, I have the honour to report that—

1. The military authorities at this station are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.
  2. There is no reason whatever to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to.
  3. There is absolutely nothing countenanced which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality."
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From Captain *J. Thackeray*, R.A., Commanding at Campbellpore, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Campbellpore, 26 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to reply to the questions contained in 651-C, as follows :—

1. The cantonment hospital was opened on the 7th February 1891.
  2. Its operations have been strictly within the limits of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State.
  3. No compulsion of any kind has been found necessary.
  4. There has been no such thing as "purveying" for immorality.
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From Captain *Percy Westmorland*, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, Commanding at Attock, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated 23 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to report as called for by Military Department letter No. 4123-D of the 21st October 1891, as follows :

That the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly kept. That there is no compulsion resorted to in excess of that which is authorised under the rules.

That no "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

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From Major *Keith Turnour*, Commanding 1st Battalion, the King's Royal Rifle Corps, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi,—(dated 18 December 1891).

With reference to your Memorandum No. 651-C, dated 23rd November 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. The prostitutes are at present living in tents which are pitched in line with others in the bazar ; they are not confined to certain quarters. They are subject to no control other than the remaining inhabitants of the bazar.
  2. I have had no case of suspicion of illness. The men are not ordered to denounce women. There are no periodical examinations.
  3. I have had no cases of ejection from cantonment.
  4. There is no such thing as a demand for a certain number of women, nor any purveying for immorality.
  5. The women are under no compulsion, and as far as I know do not look on their calling as licensed.
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From Lieutenant Colonel *H. E. Grant*, Commanding 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, to Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(No. 194-C,—"Sanitary," dated 18 December 1891).

With reference to your Memorandum No. 651-C, dated 23 November 1891, and enclosures, I have the honour to report, in reply to the inquiries contained in letter No. 4123-D from the Military Department, dated Simla, 21 October 1891 :—

1. The battalion under my command keeps strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State.
  2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised.
  3. There is no official purveying for immorality.
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From Lieutenant Colonel *Lloyd Price*, Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 17 December 1891).

In reply to your No. 611-C, dated 25th November 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. That I am keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules of the Secretary of State.
2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules resorted to.
3. There is no official purveying for immorality countenanced by me.

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From Major *J. S. Baldock*, Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, to the Station Staff Officer, Rawal Pindi,—(No. 12 C, dated Rawal Pindi, 2 December 1891).

With reference to Assistant Adjutant General's No. 651-C (Confidential), dated 25th November 1891, I have the honour to forward herewith reports from the Officers Commanding 60th Field Battery and No. 14 Company, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery.

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From Major *W. H. Frith*, Commanding 60th Field Battery, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 1 December 1891).

I have the honour to report with reference to the inquiries contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Government of India's No. 4123-D, that :—

- (1.) *As far as I know* the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State ;
- (2.) *I have no reason to believe* that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to ;

- (3.) "Official purveying for immorality" is not countenanced.

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From Major *J. S. Baldock*, Commanding No. 14 Company, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 8 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to report with reference to Government of India's No. 4123-D, that there is no bazar connected with the fort Rawal Pindi in which my company is quartered. I am, therefore, unable to make the report called for.

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From Lieutenant Colonel *J. Keith*, Commanding Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 8 December 1891).

In accordance with your Minute No. 651-C, "Sanitary," I have the honour to forward the reports called for from the Officer Commanding, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery.

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From Major *Bowles*, R.A., Commanding No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills,—(dated West Ridge, 4 December 1891).

In reply to confidential memo. No. 651-C, dated 23 November 1891, from Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. There are no special arrangements made in the battery under my command for the supply of prostitutes for the men.
2. There is certainly nothing that can be described as official purveying for immorality.

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From Major *J. Dacres Cunningham*, Commanding No. 3 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Acting Adjutant, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, West Ridge,—(dated West Ridge, Rawal Pindi, 4 December 1891).

With reference to No. 651-C., from Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, dated 23rd November 1891, and your memo. forwarding the same, I have the honour to state that :—

1. In my battery all matters are kept strictly under the terms of the Cantonment Act ;
2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules resorted to.
3. That "official purveying for immorality" is not countenanced.

From Captain *M. F. Fegen*, Royal Artillery, Commanding No. 1 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills—(No. 31 C., dated Rawal Pindi, 7 December 1891.)

With reference to No. 4123-D, Government of India, Military Department, forwarded under cover of Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, No. 651-C, I have the honour to report :—

1. That the cantonment rules therein referred to are strictly kept.
2. That compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is not resorted to.
3. That nothing which can be fairly described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Major *F. S. Dimond*, Commanding 3rd Prince of Wales's Dragoon Guards, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District—(No. 123-C., dated 15 December 1891.)

With reference to your letter, No. 651-C., and in answer to letter No. 4123-D. of the Secretary to the Government of India, I have the honour to state :—

1. That I have made careful and confidential inquiries on the subject.
2. That the regiment under my command has kept strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State with regard to venereal disease.
3. That no compulsion has taken place.
4. That no "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Colonel *R. W. Studdy*, Commanding 2nd Battalion, Manchester Regiment, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District—(No. 28-A., dated Sialkot, 5 January 1892.)

In reply to memo. No. 651-C., dated 23rd November 1891, forwarding Military Department letter No. 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. That so far as the battalion under my command is concerned, the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are not, nor have they been, in any way infringed.
2. No compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is or has been resorted to.
3. There is a quarter in the bazar of the battalion under my command available for women of the class referred to; but they come and go as they please. The property in which they reside neither belongs to the State nor to the battalion. They have the same freedom and rights as other residents, and are in no way interfered with regimentally; there is nothing in existence which can be described as official purveying for immorality.

From Major *E. Blaksley*, Commanding "H" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, to the Station Staff Officer, Sialkot—(dated Sialkot, 29 December 1891).

With reference to Government of India letter No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, I have the honor to report that no prostitutes are permitted to reside in the Royal Horse Artillery bazar attached to the battery under my command, as there are no prostitutes.

1. The terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are in no way evaded or infringed.
2. There is no compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules.
3. There is no official purveying for immorality.

From Brigadier General *F. J. Keen*, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 463-C-R, dated Peshawar, 19 December 1891).

With reference to letter No. 4123-D, from the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India, bearing date 21st October 1891, and accompanying correspondence, I have the honour to report that as regards the cantonment of Peshawar, the rules approved by the Secretary of State for India are strictly observed. Women are not compelled to go to the cantonment hospital established under these rules.

Prostitutes of the sudder bazaar are treated in no way different to any other residents, and there is nothing to prohibit a woman of that class renting a house in the bazar. I do not consider the fact of prostitutes being there can be termed "official purveying for immorality." On the receipt of the Quartermaster General's circular memo. No. 3, dated Simla, 12th May 1888, the order regarding the removal of prostitutes from



regimental bazars was enforced, but there is no doubt these women manage to creep back from time to time, and officers commanding regiments do not all appear to know that the residence of these women is absolutely forbidden, and therefore do not exclude them rigorously. I can, however, say now that the provisions of the circular are strictly carried out.

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From Major General Sir *George S. White*, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., V.C., Commanding Quetta District, to Quartermaster General in India—(No. 5242-B, dated Quetta, 18th December 1891).

In reply to your endorsement No. 5381-B,—“*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital*,” dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that there is no hospital within Quetta cantonments for the treatment of women for contagious disease, and that there is no “official purveying for immorality” within the limits of my command.

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From the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 10-104-356 dated Poona, 27 January 1892).

In acknowledging receipt of your No. 5382, dated 31st October last, I have the honour to state, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, that confidential enquiries have been instituted on the points raised by the Government of India, in connection with the working of cantonment hospitals. The result of these inquiries will be found in the accompanying reports which have been received from General Officers Commanding districts in this presidency.

2. Beyond stating that strict instructions have always been given that under no circumstances is any compulsion to be used in the examination of patients attending for treatment at the cantonment hospitals, I am unable to give any further information than what is embodied in the reports referred to above.

3. The delay in submitting these reports is much regretted, but it was unavoidable, as special references had to be made about Nasirabad, and the allegations of Dr. Huntley.

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From Lieutenant-Colonel *C. E. Hussey*, Commanding Deolali Depot, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Bombay, District—(No. 13-1891, dated Deolali, 13 December 1891).

In compliance with your confidential No. 5752 of 12th instant, I have the honour to report—

1. That the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State have been most strictly adhered to and there has been no compulsion of any sort in excess of that authorised by the rules quoted in the enclosed correspondence.

2. There has been no “official purveying for immorality” countenanced in this cantonment.

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No. 579.

FORWARDED to the Adjutant General. This is the only cantonment in this command affected with reference to your No. 539-T of 10th December 1891.

Bombay, 14th December 1891. (signed) *W. T. Budgen*,  
Brigadier General commanding Bombay District.

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No. 11483.

TRANSFERRED to Quartermaster General.

26th December 1891. (signed) *W. F. Gatacre*, Brigadier General, Adjutant General.

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From Brigadier General *J. Gatacre* Commanding Nagpore District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army, Poona—No. 7382, dated Kamptee, 22nd December 1891.

In accordance with instructions contained in your No. 539-T, dated 10th instant, I have the honour to state that I called for reports on the points under reference from all stations under my command and also from the Deputy Surgeon General, Nagpur District, and Central India Regiments and the Cantonment Magistrate, Kamptee, and having carefully considered the reports of all these officers, beg to submit my own report as under. With reference to the questions under the heading “A”—

1st.—Prostitutes as a rule live in the same quarter of the bazars, but entirely of their own free will, as it is essential to their profession that their place of dwelling should be known; they are, however, perfectly at liberty to live where they like, and are subject to no control whatsoever, so long as they behave themselves properly.

2nd.—If by chance a woman is said to have spread disease she is reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and then as a precaution against the spread of the disease, she is examined. She is, however, perfectly at liberty to refuse to be examined provided she leaves cantonments. The men are not ordered to denounce them, and very seldom do so.

3rd.—Cases of ejection from cantonments very seldom occur, as in only very few cases do the women object to the inspection, and those that are ejected almost invariably return when recovered.

4th.—There is absolutely nothing takes place in this district which could in any way come under the term of "official purveying for immorality."

5th.—The women are under absolutely no compulsion, and they know full well that under the present Cantonment Act no compulsion can be exercised over them.

In conclusion, I would submit that this absence of control over these women is a matter for much regret and the cause of great harm to the soldiers.

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From Captain *A. Fordyce*, Cantonment Magistrate, Camp Deesa, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Deesa District—(dated Camp Deesa, 15 December 1891).

In reply to your memorandum No. D-9—5554, of the 14th instant, I have the honour to report that neither registration of prostitutes, nor their compulsory attendance at hospital and examination is carried out in this cantonment, nor has any such case come to my notice during my tenure of office here.

On two or three occasions women have actually applied to me to be registered, but have been informed their request cannot be granted.

As far as I know, there is absolutely nothing done in this cantonment to evade the spirit of the present rule, and, so far as the women are concerned, it remains a purely voluntary act on their part.

I am unaware of any official purveying of immorality being carried on in this cantonment.

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From Surgeon *G. S. Thomson*, I.M.S., in charge Cantonment Hospital, Deesa, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Deesa—(dated Deesa Camp, 14 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to report in reply to yours No. D-9—1551 of 14th instant, and the accompanying correspondence herewith returned; and for the information of the General Officer Commanding that :—

1. The working of the cantonment hospital is strictly confined to examining and treating patients, and reporting cases to the Cantonment Magistrate for breach of the rules regulating the hospital under the Cantonment Act of 1889.

2. Any women suffering from infectious or contagious disorders are offered treatment in the hospital and discharged when cured; or are reported for non-compliance with the rules in force in such cases, no compulsion being resorted to.

3. There is no such thing as "official purveying to immorality" countenanced in any degree, as the rules approved by the Secretary of State are being rigidly adhered to.

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From Captain *A. L. Hughes*, Cantonment Magistrate, Ahmedabad, to the Station Staff Officer, Ahmedabad (dated 21 December 1891).

In reply to your memorandum No. 2553 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to report that the powers granted in paragraphs 4 and 5 of General Order by the Government of India, No. 617, dated 4th July 1890, for the treatment of persons suffering from contagious diseases have in no single case been exceeded in this cantonment.

The provisions of that order are closely observed here, and I am quite convinced that no compulsion of an unauthorised nature is resorted to in this cantonment.

During the five months I have acted as Cantonment Magistrate, I have found it necessary to expel two women only from cantonment, and I have not once had occasion to punish any offence under paragraph 5.

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From Surgeon Major *K. S. Hallis*, Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital, Ahmedabad, to the Station Staff Officer, Ahmedabad—(No. 31, dated Ahmedabad, 24 December 1891).

In returning the accompanying strictly confidential correspondence conveyed to me under your No. 2553 of 17th instant, I have the honour to state that the terms of the Cantonment Act are strictly adhered to, and in no instance has compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules ever been exceeded.

I further beg to state that anything which may be termed "official purveying to immorality" has not been, and is not, tolerated in this cantonment.



From Brigadier General *G. E. Beville*, Commanding Deesa District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army—(No. 5755, dated Deesa, 26 December 1891).

SUBMITTED with reference to your No. 539-T, dated 10th instant.

2. The provisions of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are most strictly adhered to in this district, and no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the latter rules is resorted to.

3. I can most positively state that no "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced by any one in this district.

From Brigadier General *Boyce Combe*, Commanding Sind District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay (No. 3338, dated Karachi, Sind, 26 December, 1891).

In compliance with the instructions contained in your letter No. 539-T, dated 10th instant, I have the honour to report that I have made careful inquiry as to the manner in which the rules regulating cantonment hospitals are now worked, and I am fully satisfied that all the authorities concerned are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State, that the spirit of these rules is in no way evaded, and that no compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is ever resorted to, whilst there is certainly nothing which can in any way be described as official *purveying for immorality*.

2. No Women are ever ordered to attend hospital for examination, until, or unless the officer in medical charge is satisfied from the nature and source of the report made to him that there is good and sufficient reason to suspect the women of being diseased.

3. The medical examination is in all cases made by the British medical officer himself in the presence of a hospital assistant and the matron, and a regular record is kept of all such examined with the result.

4. In case of a woman objecting to attend hospital for examination, the certificate of any respectable practitioner is accepted.

5. There has never been any cause to suspect that any woman has been maliciously reported on, or that there has been any attempt at blackmail.

From Brigadier General *John Jopp*, Commanding Aden District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 19-5-31, dated Aden, 4 January 1892).

WITH reference to your strictly confidential letter No. 539-T, dated 10th December 1891, I have the honour to forward letter No. 63 of 1891 of the 31st ultimo from the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Aden, and to inform you that I concur in the statements he has made.

2. In concert with the Cantonment Magistrate, Aden, and the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Aden, I have made a very careful enquiry on the subject, the result of which has satisfied me that the statements as to the encouragement and spread of vice are absolutely unfounded.

3. The implied allegation of interference derived from the fact that the women generally live in particular localities in the town, is puerile, since every one who has any knowledge whatever of Oriental habits must be aware that particular races, castes, sects, and even trades invariably live together, and that in every town there is for example a Jews' quarter, a Hindu quarter, a sweepers' quarter, a tinsmiths' quarter, &c., &c., and that these people would themselves be the first to resent the intrusion of others such as these women among them.

4. Such an implication as this shows clearly how carelessly the allegations have been made, and how untenable they are; for it proves that the person making them did not even take the trouble to pay any heed to innate customs of the country which must be known to every one; but in his misguided zeal has made those very habits, which the people cling to most tenaciously and which are respected by all classes, the subject of his allegations against responsible officers.

From Surgeon *J. W. T. Anderson*, F.R.C.S., in medical charge, Cantonment Hospital, Aden, to the Cantonment Magistrate, Aden,—(No. 63, dated 31 December 1891).

WITH reference to 4123-D, Government of India, Military Department (Sanitary), dated Simla, 21st October 1891, with attached memos. from the Quartermaster General, Poona, and Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Aden District, I have the honour to report that—

1. The Cantonment Acts in force in Aden have nothing in common with the old Acts under the lock hospital system, and no compulsion beyond that which is authorised is ever resorted to. The Cantonment Acts are carried out to the letter.

2. In no sense is there any official purveying for immorality. Women come or go freely of their accord and are in no way compelled to attend the cantonment hospital for examination. It is only when a person is discovered to be suffering from a contagious disorder that he or she, as the case may be, is ordered to hospital to prevent a further spread of that disease.

3. Not one of the charges made by Dr. Huntley respecting Nasirabad is in any way applicable to this station. No soldier is ever asked officially or otherwise to pick out any woman who is suspected of giving him a contagious disorder, and it is only through civilians who have suffered that any information has ever been received of a person who is spreading contagious disease.

It is true the prostitutes live in a part of the town by themselves, but the same applies to Europeans, Jews, Somalis, bunnias, &c., or by trades to dhobies, garriwallas, jewellers, tinsmiths, coopers, &c. There is no compulsion in this matter, it is simply a case of convenience.

The women are in no sense licensed or under compulsion of any sort whatever. The statements as to the spread and encouragement of vice are false in every sense and could only emanate from a person whose mind was not properly balanced.

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From Major General *R. B. H. Blundell*, Commanding Poona District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 23-C, dated Poona, 9 January 1892).

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Office No. 539-T of the 10th ultimo, I have instituted careful enquiries on the subject of the action taken in the several cantonments in this district with regard to the orders published in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890, and the reports received show very distinctly that the spirit of these orders has been fully appreciated and followed.

2. No compulsion, in excess of that which is authorised, is resorted to.
3. Nothing which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

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From Major General *H. S. Anderson*, Commanding Mhow District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 251, dated Mhow, 22 January 1892).

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 539-T, and accompaniments\*, regarding the Indian Cantonment Act, I have the honour to report as follows :—

\* Herewith returned.

#### *Mhow.*

2. There is no official purveying for immorality. The cantonment hospital is worked within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is no compulsory examination of women, nor are the police employed in the detection of contagious disease. The hospital is conducted solely on voluntary principles except when the provisions of G. G. O. No. 380, paragraph 4, dated 9th July 1890, are put into force.

#### *Neemuch.*

3. The Officer Commanding Neemuch states that everything in connection with the prostitutes in cantonment, and the management of the cantonment hospital, is carried out strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is neither compulsion of any kind, nor official purveying for immorality. The prostitutes are not confined to any place, but live where they please in the bazar. Men, when admitted into hospital, are not sent to pick out the women from whom they contracted the disease, nor is any action taken against the women on suspicion. The medical officer in charge visits the cantonment hospital daily. Policemen are not employed to bring women to hospital.

#### *Nasirabad.*

4. Précis of Officer Commanding Nasirabad's report :—

The authorities at Nasirabad keep strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is no official purveying for immorality, and no compulsion is resorted to "in excess of what is authorised under the rules."

5. As regards Dr. Huntley's allegations, the Officer Commanding Nasirabad states :—

- (a) The building formerly used as a lock hospital has been utilised as a cantonment hospital simply as a matter of economy.
- (b) An English surgeon is in charge, on a monthly salary, but this is for contagious diseases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely for venereal.
- (c) With regard to the weekly visit, the attendance of the prostitutes being purely voluntary, the medical officer has to fix a day to enable him to get through his other medical duties.
- (d) No special quarter in the bazar is set aside for the compulsory residence of prostitutes, nor are there fixed hours for men to visit them.
- (e) Soldiers are sent to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease, but then the procedure laid down in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890 is strictly followed.
- (f) The effect of ejecting the prostitutes from cantonment is simply that they stay with their friends until cured, and spread no more disease than if they remained unchecked in cantonments.



- (g) As regards men being encouraged in vice by the belief that these examinations of prostitutes form a safeguard to themselves, it is notorious that soldiers do not seek registered prostitutes, but village and labouring women, classes exempt from interference.

6. As regards Dr. Huntley himself, the officer commanding Nasirabad states that he is a medical man in missionary employ, and has been in India about four years. He is regarded as a clever doctor, and zealous in his duties.

7. As the Cantonment of Nasirabad is particularly brought to notice in the Government of India No 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, I attach the report of the officer commanding that station in original.

From Colonel *E. Cunningham*, commanding Nasirabad, to the General Officer commanding Mhow District—  
(No. 56-C., dated Nasirabad, 1st January 1892).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of 13th ultimo, forwarding Quarter-master General's memorandum No. 539-F. of 10th idem, with its accompaniments, regarding the Indian Cantonment Act and its rules concerning venereal disease, as carried out at this station.

2. I propose first to deal with the letter of Dr. W. Huntley, of the United Presbyterian Mission dated 6th January 1891, embodied in the memorial to the Viceroy and Governor General of India from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, commenting on each paragraph from No. 3 to No. 9.

3. There is no Lock Hospital at this station. On the abolition of that institution a cantonment hospital was established, to which all forms of contagious disease are admissible for treatment. It is not confined to venereal cases, though any one, man or woman, suffering from that disease, is eligible as a patient, the ailment carrying contagion. That the building formerly used as a lock hospital should have been utilised as a cantonment hospital is merely a matter of economy, and seems to be unobjectionable, if sexes are kept separate.

4. An English surgeon is in charge of the hospital on its new footing, and draws a monthly salary ; but this is for attendance on contagious cases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely of venereal disease, as might be perhaps supposed by Dr. Huntley's use of the word "department."

5. The allusion by Dr. Huntley to the surgeon's "weekly visit" may convey a perfectly erroneous notion as to that officer's duties. I beg, therefore, to state that the attendance of prostitutes being absolutely voluntary, it is necessary, bearing in mind the surgeon's other medical duties, that a day should be fixed. This in no way relieves him from liability to attend daily (if called on) any patients with a contagious disorder. That some women may desire examination is quite conceivable, when one reflects on the nature of venereal ; but many object much, and (it not being now compulsory, except under circumstances noted below) never are examined. As to prostitutes considering that inspection gives their profession a "standing," I cannot find that of the few known ones here any have publicly expressed that opinion, whatever their private view.

6. There is no special quarter now set aside in the bazar for the compulsory residence of prostitutes ; but, as is, I believe, universal in the East, they generally affect one locality, though to be found in all streets. As a matter of fact, however, in Nasirabad the homes of many are not in the "Chucklah," as the locality was called in the days of registration, but in other neighbourhoods, while some have two houses, one in the "Chucklah," the other elsewhere, the owner residing in either at will. No "certain hours" are set apart at this station for soldiers to visit prostitute's quarters, they are free agents in such matters.

7. It is true that when a soldier is found suffering from venereal he is "taken to pick out the woman," who is then sent to the cantonment hospital ; but should she refuse to remain, no compulsion is exercised. She is merely removed from the cantonment, a legal proceeding, or at times, if the nature of the case permit, simply directed to attend at hospital as an out-door patient and warned against exercising her profession. The statement that the women still "consider themselves licensed" seems to me doubtful. So long as tickets were issued by authority they did so ; but the abolition of that system, coupled with freedom of residence, cannot but have removed this impression.

8. Turning now to queries 3 and 4, embodied in the letter addressed by the Rev. J. Dymock, Convener, to certain missionaries and ministers, I beg to remark that the practical effect on prostitutes of ejection from cantonment is generally assumed to be small. From Nasirabad they adjourn to friends or relatives at Ajmere or other neighbouring places, where they remain till cured. They spread no more disease during absence than they would if they remained unchecked in cantonment. As to anything even approaching "official purveying for immorality" nothing of the kind exists. It is also extremely doubtful whether the young soldier, as stated, believes the present system affords him a guard, and so specially consorts with women who seek examination, for it is notorious that much of the venereal is contracted from village women in the fields, and from day labourers, classes exempt from interference.

9. The next paragraph (No. 9) of Dr. Huntley's letter might pass without comment, as it merely advances a theory of his own, for others to accept or reject at pleasure ; but I may remark that his allusion to the effect of the Cantonment Act rules on "officers" clearly shows how superficial is his knowledge of the "avenues of vice" affected by these gentlemen when morally weak ; and as regards privates, my preceding paragraph points to the method they frequently adopt, and it is understood prefer.

10. The foregoing statement will I think sufficiently show that the authorities at Nasirabad are keeping strictly within "the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and that no compulsion in excess of what is allowed is resorted to." Orders may, unknown to authority, be exceeded occasionally by the native police for extortion or other purposes, and from this no one is quite safe in India ; but such proceedings are not tolerated with a view to going behind the Act and rules. It is the opinion of officers of longer residence here than myself, and whose duties give weight to their view, that the system now in vogue has, instead of encouraging, tended greatly to lessen vice for the following reasons :—

- (1) By its placing a certain amount of restraint and inconvenience on prostitution, so that in some cases, sooner than submit thereto, women have abandoned evil courses and become respectable.
- (2) By practically putting an end to private prostitution, at one time very prevalent here amongst the lower female population, and a great source of disease. These women could defy authority, continue their evil conduct, and refuse treatment, some of them being domestic servants in private compounds. The comparative closing of this "avenue of vice," which was at the very doors of officers and soldiers alike, has undoubtedly benefited morality by presenting obstacles to easy indulgence of passion, and thus leading to continence.
11. As regards the bazar, it may not be out of place to mention that the full liberty of residence accorded to prostitutes has drawbacks not applicable to "special quarters," which appear to be objected to.
- (1.) The proximity of a prostitute is an offence to a virtuous neighbour.
- (2.) The open way in which an Oriental prostitute proclaims her profession invites many to vice, and is best confined to a locality.
- (3.) Visible signs of successful vice cannot be hidden from the young of both sexes where scattered residence exists.
- (4.) Youth is less likely to seek vice than to succumb when daily viewing it.
- (5.) Many hesitate to be seen in a disreputable quarter who will turn up side streets.
12. Finally, as regards Dr. Huntley and his antecedents, I have not been able to discover much. He is a medical man in mission employ; has been in India about four years; is regarded as a clever doctor and zealous at his duties, and has also had charge of the cantonment dispensary, where he gave satisfaction. My own personal acquaintance with him is too slight to warrant decided opinion as to his merits and reliability; but I think that several parts of his letter, while arguing earnestness, lack that calmness of more matured experience which inspires confidence, and that his brief residence in India, amidst specially religious surroundings, might reasonably deter any one from at present accepting him as an authority or guide in any matter connected with the country or the British soldier.
- I beg to return the correspondence as forwarded.

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From Lieutenant General the Honourable Sir J. C. DORMER, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, Madras Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 129-B., dated Ootacamund, the 15th February 1892).

I HAVE the honour, in reply to your letter No. 5383-B., dated 31st October 1891, to acquaint you that from careful and confidential inquiries instituted, I am informed by General Officers commanding districts in this command, that :—

- (a) The terms of the Cantonment Act, as noted in Military Department letter No. 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, are strictly adhered to, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are in no way infringed or departed from.
- (b) No sort of compulsion, in excess of that authorised under the rules, is resorted to or permitted.
- (c) Nothing that can, in any way, be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.
2. Cantonment hospitals have already been established in some stations,\* and will be so established in others, on receipt of the sanction of Government, which has been applied for. To these hospitals persons suffering from infectious or contagious diseases are invited to resort for treatment, should they be so inclined.

No manner of compulsion is used to make them attend. Prostitutes reside where they please, and no particular quarter is set apart for them to live in.

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Enclosure No. 45.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of Lansdowne, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreesbush, Stenhouse, N. B., beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and very precise information, has received communications from missionaries and clergymen, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Canton-



ments Act, as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act, or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,  
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreebush, Stonehaven, N. B.  
(signed) *William Macdonald*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 46.

TELEGRAM from the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 17-M, dated Mahableshwar, 10th May 1892).

OFFICER Commanding Nasirabad on further reference distinctly states that no compulsion of any kind is used to enforce hospital attendance. The Cantonment Magistrate and medical officer definitely and precisely say so. A circular is being issued to all General Officers Commanding, once more drawing their attention to the rules and insisting that they shall in no way be strained.

MEMORANDUM from the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 2027-B, dated Simla, 12th May 1892).

SUBMITTED for the information of the Government of India, Military Department.

Enclosure No. 47.

From Major General *E. Stedman*, Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary of the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 2656-B, dated Simla, 9th June 1892).

In continuation of this office No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief to report, for the information of the Government of India, that the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay Armies, and all General Officers Commanding in Bengal (Assam district and Punjab Frontier Force excepted, there being no European troops in those commands) have been asked definitely whether registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under their respective commands. All the above have replied that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under their command.

Enclosure No. 48.

From Major General *E. H. Collen*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 3034-D, dated Simla, 29 June 1892).

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters marginally noted, regarding the observance of  
No. 448-B, Camp, dated 24th March 1892. the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns  
No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892. venereal diseases.  
No. 2656-B, dated 9th June 1892.

2. In reply, I am directed to express the satisfaction of the Government of India at finding that the Commander-in-Chief is upon the whole convinced that the Act and the rules are being duly observed. In one or two instances the action of the local military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary: but the Government of India observe that his Excellency has taken immediate steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders and to insist on the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which have been issued.

3. I am to bring to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief that your circular of 12th May 1888 only forbids the residence of *registered* prostitutes in bazars; but the registration of prostitutes having been forbidden by circular of 6th August 1888, the circular of 12th May, which does not apply to unregistered prostitutes, would not have the effect of prohibiting these latter from residing in the bazars of British cantonments. This point will be made clear by the issue of instructions based on (c) in the following paragraph; but meanwhile it is satisfactory to note that the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay, and all General Officers Commanding troops in Bengal (except in Assam and the Punjab Frontier Force, where there are no European troops) report that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under them.

4. The Government of India desire to lay particular stress on the following points:—

- (a) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.
- (b) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound (by law) to report it to the proper medical authority.
- (c) That on the medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment. But (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.

- (d) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.
- (e) That no *separate* register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious disease; nor any other action tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

5. I am accordingly to request the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to the above effect to all General Officers Commanding districts in Bengal; a copy of this letter will be sent to the Governments of Madras and Bombay for similar action.

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Enclosure No. 49.

From Major General *E. H. H. Colten*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Madras—Bombay, Military Department—(No. 3115-D, dated Simla, 4th July 1892).

I AM directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter\* addressed to the Quartermaster General in India, requesting the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to all General Officers Commanding districts in Bengal, on the subject of the treatment of venereal and other contagious diseases, and the prohibition of registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars.

2. With reference thereto, I am to request that his Excellency the Governor in Council may be moved to cause similar confidential circular memoranda to be issued to all General Officers Commanding districts in Madras—Bombay.

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Enclosure No. 50.

CIRCULAR Memorandum from the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 20, dated Simla, the 11th July 1892).

WITH regard to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules\* issued under the Cantonment Act, the Quartermaster-General is directed to state that the Government of India desire particular stress to be laid on the following points, viz :—

- (a) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.
- (b) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound (by law) to report it to the proper medical authority.
- (c) That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment. *But (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.*
- (d) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.
- (e) That no *separate* register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases, nor any other action to be taken tending to convey the idea that they are any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

2. The Commander-in-Chief accordingly directs that the attention of all station and regimental authorities may be drawn to the above instructions with a request that their observance be most carefully and strictly attended to by all concerned.

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To General Officer Commanding Presidency District.

"	"	"	"	Assam	"
"	"	"	"	Allahabad	"
"	"	"	"	Nerbudda	"
"	"	"	"	Bundelkhand	"
"	"	"	"	Oudh	"
"	"	"	"	Rohilkhand	"
"	"	"	"	Meerut	"
"	"	"	"	Sirhind	"
"	"	"	"	Lahore	"
"	"	"	"	Rawal Pindi	"
"	"	"	"	Peshawar	"
"	"	"	"	Quetta	"
"	"	"	"	Punjab Frontier Force.	"

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No. 3492-B.

## MEMORANDUM.

Simla, 18 July 1892.

SUBMITTED for the information of the Government of India with reference to Military Department No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892.

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

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FORWARDED for information.

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

To the Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India.

„ Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

„ Adjutant-General in India.

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FORWARDED for information.

By order,

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

To the Quartermaster General, Madras Army.

„ „ Bombay „

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EXTRACT Despatch from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 155 (Military), paragraph 3, dated 8 December 1892.

3. I have had under my consideration the correspondence accompanying your Military Despatch No. 134, of 6th September 1892 (Confidential), relative to the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, No. XIII, of 1889. The orders issued by your Government to ensure the strict observance of that Act, and of the rules framed under it, are noted. I should be glad to be informed what replies your Excellency has caused to be made to the representations of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and other bodies on the subject.

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DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 11 (Military), dated 18 January 1893.—Received 13 February 1893.

My Lord,

We have to acknowledge the receipt of paragraph 3 of your Lordship's Military letter No. 155, dated the 8th December 1892 (M-9394), enquiring what replies were sent to the representations of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and other bodies, on the subject of the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, XIII of 1889.

2. In reply, we have the honour to report that all the memorials were acknowledged, but that no replies, intimating our intentions, were sent to the memorialists. We do not see any occasion for making any further communication to the numerous bodies which addressed us.

We have, &c.,  
 (signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*  
*A. E. Miller.*  
*H. Brackenbury.*  
*C. B. Pritchard.*

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TELEGRAM to Viceroy, dated 13 April 1893.

HAVE you any objection to publication, if necessary, House of Commons, your Military Despatch 134, of 6th September, 1892, Cantonment Regulations?

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TELEGRAM to Viceroy, dated 13 April 1893.

WITH reference to paragraph 13, enclosure 50, your Military Despatch No. 134, 6th September last, Cantonment Regulations, what is law requiring any person to report contagious disease?

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DESPATCH from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 50 (Military),  
dated 20 April 1893.

My Lord Marquis,

In continuation of paragraph 5 of Lord Cross's Despatch No. 44, of 27th February 1890, forwarding

copy of correspondence with Mr. James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., I have to inform your Lordship that I have received from these gentlemen the accompanying statement as to the administration of the East India Cantonment Act and Regulations since 1889 in 10 Military Cantonments in India in the year 1892, which, in their opinion, shows that the Act and regulations are not administered in the spirit of the resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, quoted in the margin.\*

\* "That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."

2. I have accordingly thought it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes, and to the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report whether they comply with the above-mentioned Resolution, a copy of which was forwarded to your Government with Lord Cross's Despatch No. 136, of 14th June 1888.

3. The Committee will consist of Mr. G. W. E. Russell, M.P., chairman; Right Honourable J. Stansfeld, M.P.; General Sir D. M. Stewart, Bart, G.C.B.; Sir J. B. Peile, K.C.S.I.; Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.; Secretary, Major General O. R. Newmarch, C.S.I.

4. Minutes of the evidence laid before the Committee will be sent to your Lordship in instalments, as printed; and the report, as soon as I receive it, will be forwarded to you for your observations.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Kimberley.*

Enclosure.

(Private and Confidential.)

#### East India Cantonments Acts and Regulations since 1889.

STATEMENT of facts as to the administration of the above-mentioned Acts, in respect of certain Contagious Diseases within 10 Military Cantonments in British India in the year 1892.

THE principal facts ascertained and verified are the following.

1. That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the sanction of the military authorities:

- (a.) For the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers.
- (b.) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or native medical officers.
- (c.) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any of such women under the orders of the examining officers.
- (d.) With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment; or of expulsion from the cantonment.

2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and the regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution, and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonments.

As to 1. (a.) In each cantonment there are assigned quarters for prostitutes, called a "chakla" or "chaklas," situated frequently close to the military "bazaars."

The "chakla" in some cases consist of a single building, in appearance similar to the military buildings, and having a series of small rooms; in others of separate huts or tents grouped together, and sometimes enclosed within a fence. Each room, hut, or tent is occupied by one native woman, and used by her to receive the visits of British soldiers, who come to the "chakla" for the purpose. The women do no work for wages, and live for no other purpose. There is apparently no solicitation by the women; no natives are allowed to resort to them; nor are they (the women) at liberty to leave the cantonment without permission.

In some cases the "chakla" is stated to belong "to the Government"; in others to be owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government.

In some cantonments the women live rent free, in others they pay rent.

In some cantonments a guard in uniform is placed within or near to the "chaklas."

In each cantonment a register is kept of the "chakla" women. In some places metal plates, bearing the register numbers of the women, are affixed over the entrances of the separate rooms in the "chakla" (which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers), so that a soldier may be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name or address.

In almost every instance the "chakla," with its occupants, is under the control of a woman superintendent, called the "mahaldarni," whose wages are paid in some cases out of the funds of the cantonment; in others by a share of the earnings of the women; and in others by income derived from both these sources.

Some of these "mahaldarnis" possess certificates signed by British officers, and ranging in date over several years, testifying to the efficient performance of their duties in supplying women as required, managing the brothel, detecting disease, &c.



All their duties are the same now as formerly before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and include the care and control of the women under their charge, and their presentation for periodical examination.

The number of women in each "chakla" is proportioned to the number of British soldiers for the time being in the cantonment, averaging from 12 to 15 for each regiment. In one cantonment there were 100 such women, in another about 100, in a third 62, in a fourth 56, and in a fifth 56.

A uniform low rate of pay is made, viz. —

For a private soldier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 annas.
" bombardier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 "
" corporal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 "
" sergeant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 rupee.

If not paid complaint was sometimes made to the authorities, and the amount stopped from the man's pay.

Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living, various demands, some of extortionate nature, and the consequence is that they live in abject poverty, and generally get into debt to the mahaldarni or some outside creditor, and are therefore unable to quit the cantonment, even when they desire to give up their life of shame.

The result is that they live in the cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes until (unless they sooner die) they are too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women.

The prostitutes are generally girls, many being very young (apparently 14 or 15 years of age).

When a regiment changes its cantonments the women associated with that regiment accompany it on the march in carts provided for their transport, or are sent by railway. During their progress they are protected by European guards and accompanied by the mahaldarni.

(b.) Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed medical officers at the hospital in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

The examinations are usually once a week, but in some cantonments are bi-weekly, and in two bi-monthly. They are limited to the women consorting with British soldiers.

The examination is made individually by the British medical officer, and is stated to be generally conducted in the presence of the resident native medical officer of the hospital, and in the presence also of the Lock hospital nurse (called the "dhai"). The examination is made on a special table, with speculum, &c. The women subjected to it, and even the mahaldarnis, speak of it with abhorrence.

The women assemble at a fixed time at the hospital, either walking thither, or (if distant) riding in carts and cabs.

(c.) Upon the examination the women are either dismissed until the next examination day, with liberty and license to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime, or are detained in the hospital.

Detention is ordered not only in case of detected disease, but in most cases even during the natural menstrual period without disease.

During detention in the hospital each woman receives an allowance from the Cantonment fund, ranging from two annas to three annas per diem.

(D.) In the event of a woman registered breaking the regulations by not presenting herself on the prescribed day for examination, the Medical Officer sends to her by the native police, or reports the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who orders her to come up for examination; if she disobeys she is threatened with arrest by the police, and that she may be fined, imprisoned, or expelled from the Cantonment.

If she leave the hospital before being formally discharged, she is liable to the like penalties.

If she leave the Cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate (which is given only after medical examination at the hospital), she is precluded from re-entering the Cantonment, either absolutely, or only on undergoing examination at the hospital.

The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman from the Cantonment is tantamount generally to starvation.

As to 2. All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious or contagious diseases are used almost exclusively for the treatment of venereal diseases contracted by the registered prostitutes. No infectious diseases are treated in them. In only one or two of these hospitals are diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted, and the cases are extremely few. Very rarely are patients other than prostitutes admitted.

In some of these hospitals cases of secondary syphilis are not treated, all such cases being sent out of Cantonment.

The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examination are the registered women reserved for the use of British troops; a few other women used by native soldiers occasionally are sent to the Lock hospital for treatment.

DESPATCH from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 52 (Military), dated 27 April 1893.

My Lord Marquis,

I FORWARD herewith copies of the evidence which has been laid before the Committee on the working of the regulations issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889, whose appointment was notified to you in my Despatch No. 50, of 20th April 1893.

Evidence laid before the Committee on the working of the regulations under the Cantonment Act of 1889.

2. As it is desired to present the report of the Committee, with the observations of your Government on the evidence, to the House of Commons during the present Session, I request that your Lordship will cause me to be furnished with your observations at the earliest date possible, consistent with a full examination of the matters referred to. The report by the Committee mentioned in paragraph 4 of my previous Despatch will not be prepared until your Excellency's observations are before them.

I have, &c.,  
(signed) *Kimberley.*

TELEGRAM from Viceroy, dated 29 April 1893.

YOUR telegram in the Military Department, dated 13 April.—Cantonment Regulations. Inquiry made about it shows that statement regarding law is too sweeping. Orders have been issued for withdrawal of Clause 1*b*, of circular from Quarter-Master General. Please defer publication of our Military Despatch, No. 134, 6 September last, until receipt of our explanation.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 81 (Military), dated 10 May 1893.—Received 29 May 1893.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegrams, dated the 13th April 1893, requesting to be referred to the law alluded to in Clause (*b*), Paragraph 1 of the Circular Memorandum No. 20, issued by the Quartermaster General in India on the 11th July 1892, which requires any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease, to report it to the proper medical authority; and also inquiring whether there is any objection to the publication in the House of Commons of our Military Despatch No. 134, dated the 6th September 1892.

2. On receipt of the above telegrams, we caused inquiry to be made as to the state of the law on this point. The result of the inquiry shows that the statement contained in Clause (*b*), paragraph 1 of Quartermaster General's Circular Memorandum No. 20 was too sweeping, and that although such laws are in force in certain specified localities and provinces, yet they do not apply to India generally. We regret very much the mistake which has been committed.

3. We telegraphed to your Lordship the result of the above inquiry on the 29th April 1893 and we now forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter (No. 1,810-D) addressed to the Quartermaster General in India by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department on the 29th April 1893, from which it will be observed that we have issued orders for the withdrawal of the Clause in question.

4. We do not think that Despatch No. 134, dated 6th September 1892, should be published.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*G. S. White.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*  
*A. E. Miller.*  
*H. Brackenbury.*  
*C. B. Pritchard.*

LISTS of Enclosures of Despatch No. 81 (Military), dated 10 May 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From Whom or to Whom.	SUBJECT.
1	No. 1,810-D, dated the 29th April 1893.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Asking him to inform all those to whom his Circular No. 20, dated the 11th July 1892, was addressed that, by the order of the Government of India, ( <i>b</i> ) Clause 1 is to be struck out; also requesting that an amended Circular omitting the clause in question may be issued in place of that of the 11th July 1892.

(signed) *M. J. King-Harman*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

(Confidential.)

Enclosure to Despatch No. 81, dated 10 May 1893.

From Major General Sir *E. H. H. Colten*, K.C.T.E., Secretary to the Government of India Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India.—(No. 1,810-D, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, 29 April 1893.)

WITH reference to your Endorsement No. 3,942-B, dated the 18th July 1892, forwarding copy of a Circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts and others, regarding the observance of the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, I am directed to request that,



under the orders of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, you will be so good as to address those to whom the Circular above alluded to was sent, stating that, by the order of the Government of India, (b) Clause 1 of the Circular in question is to be struck out.

2. I am also to request that an amended Circular omitting Clause 1 (b) may be issued in place of that dated the 11th July 1892.

---

EXTRACT Despatch from Secretary of State to Government of India, No. 56 (Military), paragraph 15, dated 11 May 1893.

15. With reference to my Military Despatch, No. 50, dated 20th April 1893, I forward copy of a list of books and documents stated to have been examined by two ladies who have appeared as witnesses before the Committee appointed to inquire into the regulations issued under the Cantonments Act of 1889. Should your Government see no objection, I shall be glad if you will cause these books and documents to be sent home at an early date for the inspection of the Committee.

---

DOCUMENTS examined by Mrs. *Andrew* and Dr. *Kate Bushnell* at various Cantonment Lock Hospitals in the months of February and March 1892.

#### MEERUT.

1. A record of patients admitted since 1st January 1892.
2. A Register of Prostitutes, assigning them to various quarters, viz. : Sudder Bazar, Infantry, Artillery and Lancers' Bazaars.
3. Visitors' Book, containing a complaint that two or three women had been coming into the cantonment from the city to practice prostitution, and they must be dealt with severely by the Cantonment Magistrate.
4. Diary and Visitors' Book, containing a note that a patient Akburi had left the hospital uncured, and a later note (January 1892) that she had been sent to the Cantonment Magistrate to stand trial under a cantonment law or regulation designated as Section 4, No. 617.

#### MEAN MEER.

1. Correspondence Book containing a copy of a letter from B. Grainger to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated January 1892, requesting that four persons named therein be made to appear for examination on the 8th inst.
2. Book of Blank Orders for Examination Tickets, with memoranda on the remaining counterfoils.

#### RAWAL PINDI.

1. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Rawal Pindi Cantonment for the year 1891. (In manuscript, 3 pages).

#### PESHAWAR.

1. Register of the prostitutes residing in the Sudder Bazar.
2. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases" for Peshawar Cantonment for 1891. (In manuscript, 3 pages.)

#### UMBALLA.

1. Book of the Register of Prostitutes, containing lists headed "Prostitutes attending Voluntary Inspections," grouped according to regiments, as "Hussars," "Argyle and Sutherland," &c.
2. Daily Journal, recording that at the last inspection (in February 1892), twenty-eight women were examined.
3. Correspondence Book, containing copy of a letter, dated in December 1891, naming six women supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them to inspection.

#### BAREILLY.

1. Visitors' Book, recording the visits of surgeons Jones, Gunning, Geoghegan, and Cantonment Magistrate, Major Annesley.
2. Record of the patients admitted to the Hospital.
3. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Bareilly Cantonment for the year 1891. (Manuscript, 3 pages.)
4. Correspondence Book.

#### SITAPUR.

1. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Sitapur Cantonment, for 1891 (Manuscript, 3 pages).

## BENARES.

1. Register of Prostitutes attending periodical examinations.
  2. Record of patients admitted to the Hospital, showing the majority of admissions between 1st January 1892 and time of our visit in March was for "Menses."
- In addition to the foregoing which we saw in the Hospitals, we learned from the native physician of Sitapur Hospital that there existed a registration list of fifteen women. It might be well to call for this. In addition to all the foregoing which were in hospitals, we saw, in the hands of the mahaldarji of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders at Umballa, a book which was the Register of the Prostitutes under her immediate care with memoranda entered which recorded examinations, &c.

EXTRACT Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 83 (Military), dated 17 May 1893.—Received 5 June 1893.

PARA. 11. We forward, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying copy of an amended circular memorandum, issued by the Quartermaster General in India, relating to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules, issued under the Cantonment Act. The original circular, in substitution of which the present circular was issued, was forwarded to your Lordship with our military despatch No. 134, dated the 6th September 1892. (In continuation of our Military Despatch No. 81, dated the 10th May 1893.)

(Confidential.)

EXCLOSURE to paragraph 11 of General letter No. 83, dated 17 May 1893.

## Enclosure No. 1.

(To be substituted for the previous circular bearing the same number and date, which is to be destroyed.)  
Circular Memorandum by Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 20, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, 11 July 1892.)

WITH regard to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules\* issued under the Cantonment Act, the Quartermaster General is directed to state that the Government of India desire particular stress to be laid on the following points, viz. :—

\* G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.

- (a). That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.
- (b). That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment. But (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.
- (c). That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.
- (d). That no separate register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases; nor any other action to be taken tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

2. The Commander in Chief accordingly directs that the attention of all station and regimental authorities may be drawn to the above instructions, with a request that their observance be most carefully and strictly attended to by all concerned.

				No. of copies.	
General Officer Commanding	Presidency District	-	-	-	11
"	"	"	Assam	"	- 6
"	"	"	Allahabad	"	- 5
"	"	"	Nerbudda	"	- 5
"	"	"	Bundelkhand	"	- 5
"	"	"	Oudh	"	- 6
"	"	"	Rohilkhand	"	- 8
"	"	"	Meerut	"	- 8
"	"	"	Sirhind	"	- 6
"	"	"	Lahore	"	- 10
"	"	"	Rawalpindi	"	- 10
"	"	"	Peshawar	"	- 5
"	"	"	Quetta	"	- 8
"	"	"	Punjab Frontier Force	"	- 9



Memorandum by Quartermaster General in India.—(No. 3492-B., dated Simla, 18 July 1892.)

SUBMITTED\* for the information of the Government of India with reference to Military Department No. 3034-D., dated 29th June 1892.

\* Ten copies.

Nos. 3493-96-B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel,  
for Quartermaster General in India.

		No. of copies.
The Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India	- - -	15
„ Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India	- - -	10
„ Adjutant General in India	- - -	2

Nos. 3497-98-B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel,  
for Quartermaster General in India.

		No. of copies.
The Quartermaster General, Madras Army	- - -	2
„ „ „ Bombay „	- - -	2

EXTRACT from the List of Enclosures of Miscellaneous Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 83, dated 17 May 1893.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	No. 3492-B, dated 18 July 1892.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Forwards copy of an amended circular memorandum addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts, and others, regarding the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules issued under the Cantonments Act.

TELEGRAM to Viceroy, 19 August 1893.

YOUR Military Despatch No. 81, 10th May 1893. It will be necessary to publish your Military Despatch No. 134, 6th September 1892, as Appendix to Report of Committee. It cannot be withheld as the Committee have seen it, and questions arising out of it have been put to witnesses.

TELEGRAM from Viceroy, 23 August 1893.

YOUR Military telegram of 19th August. We have no objection to publication of our Military Despatch No. 134, of 6th September last, provided that paragraph 11 of our Military Despatch No. 83, of 17th May, and the amended circular, are also published.

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## APPENDIX III.

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## APPENDIX III.

REPLY to the Allegations regarding the administration of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and the Regulations issued under that Act.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 148 (Military), dated 11 July 1893.—(Received 8 August 1893.)

My Lord,

WE have had under consideration your Lordship's Military Despatch No. 50, dated the 20th April 1893, with which you forwarded to us a statement received from the Right Honourable J. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., on the administration of the East India Cantonment Act and Regulations, since 1889, in ten Military Cantonments in India, in the year 1892, which, in their opinion, shows that the Acts and Regulations were not administered in the spirit of the Resolution of the House of Commons, dated the 5th June 1888, quoted in the margin.

"Resolved, that, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."

the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report whether they comply with the above-mentioned resolution. We have also received copies of the minutes of evidence laid before the Committee, forwarded with your Military Despatch No. 52 of the 27th April 1893, and subsequently. In that Despatch you request that you may be furnished with our observations at the earliest possible date consistent with a full examination of the matters referred to, and you inform us that the report by the Committee mentioned in paragraph 4 of your Lordship's previous Despatch, will not be prepared until our observations are before them.

3. In the Viceroy's telegram No. 2175-D. of the 18th May 1893, quoted in the margin, your Lordship

was informed that we propose to refer the evidence to a small Commission composed as follows:—A civilian with judicial experience, a native Judge, an officer of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment and unconnected with Cantonment administration. Commission will visit stations mentioned in evidence, possibly others, and will report to us as soon as possible. The inquiry will be anxious, and we doubt greatly whether it can be conducted thoroughly and without risk, if it is proceeded with during hot weather. Do you consider it essential that it should commence at once? We shall, if necessary, tender members of Commission as witnesses for examination by Committee; documents referred to will have to be examined by Commissioners, and will be impounded in the meanwhile.

2. Your Lordship considered it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments, and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes and to documents mentioned in paragraph 15 of your Military Despatch No. 56, of the 11th May 1893, would be impounded, and orders were immediately given to this effect.

4. In your Lordship's telegram of the 21st May to the Viceroy we were informed that our reply should be received as soon as possible, and that you feared the appointment of the proposed Commission would involve a too lengthened inquiry. We subsequently heard from your Lordship that our reply must be in your hands not later than the end of July, and you were therefore informed by the Viceroy's telegram

of the 1st June that the Commission would proceed at once to the three following stations:—

Umballa,  
Lucknow,  
Meerut,

and that we should call upon the General Officers Commanding the seven remaining stations, to investigate the evidence affecting their stations, which had been given before the Departmental Committee. The Resolution of the Governor General in Council, No. 2439-D., dated the 2nd June 1893, appointing the Commission, will be found as an Enclosure to this Despatch.

5. We desire to lay before Her Majesty's Government a brief statement of the steps that were taken by us to comply with the Resolution of the House of Commons cited in paragraph 1. With his Despatch No. 136, dated the 4th June 1888, Lord Cross forwarded to the Government of India a copy of the Resolution which was passed by the House of Commons on the 5th June 1888. Immediately on receipt of that Despatch we informed the Commander in Chief and all the Local Governments and heads of Administrations that it was the intention of the Government of India to consider the rules framed under the Cantonments Act then existing, and that, pending the issue of revised rules, the existing rules should, in view of the Resolution of the House of Commons, be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution.

6. In our Despatch No. 81, of the 18th May 1888, we had already informed Lord Cross that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that reports had been made by the Commander in Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, to the effect that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been abolished. In our Despatch No. 193, dated the 15th October 1888, we said:—

"It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the 'Indian Contagious Diseases Act' and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camp or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while,

pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licenses to practice prostitution have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions."

7. We forwarded with our Despatch No. 135 of the 27th July 1888 the draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Cantonments, and we stated that we had endeavoured to frame that part of the Bill which dealt with the rules made under the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1880 for preventing the spread of venereal disease, in accordance with the principles which were laid down by Lord Cross in his Despatch No. 123 of the 17th May 1888, as follows :—

"I am aware that the subject has long been one of anxious consideration in India, from the time when the measure was first brought into operation by the Government of the late Lord Lawrence until the present date, and that the protection of the health and efficiency of the British garrison as a paramount duty of the ruling power has been kept steadily in view. The maintenance generally of the cantonments in a proper sanitary condition, the prevention and cure of ordinary disease (mentioned in the 6th section of the 7th clause of the Act), and the preventing the spread of venereal disease (mentioned in the 7th section) are equally matters of the highest importance; and all infectious disease ought to be dealt with as a question of police. No examination should be imposed upon women compulsorily, but, on the other hand, no person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed within the cantonment except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all.

"The result of the latest inquiries which you have instituted into the operation of these rules, and the experiment tried in 1885-86 of suspending their operation and closing the lock hospitals in 15 of our larger cantonments, have shown the necessity for some regulations for the repression of prostitution and the prevention of venereal disease within cantonments. The duty is therefore imposed upon the Government of endeavouring to give effect to the existing law by rules framed on the principles I have above indicated. The rules which have been framed under Clauses 7-31 of Section 27 of Act III. of 1880 appear to me to require careful revision; and in such revision the principle should be steadily borne in mind that the efforts to control prostitution, and to mitigate its attendant evils, should not be developed into anything that can assume the appearance of an encouragement of vice by the Government and its officers. There should be no regulations which can be justly construed into a legalisation of prostitution.

"I desire, however, to express my hope that the operation of the regulations will be confined within the smallest possible area round cantonments, and that it may be found practicable to restrict the exercise of the authority given in Section 31 of the Act of 1880 within the narrowest limits, especially in the neighbourhood of towns."

8. We forwarded a copy of the rules we proposed to make under the Act with our Despatch No. 113, dated the 14th June 1889, in which we said :—

"In paragraph 4 of our Military Despatch, No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we informed your Lordship that it was our intention to take power to make rules (among other matters), for the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering, or believed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious illness. By these rules, prepared in accordance with the principles laid down in your Lordship's Despatch, No. 123, dated 17th May 1888, it is possible that we may be able to check, to some extent, the spread of venereal disease, which is reported to be greatly on the increase since the suspension of the regulations heretofore enforced under the present Cantonment Act, among our troops. This spread of venereal disease will form the subject of a separate communication hereafter. We now forward a copy of the rules which we propose to issue on the subject as soon as the Cantonment Bill is passed, and we request that your Lordship will communicate to us, by telegram, your sanction to the immediate passing of the Bill (omitting Chapter V.), and to the promulgation of the rules, with any minor alterations which further consideration may suggest."

9. The Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, was brought into force from the 1st January 1890. Previous to that date, the rules proposed to be made under the Act had been drafted in consultation with the Secretary of State, and published for general information and criticism on the 20th December 1889. These rules were finally published on the 4th July 1890 under our General Order, No. 617. We may here mention that early in 1890 it had been brought to our notice that the attendance at hospitals for the treatment of venereal disease under the voluntary system of treatment had become very small, or had ceased altogether, and the question was discussed whether the allowances drawn by medical officers and medical warrant officers for the charge of the various hospitals should be continued. On the advice of the medical authorities it was decided to maintain these allowances, as it was considered injudicious by these authorities that anything should be done which would cripple the endeavours of medical officers to overcome or lessen the ravages of venereal disease. The Surgeon-General, Her Majesty's Forces, Bengal, stated that at many stations medical officers had by tact induced prostitutes to present themselves voluntarily for examination and treatment if necessary. We mention this fact to show that after the abolition of lock hospitals it was thoroughly recognised that the attendance of the women at the hospitals was voluntary.

10. In October 1891, in consequence of a protest being received from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease was concerned, we asked the Commander-in-Chief, in our letter No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, to cause careful and confidential inquiries to be made to ascertain whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and whether anything that could be fairly described as "official purveying for immorality" was countenanced.

11. On the 10th March 1892, a demi-official letter was addressed by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India, which ran as follows :—

"As you are aware, the Government of India have laid the greatest stress on all authorities concerned keeping absolutely within the terms of the Cantonments Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, in connection with contagious disease, which Act and rules were, as you are aware, issued in consequence of a Resolution of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and running as follows :—

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this House any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."



"The orders issued by the Government of India on the subject, by his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India, and by the military authorities generally, have been most explicit and decided. But it is obvious that, with the large number of cantonments scattered over a country of such vast extent as that of India, and with cantonment, military, and medical authorities, who may differ in their opinion as to the interpretation of rules, however clearly defined by law or formulated in regulations, it is absolutely necessary to make special inquiry from time to time whether these rules are scrupulously observed.

"In illustration of my meaning, I may observe that if, for instance, even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally the resolution of the House of Commons would be defeated.

"The Government of India earnestly trust that no such accusation can be properly brought against any cantonment authority in the country ; but I am desired to express the wish of the Governor General in Council that his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India will be pleased to instruct general officers commanding and their Excellencies the Commanders in Chief, Madras and Bombay, to warn officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, and the provisions of the Cantonments Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

12. In the Quartermaster General's Letter No. 448 of the 24th March 1892, the Commander in Chief informed us in reply to the inquiries mentioned in paragraph 10, that there was no foundation whatever for considering that the military authorities were not keeping strictly within the terms of the rules contained in the Cantonment Act and sanctioned by the Secretary of State, that there was no compulsion beyond that authorised in rules (4) and (5) (G. G. O. 617 of 1890) relating to the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disease, who refused to go to hospital or, having gone to hospital, left it before they were pronounced free from disorder. And it was stated by the Commander in Chief that it was untrue that anything existed which could be described as official purveying for immorality.

13. When all the various reports had been received we caused the Commander in Chief to be addressed in Military Department Letter No. 3034-D., dated the 29th June 1892. We expressed our satisfaction that the Commander in Chief was, upon the whole, convinced that the Act and the Rules had been duly observed. In one or two instances we considered that the action of the local military authorities had fallen short of what was considered necessary, but we observed that the Commander in Chief had taken immediate steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders, and to insist upon the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which had been issued. In our letter stress was laid on the following points :—

- (a) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.
- (b) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound by law to report it to the proper medical authority.
- (c) That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment ; but (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.
- (d) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.
- (e) That no separate register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious disease ; nor any other action tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

14. These points were embodied in a circular memorandum dated the 11th July 1892, issued to general officers commanding by the Quartermaster General ; and this circular was afterwards amended by the omission of Clause (b), as we found that the statement in that clause was more sweeping than was justified by the state of the law.

15. In 1892 we considered the question of extending the usefulness of cantonment hospitals, and we issued orders that a general hospital should be established in every cantonment for the treatment of the sick of all classes of natives who are not enlisted soldiers ; that the old hospitals for native followers, as well as those for infectious and contagious diseases, should be merged into these ; that these new hospitals should be maintained generally on the lines of the civil charitable dispensaries, as established at the head-quarters of civil districts, the buildings to be arranged on the same plan, with separate compartments for male and female patients, with a central block containing the administrative rooms, and with detached wards for each class of ailment to be treated, surgical, medical, and contagious. Steps were taken to establish these hospitals at selected stations, and the system is being gradually extended to all military cantonments in India as funds become available. In our Letter No. 126-G., dated the 29th March 1893, we answered various questions which had been raised in connection with the establishment of cantonment general hospitals. Among other things we said : "The cantonment general hospitals are to be available for the treatment of all diseases, but nothing is to be done which could in any way give colour to the idea that a person can be forcibly removed to such hospital."

16. The preceding paragraphs will make it evident to your Lordship that we have systematically given effect by our orders to the Resolution of the House of Commons, issuing from time to time, as evidence showed them to be required, fresh and more stringent instructions against compulsory examination, licensing, or registration of prostitutes. The Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules made under it were issued with the approval of the Secretary of State ; they are framed in accordance with the instructions contained in the Secretary of State's Despatch above quoted that "No person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed within the cantonment, except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all." The object, both of the Act and the Rules, was to carry out, strictly within the limits imposed by the Resolution of the House of Commons,

the principle which the Government of India enunciated in their Despatch of 18th May 1888, and to which we still adhere, that "We should fail in our duty if we did not take steps to arrest the spread of the venereal disease by the maintenance, within the precincts of our cantonments, of regulations which experience has shown to be effective for the purpose."

17. We have now to submit for the information of Her Majesty's Government the Report, dated 28th June 1893, of the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Cantonment Regulations regarding infectious and contagious disorders, together with the evidence which has been given before that Commission. In the appendices to the Report will be found the reports of the general officers commanding the Sirhind, Meerut, and Oudh districts, so far as they relate to the cantonments visited by the Commission, viz., Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow. We attach to this Despatch copies of the reports of general officers commanding districts, or officers commanding stations, regarding the allegations made on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Mian Mir, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar, together with a précis referring to the charges made. We also forward the books named in the annexure to paragraph 15 of your Lordship's Despatch No. 56, dated the 11th May 1893, in custody of two of the Commissioners, Mr. Ibbetson and Dr. Cleghorn, who have been directed to proceed to England to give evidence before the Departmental Committee.

18. As the Departmental Committee will be able to examine these two members of the Commission, we do not offer any detailed remarks upon their report. Neither do we think it necessary to comment in detail upon the report made by the officers concerned with regard to the seven stations not visited by the Commission. A careful consideration of those reports will show, we believe, that the charges which have been brought against the Government of India and the military authorities cannot be generally sustained. While saying this, we admit that in certain cases the orders issued by the Commander in Chief have not been enforced. There are cases in which officers have gone beyond their powers, or have misinterpreted the orders they received. It will be seen from paragraph 31 of the Commander in Chief's Minute, dated the 1st July 1893, attached to this Despatch, that these cases will be duly dealt with by his Excellency. With the exceptions to which we have just referred, the orders issued under our instructions by the military authorities have, we believe, on the whole, been effectually carried out. That they would in certain quarters be imperfectly understood or ignored was, we think, only to be expected. It was comparatively easy to terminate, by a stroke of the pen, the system to which the prostitutes, and those frequenting their company or responsible for their supervision, had been so long accustomed; but it was less easy to persuade the persons who had lived under that system for so many years that an end had been put to it. Under such circumstances traces of the old order of things were, for a time at least, sure to survive, nor does it seem to us a matter for surprise that such traces should have been discovered, as they were, not only by the witnesses whose evidence was received by the Departmental Committee, but by the Commissioners, whose report we now submit.

19. We have addressed the Commander in Chief, calling attention to the evidence and to the reports of the general officers commanding, and requesting him to reiterate the instructions in the Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20, dated the 11th July 1892, and to take steps to enforce the strict observance of the regulations against prostitutes living in regimental bazars, or accompanying troops to camps of exercise or on the line of march. In our Home Department we have directed the special attention of cantonment magistrates to this Circular, and have desired them to do all that lies in their power to enforce the carrying out of these instructions, more especially by explaining to the cantonment police the material difference between the present rules and those formerly enforced. We have also asked his Excellency the Commander in Chief to issue orders to the Principal Medical Officer in India, with a view to his impressing upon all medical officers the necessity for absolute obedience to both the letter and spirit of these rules, and to general officers commanding, requiring them to submit periodical reports showing whether the regulations have been strictly observed throughout their commands.

20. While we have ordered, and intend resolutely to enforce our orders, that no prostitutes shall be allowed to reside in regimental bazars or to accompany troops on the line of march, or to camps of exercise, we are not prepared to forbid the residence of such women in cantonments. These cantonments, as his Excellency the Commander in Chief has pointed out in his Minute, are, in many cases, in point of area and population, virtually large cities, and the attempt to exclude these women would involve an altogether unequalled amount of interference with their private life, and would, moreover, have the effect of compelling them to reside on the confines of cantonments, where the most ordinary sanitary precautions, such as are compulsory on all residents of cantonments could not be enforced, and where soldiers visiting the women would be less within the reach of military discipline.

21. We desire to invite your Lordship's attention to the Minute by the Commander in Chief, referred to above. In the concluding paragraph of that Minute his Excellency dwells upon the ravages made by venereal disease amongst the British troops serving in India, and urges the necessity of maintaining the precautions now taken to prevent the spread of such disease. We have not thought it desirable to enter into this part of the question in our Despatch, which has been confined to the special aspects of the case dealt with by the witnesses examined before the Departmental Committee. We feel, however, that great weight is due to the Commander in Chief's observations, and we are confident that your Lordship will not give your sanction to any changes which might increase the risk to which our troops are already exposed from this cause, without affording us the fullest opportunity of laying our opinions before you.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*G. S. White.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*  
*A. E. Miller.*  
*H. Brackenbury.*  
*C. B. Pritchard.*



List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 148 (Military), dated the 11 July 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From Whom or to Whom.	SUBJECT.
1	Dated the 1st July 1893 -	- - - - -	Minute by His Excellency the Commander in Chief.
2	No. 2439-D, dated the 2nd June 1893.	To the Home Department, and others.	Appointing a Special Commission to inquire into the correctness of the allegations made in regard to the working of the Cantonment Regulations.
3	Dated the 28th June 1893 -	- - - - -	Report of the Special Commission.
4	No. 2959-B, dated the 23rd June 1893, and enclosures.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Reports from the General Officers Commanding regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at Benares, Sitapore, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi and Peshawur
5	No. 2988-B, dated the 26th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports from the General Officers Commanding regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Lucknow, Rawal Pindi, Amritsar and Meean Meer.
6	No. 3004-B, dated the 28th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Further reports on the working of the rules for infectious and contagious diseases issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889 at Rawal Pindi.
7	No. 3015-B, dated the 28th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports from the General Officers Commanding Meerut and Sirhind Districts as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations regarding Meerut and Umballa contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee.
8	No. 3101-B, dated the 1st July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Further reports regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Sitapore.
9	No. 3102-B, dated the 1st July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports showing the action taken by General Officers Commanding Districts in the Bengal Presidency to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Quartermaster General in India regarding the discontinuance of the registration, &c., of prostitutes.
10	No. 3129 B, dated the 4th July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports showing the action taken by the General Officer Commanding Lahore District to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Quartermaster General in India regarding the discontinuance of the registration, &c., of prostitutes.
11	- - - - -	- - - - -	Summary of reports by General Officers Commanding regarding the allegations made by Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Benares, Sitapore, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.
12	No. 3188-B, dated the 6th July 1893, and enclosures.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Further reports on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Meean Meer.

(signed) *M. J. King-Harman*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

MINUTE by His Excellency General Sir George S. White, K.C.B., G.C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India.  
Charges against the Indian Cantonment Act, 1859.

The charges are—

- (1) That the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers ;
- (2) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European and Native medical officers ;
- (3) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the orders of the examining officer, with penal consequences, in case of disobedience, of arrest, fines or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonments ;
- (4) That the cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments.

2. The cause for formulating these charges and supporting them by evidence is to prove violation of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and to establish such malpractice under the Act as to call for its repeal. The Act is, therefore, on its trial, and, unless the charges given above are proved, it is entitled to an acquittal.

3. The first charge—*viz.*, that under the Act the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of women for the exclusive use of British soldiers—is founded on the theory that a cantonment means a locality set apart for military uses owned by the military authorities, and under their sole and separate control. It is therefore argued, that, if prostitutes live in these cantonments, they are provided by the military authorities.

4. The most effective way of meeting the charge is to explain what our cantonments really are ; the large civil population they contain ; the extensive private rights of property which exist, and which the military authorities have no power to interfere with ; the similarity of the conditions of life generally and freedom of residence in cantonments to those that prevail in large municipal communities in India and elsewhere.

5. In the evidence given at Umballa, on the 7th June, before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission, the population of Umballa Cantonment is given as 51,020 souls. This constitutes a large city to which laws specially excluding a whole class could not be applied without hardship and great interference with the liberty enjoyed by individuals everywhere under British rule. It may be instructive here to quote cities in Great Britain, with populations of about equal numbers, with a view to realizing the actual conditions under which we are working in India as opposed to the impression of those conditions which it is the attempt of the opponents of our system to convey to the minds of the British public.

6. In looking over a table of population in Great Britain in 1881, I find the city of York contained 59,596 souls, Bath 53,761, and Paisley 55,642. It cannot be doubted that a certain number of these populations are prostitutes plying their trade with the cognizance of the municipal authorities. Yet the Mayor of York is probably not accused of making official and systematic provision of prostitutes ; nor is it conceivable that the municipal authorities in these three towns could exclude all prostitutes.

7. Stress has been laid in the evidence given before Mr. Russell's Committee on the fact that the prostitutes are grouped in certain centres in cantonments, and the inference is drawn that this points to official organisation. No doubt some years ago this was the case, but this official arrangement has been now forbidden by order of the Government of India. In all towns, from causes other than official interference, prostitutes tend to congregate in certain quarters. The surroundings of the trade are objectionable, and the respectable inhabitants naturally resent having prostitutes as neighbours. The latter, therefore, drift into one quarter. This will also be found to be the case in all considerable towns in the British Isles. Moreover, there are other causes peculiar to India which work strongly to the same end. From time immemorial in Indian cities persons living by the same trade have resided together, and thus congregated, follow the calling from generation to generation. The trade of prostitution is no exception to this custom, and it is also hereditary. Prostitutes are not looked upon by the natives of India with the contempt which attaches to them in other countries. They are accepted as safeguards to society, and are not themselves ashamed of their calling. As a class they are rich. With reference to their provision in cantonments for the exclusive use of British soldiers, isolated instances of countenance not authorised by the Act, or the regulations made by the Government of India under it, have been disclosed by the present investigation ; but they are the residue of a forbidden system. It would, however, be most injurious to the peace of any cantonment if this separation of the establishments to which British and Native soldiers resort were not allowed to work itself out from causes other than military organisation. British soldiers naturally prefer establishments where they will not meet native men. This creates the demand, and certain women in search of the best professional returns create the supply. Were the two races of men to meet at the same house, there would be constant breaches of the peace, destruction of property, and probable ill-treatment of the women.

8. The charge of systematic provision for the residence of native women has been supported by evidence that the police are employed in watching the neighbourhood of the prostitutes' quarters. This is not official countenance. It is merely the precaution which is taken in every well-ordered town to take special precautions in neighbourhoods where breaches of the peace are most likely to occur.

9. I therefore maintain that Charge No. 1 has not been proved. Certain instances may be shown where the action of individuals has been condemnable, but such persons have acted *ultra vires*, are individually re-



sponsible, and have laid themselves open to disciplinary censure; but neither the law nor the rules can be justly blamed for this.

10. The next charge is of compulsory examination at prescribed periods. This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. If it is abolished all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it. The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory. The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them. In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer, they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion.

11. I would submit that the treatment to be accorded to all contagious diseases cannot be made exactly alike without consideration of the nature of the particular disease and the extent to which it is epidemic at the time and in the particular place. Consider, for instance, small-pox. When there are but a few sporadic cases, as is generally the condition, the need is not great enough to justify special precautions. If, however, small-pox were endemic and prevalent to the extent of spreading the disease to close on 50 per cent. of the British soldiers in Bengal in one year, which is about the rate at which venereal is communicated (as I will show later in this paper), I think it is no unreasonable assumption that inspections of those most likely to spread the contagion would not only be made if voluntarily applied for, but would be compulsorily enforced. Outward-bound passengers are often medically inspected before leaving port to prove absence of incipient symptoms of contagious disease; yet it would be difficult to quote a case in which the danger was in the ratio of 50 to 100 per annum.

12. If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient.

13. For the foregoing reasons, I consider the law and regulations under it are acquitted on the second charge.

14. I would even go further and say that some of the regulations communicated in explanation of the Act should be modified so as clearly to permit voluntary examination of women who ask for it, and that we should maintain this and solicit the support of Her Majesty's Government.

15. The third charge is compulsory detention in hospital of women under the orders of the examining officer, with penalties of fine, imprisonment or expulsion in case of disobedience.

16. In noting at the present time, and before I have seen the report of the Commissioners, I labour under the disadvantage of writing what may be contrary to their conclusions. I am, however, convinced that this charge will be almost universally disproved by the evidence collected by them.

17. Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the resolution of the House of Commons. They knew nothing of the country or of the character of the people. The women and other natives with whom they conversed soon found out what they wished to establish and played up to them. Give a native a hint of the line of argument you want supported, and every answer will tend the way you incline. This will not be controverted by those who know India.

18. Weight has been attached to the fact that the women themselves spoke of the hospital in which they were treated as the "Lock Hospital." The connection with the past which surrounds this designation suggests compulsory detention, but this has of late been absolutely abolished. Natives of India adhere to names first applied. For example, ask any native what he calls the station public garden, and he will answer "Company bagh." It would be equally open to argue from this that the East India Company still rules India as to conclude from the survival of the term "Lock Hospital" that compulsory detention has survived also. When the old system of Lock Hospitals was abolished the buildings were naturally utilised as wards of the cantonment hospital, and this may also have strengthened the belief that the old order of things still obtained.

19. I am equally sure that the evidence when published will disprove the infliction of any penalties for leaving the cantonment hospitals, unless in the case of women still suffering from contagious disease, when under the rules, they would not be allowed to resume residence in cantonments. There may be isolated cases of officers going beyond their powers, but such officers are the exceptions, and must be held personally responsible.

20. The fourth charge is that cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments. I have been astonished to find how entirely this is disproved by a reference to the returns kept at these cantonment hospitals.

21. For the purpose of convincing myself, I got from the Military Department the latest returns available (1892) of the specific diseases for which patients had been treated in these hospitals, and the number treated for each disease.

22. I examined the returns from 17 cantonment hospitals, which I took at random from the file without any attempt to select those most calculated to support my contention, and the following compilation shows the result :—

STATION.	Total.	Total venereal cases.
Dum-Dum - - - - -	324	22
Allahabad - - - - -	5,361	233
Dinapore - - - - -	2,764	201
Benares - - - - -	1,285	18
Jubbulpore - - - - -	3,131	128
Pachmarhi - - - - -	12	0
Cawnpore - - - - -	1,673	107
Sitapur - - - - -	263	34
Fyzabad - - - - -	505	83
Fatehgurh - - - - -	331	48
Lucknow - - - - -	7,492	573
Agra - - - - -	4,064	204
Barcilly - - - - -	2,257	71
Ranikhet - - - - -	336	89
Meerut - - - - -	447	176
Umballa - - - - -	12,987	551
Rawal Pindi - - - - -	18,819	937
Totals - - - - -	62,051	3,475

23. The foregoing table shows that in the 17 cantonment hospitals 62,051 patients have had medical aid extended to them, and of that number only 3,475 were treated for venereal. This makes the percentage of venereal treated only 5.60 per cent. The other diseases treated comprised cholera, dysentery, malarial fevers in great numbers, scurvy, debility, rheumatic affections, diseases of the eye, diseases of the respiratory system, diarrhoea, diseases of the skin, &c. I have not returns before me to establish it, but I am convinced that of the 3,475 venereal patients treated but a very small percentage were professional prostitutes. The disease prevails to a great extent amongst the non-professional lower classes.

24. This appears to me clearly to disprove the fourth charge, "that the cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments."

25. I have now exhausted the charges formulated, and I hope my honourable colleagues will agree with me that no case has been made out against the Act, and I trust the Government of India will lend the weight of its authority to uphold it.

26. It now remains to me to show the necessity of maintaining it.

27. The following statement shows the extent to which venereal disease has prevailed amongst the British troops serving in Bengal during the last four years :—

Year.	Average annual strength, deducting troops marching or on active service.	Total number of admissions from all venereal diseases.	Ratio per thousand average annual strength.
1889 - - - - -	40,917	20,416	499.0
1890 - - - - -	39,958	20,328	508.7
1891 - - - - -	38,517	15,698	407.6
1892 - - - - -	40,448	17,141	423.8
		Yearly average - -	459.7

This gives an average of admissions to hospital taken over the four years of 459.7 per thousand, or not far off 50 per cent. of our soldiers annually.

28. Considered only in the light of the efficiency of our army in peace time, this is a lamentable record ; but underlying that record is the still more lamentable prospect of the numbers who must break down from constitutional syphilis under the hardships and exposure of a campaign.

29. Our soldiers come from a class upon which the prudential motives which operate against immoral conduct have little effect. Short service, i.e., younger men, and the smaller proportion of married men in the service, have increased the prevalence of venereal in the army ; and these boys, after their short tour of



foreign service, return to England diseased to an extent that may be inferred from the foregoing figures, to marry and transmit the disease to their children.

30. Some of the native papers have lately written on the subject of the Contagious Diseases Acts. They are only too prone to support the view that the native of India is downtrodden and oppressed, but in this case they ridicule the idea of ill-treatment to professional women, and say that the Contagious Diseases Acts decrease disease without increasing immorality. They speak of prostitutes as a necessary evil, but as a safeguard against criminal assaults on other women by our "hard-drinking and reckless soldiers."

31. In certain cases officers have exceeded their powers. These officers should be censured, and it should be pointed out to them that conduct such as theirs, far from helping the cause they have at heart, puts the whole preventive system in peril, and is most short-sighted. I would, however, call the attention of Government of India to the candid and unreserved way in which even the offenders have given evidence against themselves.

1-7-93.

*George S. White.*

No. 2439-D.

Government of India, Military Department, Simla, 2 June 1893.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2439-D, dated 2 June 1893).

READ the following papers :—

Paragraph 5 of Lord Cross' Despatch No. 44 of the 27th February 1890.

Military Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 50, dated 20 April 1893.

Military Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 52, dated 27 April 1893.

*Observations.*—The Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India has forwarded to the Governor General in Council a statement received from the Right Honourable James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., relative to the administration of the Indian Cantonment Act and Regulations since 1889 in ten military cantonments in India in the year 1892. The Secretary of State appointed a Departmental Committee to enquire into the rules, regulations and practice in Indian cantonments and elsewhere in India with regard to prostitutes and to the treatment of venereal diseases. The Minutes of Evidence laid before the Committee have been received and are attached.

*Resolution.*—The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint a Special Commission to enquire into the correctness of the allegations made in the statement attached, and in the evidence recorded in the accompanying Minutes. The Commission will consist of Denzil Ibbetson, Esq., c.s., President; Surgeon-Colonel J. Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab; and Molvie Muhammad Sami Ullah Khan, c.m.g.

2. It will be the duty of the Commission to proceed to Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow to enquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement annexed and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether in their opinion any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the regulations published under that Act in G. G. O. No. 617 of the 4th July 1890. The Commission are empowered to call before them any persons whose evidence they may desire to obtain, and all cantonment authorities are enjoined to give them the fullest assistance and information in furtherance of their enquiry. An officer will be appointed to examine on behalf of the Military authorities.

3. The Commission should report to the Government of India on or before 30th June 1893.

4. The Commission will draw travelling allowances under the rules of the Civil Service Regulations, and each member will be granted a deputation allowance of Rs. 10 per diem under the usual rules.

*Copies for information forwarded to :—*

The Home Department.

The Finance Department.

The Government of the Punjab, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Quartermaster-General in India, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The Principal Medical Officer in India, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The Surgeon-General with the Government of India.

The Controller of Military Accounts, Eastern—Western Circle, Bengal.

The Accountant-General, Military Department.

By order,

(signed) *E. H. H. Collen,*  
Secretary to the Government of India.





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REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMISSION appointed to inquire into the  
WORKING of the CANTONMENT REGULATIONS regarding INFECTIOUS  
AND CONTAGIOUS DISORDERS.

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# G L O S S A R Y.

*Bangle*.—A bracelet or armlet.

*Banya*.—A trader or dealer : the shopkeeper who supplies the necessaries of daily life.

*Bazaar*.—A street occupied by shops : a collection of shops : often extended to the whole quarter in which the bazaar is situated ; used in military parlance to signify also the body of traders and followers who accompany the regiment on the march.

*Bhishti*.—A water-carrier.

*Bungalow*.—A dwelling-house built after the European fashion.

*Chakla*.—The quarter in which the commoner class of prostitutes live : also applied to an enclosure occupied by them.

*Chaprassi*.—A messenger, an orderly : from *chaprás*, a badge.

*Chaudhri*.—A head man : a representative : a person in executive charge of a quarter or bazaar.

*Chaukdár*.—A watchman : sometimes an enrolled member of the general police force : sometimes a watchman employed to look after a particular building, whether as a public or as a private servant.

*Chick*.—A reed-mat, hanging in a doorway, which admits light, but which cannot be seen through from outside.

*Compound*.—The grounds in the midst of which a building stands.

*Coolie*.—A day labourer.

*Dandevála*.—Literally, a man with a stick : used for Military Police, who habitually carry small walking canes.

*Darogha*.—The head of a police station, or jail : the head of any subordinate establishment, as of octroi, or conservancy : a superintendent.

*Dhai*.—A nurse : a wet-nurse : a midwife : the matron of an institution for females.

*Dhobi*.—A washerman.

*Gárivála*.—A cart-man, or cab-driver.

*Gorá*.—Literally, "white : " an Englishman of inferior caste, not a *sáhib* : commonly used for the privates and non-commissioned officers of the British Army.

*Gorá chakla*.—The quarters for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers : see *gorá* and *chakla*.

*Jemadár*.—The head of a gang or body of men : in the Native Army, a Lieutenant.

*Kála*.—Black : *Kála admi* (black man), a native.

*Kála chakla*.—The quarters for prostitutes frequented by natives : see *kála* and *chakla*.

*Kanchan*.—A hereditary pimp.

*Kanchani*.—A hereditary prostitute.

*Katra*.—A walled enclosure with a single entrance, containing many houses or quarters for lodgers.

*Khairát*.—Alms : charity.

*Khairáti*.—Supported by charity : free (*gratis*).

*Kotwál*.—The head of a city police station : a person in executive charge of a quarter or bazaar.

*Kotwáli*.—The police station of a city or bazaar.

*Lál kurti*.—Literally, "appertaining to the red coats," *i.e.*, to the British Infantry.

*Lambardár*.—The headman of a village.

*Mahal*.—An abode : a hall : a palace : metaphorically, a noblewoman : a queen.

*Mahaldár*.—Literally, the headman of a *mahal* : the keeper of a brothel.

*Mahaldárni*.—Literally, the headwoman of a *mahal* : the keeper of a brothel.

*Massamát*.—Mrs. or Miss : used before a woman's name.

*Muhallah*.—A ward or quarter of a town.

*Pán*.—An aromatic and stimulant leaf, usually eaten together with the betel nut.

*Panch*.—A headman.

*Pankhah*.—A fan : a large fan swung from the ceiling and pulled by a rope.

*Pardah*.—Literally, a curtain : used for the custom of the seclusion of females.

*Peon*.—The same as *chaprassi*—*q. v.*

*Sadar*.—High ; chief, head. *Sadar Adalat*, the High Court. *Sadar Munsiff*, the Chief Judge. The *Sadar*, the headquarters of a district.

*Safed páni*.—Literally, "white water" : leucorrhœa, as distinguished from *Lál páni* (red water) or menses.

*Sáhib*.—"Sir" : "Mr." : a gentleman.

*Serai*.—(*Cf.* *caravanserai*). The native hotel : in the same form as a *hutra*—*q. v.*

*Serishtadár*.—The head of an office establishment.

*Shuldári*.—A very small tent, like a gipsy's.

*Thuladár*.—The headman of a subdivision of a village.

*Yekka*.—The native hansom cab.

*Zaildár*.—The headman of a group of villages.



REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMISSION appointed to Inquire into the  
WORKING of the CANTONMENT REGULATIONS regarding INFECTIOUS  
AND CONTAGIOUS DISORDERS.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

1. The Government of India, by its Resolution No. 2439-D., Military Department, dated the 2nd June 1893, appointed a Commission consisting of—

<i>Denzil Ibbetson</i> , Esq., I.C.S. Deputy Commissioner.	} President.
<i>Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn</i> , I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals.	} Members.
<i>Maulvi Sami-ullah Khan</i> , C.M.G., U.C.S., late District Judge.	

with A. C. Elliott, Lieutenant, B.S.C., and Assistant Commissioner, as Secretary. Major W. B. Wilson, B.S.C., of the Military Department of the Government of India, was appointed to attend the Commission, and to examine on behalf of the military authorities. The Commission was furnished with, among other papers, the Minutes of Evidence taken on the 11th, 14th, 15th, 18th, and 21st of April 1893 before the India Office Departmental Committee, received with the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 52 (Military), dated 27th April 1893, and with the "Statement of Facts" received from Messrs. James Stansfeld, M.P., and James Stuart, M.P., which formed the enclosure to the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 50 (Military), dated 20th April 1893. It was directed to proceed to Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, to enquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the above-mentioned "Statement of Facts" and Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether, in its opinion, any practices existed at those stations which infringed in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the regulations published under that Act in Government General Orders No. 617, dated the 4th July 1890. The report was to reach the Government of India on or before the 30th June. 20

2. The papers which were to form the text of the enquiry reached the President on the evening of the 5th of June. The Course of the enquiry. members of the Commission met at Ambala on the morning of the 6th, and commenced their enquiries the same afternoon. They reached Meerut on the morning of the 9th, and Lucknow on the morning of the 12th. On the night of the 15th, they left Lucknow for Kasauli, which they reached on the morning of the 17th, and where they took further evidence on the 19th, 20th, and 21st. The record of evidence forms an Appendix to this Report. It must be understood that all statements of facts regarding cantonments contained in the following pages relate, unless otherwise stated, to the three cantonments visited, namely, Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, and to them only. 30

## Report.

## I.—INTRODUCTORY.

3. We propose to travel somewhat beyond our instructions, and to examine, not only the allegations of fact contained in the evidence given before the India Office Committee, but also the implications of language with which that evidence teems. The language in which that evidence is couched conveys the impressions which the facts produced upon the minds of persons wholly unfamiliar with the customs and conditions of life in India; and can hardly fail to reproduce the same impression upon the minds of readers who are similarly unfamiliar with oriental matters. That impression is, in very many and very important respects, a false one; and, in so far as it is false, we deem it proper and necessary that we should endeavour to correct it, by showing how many of the conditions of life which are described as those of prostitutes in Indian cantonments, are in no way peculiar either to prostitutes or to cantonments, but are common to all classes of the population, and obtain in every town and city of India. We at first proposed to record formal evidence on these points. But it is difficult to take evidence as to the customs of a vast country, and the time allowed was short. We shall therefore content ourselves with describing matters as we know them to exist. One of us is a native of the country, whose knowledge of the East is not confined to India; another has, in the exercise of his profession as a doctor, enjoyed unusual opportunities of acquainting himself with the domestic life of the people; while the third can speak with some authority as to their social organization. We believe that our statements in these matters will be accepted as being as nearly true as any general statements can be, concerning so heterogeneous a people and country as we have in India. At any rate, we shall never speak positively unless we are certain of our facts.

4. The following dates will be found useful for purposes of reference :—

- 1865-6.—Lock Hospitals first instituted.
- 5th June 1888.—Resolution passed by the House of Commons.
- 1888.—The old Lock Hospitals rules abolished; and with them, registration, licenses, and compulsory examination of prostitutes, the Lock Hospitals being continued as "Voluntary Venereal Hospitals."
- 11th October 1889.—Passing of the present Cantonment Act.
- 4th July 1890.—Notification of rules under that Act regarding infectious and contagious disorders.
- 25th January 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Lucknow.
- 5th February 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Meerut.
- 2nd March 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Ambala.
- 7th March 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Lucknow.
- 17th December 1892.—Mr. Bell at Meerut.
- 25th December 1892.—Mr. Bell at Lucknow.
- 6th June 1893.—Commission at Ambala.
- 9th June 1893.—Commission at Meerut.
- 12th June 1893.—Commission at Lucknow.
- 17th June 1893.—Commission at Kasauli.

A short glossary of the Indian terms used in the Report and its Appendix will be found prefixed to the Report.

## II.—CANTONMENTS IN INDIA.

## II.—CANTONMENTS IN INDIA.

5. The Cantonments of Ambala, Meerut and Lucknow include respectively, areas of  $14\frac{1}{2}$ , 11 and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  square miles, and populations of 51,020, 45,753. and 23,523 souls. The last adjoins the city of the same name; but the other two are situated at distances of several miles from the towns after which they are called. The ordinary strength of the garrisons is given below, the summer strength being smaller than that of the winter, owing to the absence of British troops in the hills, and of native soldiers on leave.

Cantonments.	COLD WEATHER.		HOT WEATHER.	
	British Troops.	Native Troops.	British Troops.	Native Troops.
Ambala - - - -	3,581	1,713	1,224	1,133
Meerut - - - -	2,853	1,448	1,680	1,448
Lucknow - - - -	4,820	3,100	2,400	2,000

Thus the troops themselves constitute but a small portion (varying from eight to fifteen per cent.) of the total Cantonment population.

All land included within Cantonment boundaries is the property of Government. Portions of it are allotted for building purposes to private individuals, free of ground rent, but subject to certain very stringent conditions, under which the military authorities can at any time appropriate the buildings if needed for Cantonment purposes, and can resume the land at pleasure on payment of compensation.

6. The Cantonment area is distributed in this wise. Certain blocks are marked out and set apart for Royal Artillery, British Cavalry, British Infantry, Native Cavalry, 100 and Native Infantry respectively; and are known as their regimental limits.\* Within these are included the regimental lines, occupied by the troops; the followers' lines, occupied by the native servants attached to and paid by the regiment; and the regimental bazaar, occupied by traders and others, who have been allowed to settle within regimental limits for the convenience of the troops. So absolutely is the regimental bazaar intended for the convenience of the regiment, that under the Indian Army Regulations,† a man who builds a house in a regimental bazaar ceases to have any enforceable right in it so soon as the regiment then in occupation leaves Cantonments. Another large block is marked out and known as the Sadar (or chief) bazaar, and 110 within its bounds are concentrated the whole of the civil native population of Cantonments, save so much of it as lives within regimental limits as already described, and servants residing in the compounds where they work. The remaining area of Cantonments is occupied by the bungalows of Europeans, by public institutions, by parade grounds, polo-grounds, and the like.

7. Thus, the normal distribution of the civil native population of a Cantonment is over six or more bazaars, of which all but one are regimental; while that one, the Sadar bazaar, is

\* NOTE.—Where, as at Lucknow, there are two regiments falling under the same description, each of them has separate regimental limits.

† NOTE.—Vol. II., Part II., Article 2094.



## II.—CANTONMENTS IN INDIA.

usually far larger than all the others put together. At Meerut a large bazaar has been allowed to grow up, contrary to all regulations, connecting the Sadar and British Infantry bazaars. It contains a population of 9,565 souls; and the whole of it is known as the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry bazaar, though only a small portion of it, comprising some 1,300 souls, lies within regimental limits. Form A attached to the Appendix gives the population of the various bazaars in the three Cantonments with which we are concerned. It will be seen that, while the British regimental bazaars are, except at Lucknow, considerable, and the native regimental bazaars are everywhere insignificant, the three Sadar bazaars comprise populations of 22,612, 13,834, and 5,038 souls respectively, and are in fact considerable Native towns. It need hardly be said that they are not mere bazaars in the ordinary sense of single streets occupied by shops; but that many bazaars and streets are included in each.

8. The community thus residing within the Sadar and regimental bazaars, came into existence and has grown with the Cantonments; and is composed all but exclusively of persons who trade or labour for profit in connection with the troops. Many of them have their homes elsewhere; while many more of them are actually migratory, moving on from place to place according as they find or lose employment. The upper classes are non-existent; men of wealth are usually Government contractors who have raised themselves from nothing, or native shopkeepers in a large way of business; the proportion of men to women is fifteen to nine; and the native population of a large Cantonment may be described as that of a considerable native city, with all those elements removed from it which most tend to promote stability and order.

9. Over such a community, the most ample powers of control are absolutely necessary. The presence of the troops and the nature of the civil population offer irresistible attractions to the loafer and the vagabond; and unless steps were taken to discourage them severely, they would find congenial hunting grounds in Cantonments. The presence of a large native population at the very doors of the barracks renders the most stringent sanitary precautions necessary; for, to take no higher ground, the imported British soldier is enormously costly. Accordingly, we find the Cantonment authorities exercising the most comprehensive powers of minute interference and control, based upon, and justified by, the fact that the Cantonments belong to Government, and exist solely for the sake of the troops; that whoever lives in Cantonments does so by permission only, of his own free choice, and in order to derive profit, either directly or indirectly, from the troops; that in settling there he accepts tacitly, if not explicitly, the well-known and customary conditions of residence within the boundaries which he is free to leave at any time; and that the first and last consideration to which all others must give way, is the health and convenience of the troops, compensation however, being paid whenever legitimate private rights are overridden.

10. These powers are exercised by the Officer Commanding the Station, advised by the Cantonment Committee, through his executive officer the Cantonment Magistrate. How wide they are may be seen from Clauses 12 to 28 of the enabling section (§26) of the present Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889; and from the fact that, under that section, power may be given to the Cantonment authorities to remove and exclude from Cantonments any person whom they may deem it expedient so to exclude, without assigning any reason whatsoever. We are more immediately concerned with three powers exercised by Cantonment authorities.\* No building is allowed to be altered or erected

\* NOTE.—A rough memorandum on the basis upon which these powers stand will be found in the Appendix.

## III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

without their approval first obtained. They regulate the place of residence of all inhabitants of Cantonment land. And they exercise the power, on rare occasions, of expelling from Cantonments a person whose presence there they consider undesirable.

11. The Sadar bazaar is considered the especial charge of the Cantonment Controlling authorities and their police. Magistrate. His authority extends to the regimental bazaars also; but they are immediately under the control of the Officers Commanding Regiments; and the Cantonment Magistrate would not ordinarily interfere unless General Regulations or Standing Orders were being infringed. The Cantonment Magistrate has under his orders a police force, which forms a portion of the general Police of the province; and consists, sometimes wholly of police constables, as at Ambala and Meerut, and sometimes partly of constables and partly of chaukidars, as at Lucknow. These are the civil police of Cantonments. In addition to them is maintained a body of Military Police. At Meerut this body consists exclusively of Regimental Police, under the orders of the Officers Commanding Regiments. At Ambala and Lucknow it includes also a Garrison Police, under the orders of the Officer Commanding the Station. The duties of this Military Police are confined to keeping order among the soldiery. They apprehend drunken soldiers; they see that men do not go out of bounds, and are not away from barracks out of hours; and they put down disturbances and affrays. The duties of the Regimental Police are mainly confined to regimental limits, and their concern lies chiefly with men of their own regiment; those of the Garrison Police are co-extensive with Cantonment limits and the British garrison.

## III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

12. Prostitution is regarded by society in India in a very different light from that in which it is looked upon in England. We do not say that it is, even in India, a reputable or an honourable calling. But the disrepute which attaches to it is wholly different, in kind as well as in degree, from that which attaches to it in Europe. This fact is probably due to two main causes. In the first place prostitution in India is, like most other callings, largely hereditary. Probably, from the very nature of the case, a larger number of recruits are admitted from outside than in many other occupations. But there are distinct castes, including very many thousands of human beings, of which the male members are by hereditary calling pimps, and the female members prostitutes; and are no more ashamed of being so, than a sweeper is ashamed of being a sweeper, or a tanner of being a tanner; though like them, they will claim a higher caste, if circumstances are not such as to render the claim too obviously absurd. At Ambala, where alone we succeeded in obtaining information on this point, we found that only eight out of thirty-nine prostitutes questioned did not belong to such hereditary caste.

The second cause is that the woman of India, if she belongs to the poorer classes, is a mere drudge, living only for her very heavy household duties, or for the labour by which she earns her living, and rapidly losing all pretensions to feminine charms. If she belongs to the higher classes, at any rate in Northern India, she spends her whole life within the four walls of the *zanana*. The one is wholly uneducated; the other wholly unacquainted with men and manners: both are without that intelligence which wider experience alone can give. The prostitute is, excepting among the Parsis, the only woman in Upper India who, while preserving her charms unimpaired by a hard life and by manual labour, possesses that cultivation which springs from free contact with men and with the world.



## III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

13. No doubt the class of prostitute whom the British soldier affects is not of a high type. But she is far superior, both physically and mentally, to the more respectable women of her own stratum of life; and the reputation of its higher members is more or less reflected on the whole class. In England, a prostitute has "fallen" from something better, and has become an outcast and the lowest of the low. In India, the majority of prostitutes are born, not made, and are not ashamed of or accounted disgraced by being so. There are other occupations which are considered far more degrading; so that, for instance, as appears from the evidence of the Meerut women, to call even a Cantonment prostitute "mehtaráni" or "female sweeper," a class of women no less virtuous than any other, is to insult her. We have had many indications in the course of our enquiry, that prostitutes frequently marry, settle down, and lead a respectable life. See, for instance, Miro's evidence, who states that four out of her twelve women who were turned out of the Cavalry bazaar chakla at Lucknow did so. And we know of our own knowledge that this is commonly the case; though, of course, when they belong to the prostitute castes, they must marry pimps, they will live by procuration, and their female children will be brought up to their mother's occupation. One of the patients in the hospital at Ambala, when questioned by Maulvi Sami-ullah, declared that she preferred her present life to marriage. The other said that she "would not mind marrying, if she could get a comfortable living by it."
14. We have said above that, from the very nature of the case, a larger number of recruits are probably admitted from outside the hereditary castes to the ranks of prostitutes, than is the case with regard to many other occupations. Answers 590 to 597, given before the India Office Committee, illustrate the manner in which such recruits are obtained. But the process must not be imagined to be in any way peculiar to Cantonments. All over the country, among the lower classes, widows who are unhappy at home, wives who cannot agree with their mothers-in-law, and women whose amours have unfortunately become public, leave their homes and fall into the hands of men who make their living by trading in such women. There are, within a few miles of the capital of Punjab, two villages which are notoriously dépôts for such women. They are bought up all over the country; and, as soon as a sufficient number has been collected, are sent off by train, chiefly to Sindh, there to be placed out as wives, concubines, or prostitutes; often only to return after awhile to their employers with the jewels of the persons with whom they have been placed, preparatory to starting afresh on the same course. Legal proof of sale and of intention is impossible to obtain. The facts are well known; but the police and the Magistrates are powerless.
15. We now turn to consider certain circumstances which are special to the prostitutes of our Indian Cantonments. The question of how far they are reserved exclusively for the use of our troops will be discussed later on. But there is little doubt that a native harlot does to some extent lose caste among her fellows by consorting with British soldiers. The dislike to miscegenation is double-edged; and it is notorious that if any one of the women who occupy the foremost ranks of the calling were to receive a European, she would forfeit her position. The British private soldier is looked upon by the natives as an Englishman of low caste; a woman who receives him suffers in estimation accordingly; and "*gorá kamáná* (to earn one's living from the British soldier) is used as a term of reproach. At the same time, the strength and extent of this feeling may very easily be exaggerated. It exists only among the better class of natives, a class by whom the sort of prostitute who inhabits our Cantonment chaklas could hardly hope to be frequented; and it operates in practice in very much the same manner, as does in England the feeling which would restrain an Englishman of the middle classes from associating



## III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

himself with a garrison prostitute. As a fact, there can be no shadow of doubt whatever that the women in question *do* consort freely with natives, though perhaps not often within the *chakla*, owing to causes which will be discussed later; and that most of them, like prostitutes elsewhere, have lovers chosen from their own nation and class of life. 290

16. It has been alleged that the majority of these women are so heavily in debt to their mahaldarnis, that they are unable to leave cantonments or to abandon their life of shame. As regards the life of shame, no other life is possible to the hereditary prostitute; or rather, if she marries, she may abandon personal prostitution, but must earn her living as a procuress, and will bring up her daughters to the occupation of her caste. We have been unable to discover any case in which the fact of a prostitute being indebted to her mahaldarni was admitted. The mahaldarni often keeps the woman, and takes the whole of her earnings; but we could find no admitted instance of actual debt. But we nevertheless believe that such instances do exist, and are probably not infrequent. It is in the nature of things that it should be so, in India as in Europe; for *entreteneuses* are common and prostitutes are careless and extravagant all the world over. A great number—it is said a large majority—of the prostitutes of Indian towns and cities are maintained by procuresses, who either take all their earnings, or make advances to them which they are unable to pay off. But we wish to point out, what is probably not so true elsewhere as in India, that this state of affairs is by no means peculiar to prostitutes. There are hundreds of artisans in every large city, there are thousands of agricultural labourers in most districts, who have taken an advance from their employers, and so contracted a burden of debt which they can hardly hope to clear off. A description has been given of how one mahaldarni transferred to another a prostitute who was in her debt, in consideration of the debt being paid by the latter. (Answers 550 to 559 before the India Office Committee.) The latter woman denied the transaction before us, probably untruly; and all the statements made to us go to show that such transactions do not take place. We do not believe these statements. But, be that as it may, it is certainly a fact that the artisans and agricultural labourers just alluded to, are commonly transferred from hand to hand on precisely the terms thus described. The women, while denying indebtedness to their mahaldarnis, freely admitted owing money to their shopkeepers. Now the native of India, almost without exception, deals on credit; and the normal condition of his account, however solvent he may be, is that of a debit against him. The only question in each case is, whether the assets cover the liabilities. When they do not, so long as imprisonment for debt continues to figure in the Civil Code of India, the debtor's movements are dependent upon the will of his creditors.\* It is an experience familiar to Anglo-Indians, that servants are frequently unable to follow their masters to another station, until an advance has been made to enable them to pay off the debts they have contracted; and that not unfrequently the wife and children will be left behind, by way of hostages to the creditors. 300 310 320 330

17. As for our own experience, we have met with *very* few instances of evident poverty—perhaps five or six out of the 143 women examined by us. The remainder have seemed to us who are brought into daily contact with the poorer class of natives, to be contented, well clad, well nourished, in appearance comfortably off, and in no small number of cases very distinctly well-to-do. Certainly the women we saw in the *native* *chakla* in Ambala fell very far behind them in these respects. The same impression has been produced upon the minds of Drs. Ranking, O'Connor, Hamilton, and Wardrop, all of whom have had much experience of the women in question, and some of whom have shown themselves to be inspired by quite unusual sympathy for them. The women 340

\* NOTE.—After the report was signed it was pointed out to us that, since 1888, no woman can be arrested or imprisoned in India in execution of a decree for money.

## IV.—THE SEGREGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

bring their own bedding, and sometimes their own bedsteads, with them to the Venereal Hospital, though both are provided by Government. They enjoy their small luxuries while there, such as tobacco, pan, and opium; it is not found necessary to supplement their clothing; the diet which suffices for the ordinary in-patient of our hospitals is too plain for them; and we observed at Lucknow that many of the houses in the *chakla* were provided with a *pankhah*, a table, and a chair or stool. It is beyond doubt that some  
 360 of them amass very considerable wealth, as measured by the standard of an Indian bazaar.

18. As for their age, Dr. Cleghorn carefully passed under review the 143 women who appeared before us. He found one of  
 Their age. 16 at Ambala (of course the ages are approximate only), one of 15 at Meerut, and one of 14 or 15 at Lucknow. These were the only ones who appeared to be younger than 17 or 18. The youngest girl we came across was one of about 8 years of age in the *native* *chakla* of Ambala, who was living with her mother, a hereditary prostitute, but had not yet begun to practise. Dr. O'Connor at Meerut has examined prostitutes every week  
 360 for three years, in numbers varying from 60 to 90; but never remembers to have seen one younger than 17. He remembered the girl called Mariam, who is evidently referred to by Mr. Bell in Answer No. 1549 before the India Office Committee. She was the youngest looking girl of her age that he had ever had in hospital; but she was certainly not under 17 years old. In one case Dr. Ranking returned without examining, a girl, a new comer, sent to him for examination, with the remark that she was too young to practise.

## IV.—THE SEGREGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

19. By Indian custom, persons following a common trade or occupation generally live together in one or more  
 370 The segregation of occupations in India. quarters of their town or village, which are occupied almost exclusively by them. The custom is strongest in the case of callings which are followed by outcasts, or the exercise of which is in any way offensive or annoying to the neighbours, such as the calling of the sweeper, the tanner, the copper-smith, the maker of raw hide vessels, the butcher, and so forth. It is, however, by no means limited to them; but it is in a greater or less degree common to all occupations and to all towns. A few conspicuous instances which occur to us are, the shawl-weavers and silk-workers of Amritsar, the shoemakers, wire-drawers, and lace-sellers of Delhi, and the bangle-makers, silk-dealers, and fruiterers of Peshawar. In the case of callings by which the  
 380 feelings or comfort of the neighbours are not affected, this custom is based upon the ties of common caste or guild, always strong in India, and upon the convenience of both traders and customers; and is wholly voluntary and spontaneous, both in its origin and in its observance. In the case of more or less offensive occupations, while the custom is stronger and no less old, statutory powers exist in all large towns to compel its observance. The Municipalities of the Punjab are invested by law with powers to regulate the carrying on of certain occupations and classes of occupations, arranged under twenty-two  
 390 different heads, to grant licenses for their prosecution in specified localities, and to direct its discontinuance; while persons prosecuting such occupations without such license, or in disregard of such directions, are liable to severe punishment in a Criminal Court. So, again, the shops of beef-butchers are under the very strictest regulation in all parts of the country.

20. The case of prostitutes offers no exception to these general statements. The Indian harlots (who, it may be re-  
 The segregation of prostitutes in cities. marked, do not solicit, in the sense in which solicitation is practised in England) affect certain special quarters of the towns in which they reside, such as the Anarkalli Bazaar at Lahore, the Thatti



## IV.—THE SEGREGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

at Peshawar, the Bazar Kanjrian (prostitutes' bazaar) at Amritsar, and the Chauk at Lucknow. There they generally occupy the upper storeys of the shops, and sitting at their open windows, expose their charms to the passers by. To such a pitch has this scandal reached in some of the Panjab towns, that the last Panjab Municipal Act (passed in 1891) contains an enabling section by which a Magistrate may, on proof of annoyance to the neighbours, peremptorily forbid any given house to be used for the purposes of a brothel, and inflict a substantial fine for disregard of his orders. Indeed, the civil authorities have not always waited for statutory powers. At Peshawar, prostitutes were formerly confined to one main quarter, to which, of late years, two or three smaller ones have been added. At Amritsar, it is only recently that they have been allowed to live outside what are still their three main quarters. And at Delhi, no prostitute is permitted to take up her abode in the Chandni Chauk, or "Regent Street," of the city. 400

21. In Cantonments, as has been already remarked, the powers of regulation and control are wider and more minute than those exercised over the extra-military population. At Meerut and Lucknow, every person wishing to reside, or to change his residence in Cantonments, has to apply to the authorities for permission to do so. And so far is this carried at Lucknow, that every officer in civil employ who wishes to occupy a bungalow in Cantonments, has first to obtain written sanction in a form which will be found in the Appendix. The persons who have done to include (to quote two instances given us) the chief revenue, criminal, and executive authority in the Lucknow District, who is the immediate representative of the British Government to a population of 775,000 souls; and a Colonel of Royal Engineers, who is the administrative head of a railway system comprising 700 miles of open line. Permission, while granted as a matter of course where no objection exists, is constantly refused when to grant it, would in any degree endanger the comfort, convenience, or safety of the neighbours. At Lucknow, indeed, the practice goes further; people are expected to reside in the quarters allotted to their callings; and a second-hand furniture dealer (for instance) is not allowed to open a shop, except in the proximity of other shops of the same nature. At Ambala no special permission is required as a condition prior to residence or change of residence; but the regulation of residence is only less strict, and people are freely moved when their presence disturbs the neighbourhood. 42 430

22. With the single exception of the beef-butchers, prostitutes are the class of all classes whose residence it is most important to regulate strictly. Regard for public decency requires that they should not be allowed to pursue their vocation in all parts of Cantonments indifferently; more especially as, owing to the nature of their calling, they would naturally select (as they often do in cities) the most public thoroughfares for its practice. Sanitary considerations possess especial force in the case of women frequented by British troops; and special sanitation is most easily enforced in definite quarters. Breaches of the peace and other offences are, all the world over, of most frequent occurrence in the haunts of the vicious; and public order is more easily preserved when those haunts are collected together, than when they are scattered. Finally, military discipline requires that soldiers shall pass the night in barracks, and that absentees without leave shall be apprehended. Such absentees are most often found in the houses of prostitutes; and the search for them is greatly facilitated when these houses lie in close proximity to one another. Accordingly, we find that, in all Cantonments, public prostitutes are required to reside in certain specified portions of the bazaars; and at Lucknow a European harlot was not long ago turned out of the bazaar, and left Cantonments, because she declined to comply with this rule. 440 460



## IV.—THE SEGREGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

So long as they confine themselves to these quarters, absolute liberty in the selection of their actual place of residence is ordinarily allowed to them. But at Ambala we found that, in view of the considerations noted above, and on the report of the Garrison Police that, so long as the women were scattered, they had no proper control over their men, the Cantonment Magistrate had been bringing pressure to bear upon the women to leave their separate houses, and  
 460 to come into the enclosed quarters devoted to prostitutes. That the pressure was not very severe, is evident from the fact that a considerable number of them had not yielded to it.

23. It has just been explained that at Meerut and Lucknow, every person wishing to settle in Cantonments, or to change his residence, has to apply for permission to the Cantonment Magistrate. These applications are made on the form or paper prescribed for that purpose, which generally costs three pies. They bear (like all miscellaneous applications presented to a Magistrate) a stamp of one anna, and are, in the case of illiterate applicants, written by a petition-writer, who works for payment. No other fee of any sort whatever is ever levied in connection with  
 470 them (*cf.* Answer No. 584). At Meerut they are accompanied by a form, which is returned to the applicant with formal permission endorsed upon it, and which he shows to the police as his authority. When presented by a prostitute, they often take the form of an application to reside, and to practice as a prostitute in a certain house; in which case the order granting the permission is carefully silent as to the prostitution. We find that in October 1891, the medical officer at Meerut reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, that two European women residing in the city were in the habit of coming over to Cantonments, and there practising as prostitutes. This is probably the case referred to in Answers 718 and 1183, given before the India Office Committee;  
 480 though we have not been able to identify the visitors' book there referred to. We have ascertained from the office records that the police made inquiries, and found that both the women were admittedly diseased; and that one of them had been turned out of Cantonments in the previous June, under the rules of July 1890; but had obtained permission, conditional on her not prostituting herself there, to re-enter Cantonments in order to conduct a law-suit in which she was interested. It did not appear that the women had prostituted themselves in Cantonments, and no further action was taken. This is the only case that has come to our notice, in which there was any attempt to object to a  
 490 woman practising prostitution within Cantonments without permission; and here the point of the complaint evidently was, that the women lived outside Cantonments, and thus removed themselves from the operation of the rules of 1890.

24. So long as the Lock Hospital Rules were in force, a prostitute wishing to reside in Cantonments had in all cases to apply for permission to reside, and to be brought on to the Register of Prostitutes. She was then sent in charge of the police to the Medical Officer, to be examined before permission was granted. At Meerut this practice has been absolutely discontinued since 1888. At Lucknow it was, until lately, the practice of the  
 500 Cantonment Magistrate, to ask a woman applying for permission to reside whether she would be examined by the Medical Officer; and in case of her agreeing, which she always did, to endorse upon the application a request to the Medical Officer that he would examine her. This she took herself to the doctor (without the intervention of the police), was examined, and had the result endorsed upon her application, which she brought back to the Cantonment Magistrate for final orders upon it. We shall comment later on upon this procedure. At Ambala no such applications are required, nor is any medical examination made. But such applications are still occasionally received; and in one or two instances women (a French woman among them) had of their own accord  
 510 presented themselves to the doctor for examination as a preliminary to

## V.—THE CHAKLAS.

residence. In no such case, however, did he give any certificate of the result of his examination. We asked one woman, who had recently acted in this manner, who had told her to go to the doctor; and she replied, "Tell me! Why should they tell me? Have I been a prostitute for eleven years, and not know the custom?"

25. Under the old Lock Hospital system a prostitute had to apply formally for permission to leave Cantonments, in which case she was sent to a medical officer for examination. Such applications are still occasionally presented; but permission is always granted on them as a matter of course, and no medical examination ever suggested. As a fact, prostitutes leave every Cantonment weekly without asking for or receiving permission. In no case of late years has a woman presented herself for examination as a preliminary to leaving Cantonments; and the old procedure has almost dropped out of memory. The women who appeared before us were in every case unanimous that they were absolutely free to leave the chakla or Cantonments at pleasure. Nor is the fact of a woman having left Cantonments without permission any bar whatever to her return. At Lucknow we noticed a petition from a woman for leave to reside, who distinctly stated that she had done so; but permission was granted as a matter of course, after medical examination, by order dated 18th February 1892. The story told by Dr. Bushnell, in Answers 983 to 1061, before the Departmental Committee, has been retold before us by Major Campbell, the Cantonment Magistrate referred to (see pages xxxii and xxxiii of the Appendix), and the result of our examination of the record will there be found noted. The 10th Bengal Infantry had left Lucknow, so that we were unable to examine their doctor. We are perfectly satisfied, however, that at that time every woman was absolutely free to leave Cantonments without permission or examination; and the fact that a police constable thought otherwise is merely another instance of the extraordinary persistence of established observances among natives, to which we refer elsewhere, and which has been sufficiently exemplified in this and the preceding paragraphs.

## V.—THE CHAKLAS.

26. The quarters of a town which are most affected by the commoner class of prostitute are commonly known as chaklas, a vernacular word of which the origin is unknown to us. In Cantonments the word is employed in the same general sense; but it is also specially applied to an enclosure, with more or less numerous quarters within it, which is devoted to the use of prostitutes. It is, however, far from being the case that all the prostitutes of the general chakla or quarter are collected within the special chakla or enclosure. In the Lal Kurli bazaar at Meerut, for instance, there is no enclosure, and the women live in separate houses at one end of the main street of the bazaar; and in every case we found unoccupied rooms, and sometimes many of them, within the enclosure, while we found that prostitutes, often in considerable numbers, were living outside of, though in the immediate neighbourhood of, the enclosure. Even in the case of regimental bazaars, which are generally small, where control is stricter than in the Sadar, and where it is probable that before 1888 prostitutes were never allowed to live outside the special quarters allotted to them, prostitutes were permitted at Ambala after 1888 to live outside the chaklas, so long as the latter were Government property. Even the old regimental chaklas themselves were not always enclosed; as, for instance, in the case of the Cavalry chakla at Meerut, and the Infantry chakla at Lucknow, where the chakla has always consisted of an open portion of a small side street.

27. The enclosed chaklas are buildings of the type so universal throughout India, if not throughout the East, which is familiar to us from childhood under the name of caravanserai

(shortened in India to *serai*). It consists of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller area, to which a strong gate gives access. The middle of the interior is occupied by an open space; while round all four sides are ranged numbers of small rooms or quarters, some being larger, and affording better accommodation than the others. This type is commonly followed in India, wherever accommodation is required for a number of persons or families connected by almost any common tie, or wherever the resident persons or families are continually changing. The *serai* for travellers, the native hotel of India, has been already mentioned, and is the type of the class. But many of our older hospitals and dispensaries were built on the same model; and the Revenue and Criminal Courts and offices at the head-quarters of subdivisions of districts were so built till quite recently. The quarters set apart for, and occupied by, the lower castes in agricultural villages are, in many parts of the Panjab, almost invariably of this form; and the private servants of Englishmen are not unfrequently lodged in enclosures built on the same plan. In every large town, apart from the *serais*, there are many of these collections of quarters, which are occupied by people generally of the poorer classes, and of one and the same caste. As Maulvi Sani-ullah puts it: "Turn the prostitutes out of the *chakla* and replace them by ordinary lodgers, and you have what, under the name of *katra*, is a common form of lodging-house in all our cities. Turn the lodgers out of one of these *katras* and put in prostitutes, and it becomes a *chakla* at once. If drivers of hackney carriages live there, it is called an *adda*; if small shopkeepers or greengrocers occupy it, it is called a *mandi*; if travellers, a *serai*; if prostitutes, a *chakla*." In the Cavalry bazaar at Ambala a private enclosure of precisely this type was occupied by prostitutes in 1890, and was from that moment known as the *chakla*; and the old regimental *chaklas* have for the most part since 1888 been occupied by private lodgers; though they still stand (with the exception of the Artillery *chakla* at Lucknow, where the enclosing wall has been taken down), exactly as they stood before 1888. Outside Cantonments such quarters are seldom occupied by prostitutes, the very essence of whose trade is publicity, and who cannot afford to hide themselves within the four walls of an enclosure. Amritsar seems to be the exception which proves the rule; for there two of the three main quarters for prostitutes are *katras*.

28. The *chaklas* of our Cantonments fall under two heads—the small ones in the regimental bazaars, probably frequented almost exclusively by men of the regiment to which the bazaar is attached; and the larger ones in the Sadar bazaars.

29. At Lucknow the Sadar *chakla* was built by Government in 1877 from the materials of an old palace, before which date a small open bazaar close by had been used for the purpose. It was sold in 1888, and has since then been private property. The two *chaklas* in the Sadar bazaar at Meerut have never belonged to Government. The smaller one (Kalandar's) was built shortly after the Mutiny by a private individual, upon confiscated land bought from Government. The larger one (Hira's) was built as a private speculation by a prostitute, to whom Government land was granted for the purpose, when the ejection of the prostitutes from the regimental bazaars in 1888 created a demand for accommodation. There is no enclosed *chakla* in the Lal Kurti bazaar. At Ambala the *chakla* now known as the *gorā*, or British *chakla*, was built in 1843, when the Cantonments were transferred from Karnal to Ambala, by the hereditary pimps, who, with their women, accompanied the garri-on. The present native *chakla* also has always been private property. It used to be the British *chakla* till the sudden demand for accommodation in 1888; when, the other *chakla* being much the larger, the two were interchanged.



V.—THE CHAKLAS.

30. At Lucknow there has never been a left Infantry chakla, as the regimental lines are close to the Sadar bazaar. The right Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery chaklas were originally Government property, but were sold in the end of 1888. At Ambala also, all the regimental chaklas were Government property. The Artillery chakla was sold at the end of 1890; while the Cavalry and Infantry chaklas have only recently been disposed of. At Meerut there never has been an enclosed chakla for the Infantry, as the regimental bazaar proper forms, as already explained, a portion of the Lal Kuri bazaar. The Artillery and Cavalry chaklas have always been private property.

31. In no case has a Government chakla been sold to a pimp or a prostitute. The occupation and rent of chaklas. In no case has a chakla, while the property of Government, been occupied by prostitutes since 1888. We have satisfied ourselves that in no case has Government paid rent for any building used as a chakla, with the following doubtful exception. The present owner of the Cavalry chakla at Meerut states that, at some uncertain date, and for a period of about fifteen months, the Colonel of the 8th Hussars (who were at Meerut from 1884 to 1889) paid the rent, which had before that time been paid by the women, and which the Colonel of the 5th Lancers, who succeeded them, refused to pay. The chaudhri of the bazaar, who admits the payment of the mahaldarni for a time by the 8th Hussars, states that no rent has ever been paid in his time (since 1884) by any regiment.

32. The Sadar chaklas have, of course, been continuously occupied by Residence of prostitutes in regimental chaklas. prostitutes up to date. By Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3, of 12th May 1888, the residence of registered prostitutes in the bazaars of British corps was prohibited. It was these orders that led to the closing and sale of the regimental chaklas; and, in compliance with them, the women were in all cases turned out of regimental bazaars and sent to live in the Sadar. At Lucknow the regimental chaklas have since that time been occupied by ordinary lodgers, and no prostitutes have since then lived in any of the regimental bazaars. At Ambala and Meerut the regimental chaklas were presently reopened, or prostitutes again allowed to live within regimental limits; apparently on the grounds that the orders of May 1888 forbade the residence in regimental bazaars of registered prostitutes only, and that, since the subsequent orders of August 1888 had abolished registration, the prohibition was no longer in force. By Quartermaster General's No. 20, of 11th July 1892, the prohibition was repeated in general terms, and these orders were re-issued in May 1893.

33. When the Meerut Lock Hospital was reopened, in July 1889, an arrangement was made by the Cantonment Committee and the Officers Commanding regiments, by which the regimental chaklas were reopened also; and a limited number of women (ten for the Cavalry, ten for the Infantry, and fourteen for the Artillery) invited to reside in them, on the understanding that they would attend weekly at the Lock Hospital for examination, and, if diseased, would remain in hospital till cure. The chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or August 1891; but perhaps more probably at the same period of 1892, on the issue of the orders referred to above; and the entry of women in the examination sheets under the heads of "Artillery" and "5th Lancers" up to the 29th August 1892 confirms this supposition. Since then no prostitutes have resided within regimental limits at Meerut.

34. At Ambala a similar arrangement seems to have been made during the latter part of 1889 and the beginning of 1890; only, the regimental chaklas being still Government property,

## V.—THE CHAKLAS.

the prostitutes lived outside the enclosed chaklas, but in the regimental  
 680 bazaar; though the Artillery women moved into their old chakla in May 1892,  
 some eighteen months after its sale by Government. The Infantry women  
 were turned out or left in the end of 1891, as the Derbyshire Regiment,  
 which then came to Ambala, refused to countenance them. The women of  
 the other two bazaars stayed on till the re-issue, in May 1893, of the orders  
 of July 1892 already referred to, when they were turned out by the Cantonment  
 Magistrate.

35. It will be convenient at this point to explain certain circumstances,  
 Misconceptions regarding regimental ignorance of which has led to much mis-  
 chaklas. conception, that is reproduced in the India  
 690 Office evidence. When the women were turned out of the regimental chaklas  
 at Meerut and Lucknow they and their mahaldarnis took refuge in the Sadar  
 bazaar. Where, as in some cases, the group of women who had occupied one  
 of the regimental chaklas (or the greater number of them) moved with their  
 mahaldarni into separate quarters in the Sadar bazaar they continued to be  
 known as the women, and the building they occupied began to be called the  
 chakla, of the regiment to which they had belonged. But this was a mere  
 name, signifying nothing. The women, living as they did in the Sadar bazaar,  
 ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment, which never had any  
 concern whatever with the building which they occupied; at Meerut, an  
 700 enclosure like to, but smaller than, the Sadar chakla; at Lucknow, a small row  
 of ordinary houses open to the street. This accounts for the "Lancers'"  
 chaklas, spoken of by Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell as still existing at  
 Meerut and Lucknow. At Meerut, again, by far the larger portion of what  
 is known as the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry, bazaar lies, as already explained,  
 outside the regimental limits, and is in all respects but name a portion of the  
 Sadar bazaar. So much is this the case, that the Officer at present Commanding  
 the British Infantry at Meerut has declined to be responsible for even that part  
 of the Lal Kurti bazaar which does lie within his limits. Now *all* the prosti-  
 710 tutes living in the Lal Kurti bazaar at Meerut live in the former or extra-  
 regimental portion of it. These women have no more special concern or  
 connection with the Infantry than have their fellows living in the Sadar bazaar  
 proper, save in so far as proximity to the regimental lines may give them an  
 advantage. But they are, by reason of their place of residence, spoken of as  
 the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry, women.

36. Each of the chaklas now occupied by prostitutes is necessarily situated  
 Watch and ward over chaklas, within the beat of some police constable, and at  
 Lucknow, of some Cantonment chaukidar. But  
 in no case is any special guard or watch placed over the chakla; nor is a  
 chaukidar attached to any one of them, as they are not Government property,  
 720 and it is not usual with natives to employ chaukidars on premises of this sort.  
 The chaukidar whom Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell saw inside the Lucknow  
 chakla was doubtless the Cantonment chaukidar, in whose beat the chakla  
 is situated; who followed them in, and very rightly so, partly, no doubt, from  
 curiosity, but partly also with a view to their protection. A visit by two  
 European ladies to a place of this sort would naturally arouse the most  
 intense curiosity; and the chaukidar, if he did nothing else, would at least  
 keep street loafers from flocking in, as he had to do on the occasion of our  
 visit, which was of a much less startling nature. The Military Police patrol  
 the chaklas after dark, and their visits will be referred to later on in detail.  
 In Lucknow there is a Military Police post within a short distance of the  
 730 chakla. It appears that a native policeman was stationed on the Ambala gora  
 chakla last cold weather, when the number of prostitutes and troops was at  
 its maximum; but was reported by the Military Police as useless, and was  
 taken off again.

## VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

37. In any case, the women are as free as day to pass in and out, and, subject to the conditions already described (paragraph 21), to change their residence from one part of the prostitutes' quarter to another. The picture which is suggested by the India Office evidence, of harlots cooped up for the use of the British soldiery in an enclosure surrounded by high walls, with strong gates watched over by police, is misleading in every particular. As we have already pointed out, the high-walled enclosure is a common form of lodging-house throughout Northern India; and in a country where "pardah" is the rule your respectability is (as Maulvi Sami-ullah remarks) measured by the height of the walls that surround your house. To eyes accustomed to the country the chaklas present no structural peculiarities whatever. The long blank wall at Lucknow does, indeed, look somewhat jail-like; but only because it has not, as the walls of such enclosures generally have, a row of shops or houses along its outer face. It is pierced by three entrances, with never a door among them; and the adjoining wall of the courtyard to which it belongs is all too low for privacy. The gate of the Ambala British chaklas has not been shut, certainly, for a twelvemonth past; and if it were fastened, it is so broken that it would stand in no one's way. The gate of the native chakla is far more formidable, and in far better order. Wherever we went, many rooms in the chaklas were empty, while prostitutes were living in numbers outside them. Even in Ambala there were eight or ten so living, though there some pressure had recently been put upon them to come into the chakla. The only complaint of any sort which was made to us of any restraint upon perfect freedom was by two of the leading and most attractive women in the British chakla at Ambala. It obviously sprang from their resentment at the recent prohibition of a practice which had grown up, of the women sitting in the street outside the chakla doors, to wrangle for the custom of the soldiers who were drinking at the sherbet shops close by, and at the strictness with which native men had recently been excluded from the chakla. The very complaint, and the very practice the prohibition of which was complained of, show that perfect freedom is ordinarily enjoyed; and the other women there, and all the women elsewhere, professed themselves absolutely free to come and go at will. From all we saw and heard we are convinced that it is absurd to suppose the contrary. Neither the Cantonment Magistrate nor the Medical Officer treats the chaklas in any way differently from any other Cantonment premises, in the way of supervision, inspection, or control. In short, the *only* difference in the control exercised over the chaklas and over other parts of the bazaar is in connection with the Military Police, a subject to which we shall presently return.

## VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

38. The organic communities into which Indian society is divided are for the most part represented by headmen, either hereditary or elected, in their dealings with the local authorities. These headmen are recognised by Government in degrees which vary, from actual appointment, through approval of the selection, down to mere recognition as the persons with whom matters affecting the group are discussed, and to whom orders are communicated. When the duties of these headmen are in any degree arduous they receive payment, sometimes from the public purse, but more often from the people whom they represent; and in this latter case their fees not infrequently take the form of a cess upon earnings.

Such a system of representatives of village communities and their groups and subdivisions, forms an integral part of the revenue system of Northern India; witness the zaildars, lambardars, and thuladars of our villages, and the considerable emoluments which they receive under rules framed and enforced by Government. The wards or muhallas into which towns are divided are



## VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

790 represented by leading inhabitants or muhalladars, who are summoned when information is required or orders are to be communicated. Most of the trades or occupations have their headmen or chaudhris; and when, as in the case, for instance, with carriers of all sorts, dealings with the authorities are frequent, their selection is held by tradition and practice to be subject to official approval. In many cases these headmen levy an impost upon all earnings. The gangs of hereditary navvies, who wander about the country taking contracts for earth-work, are dealt with through one of their number, who is called their jemadar, and who takes a larger share than the others of the payments for work done. In the station where this report is being written (Kasauli) the chaudhri of  
800 coolies takes half an anna for every four annas paid for a coolie, and the chaudhri of ponies two annas out of every rupee paid for a pony. Both are appointed and dismissed by the Magistrate. Neither receives any pay from any public source.

39. Under the old system in force prior to 1888 the Officer Commanding a regiment used, at any rate in some cases, to  
The mahaldarnis described. arrange for the provision of women for the use of his men. A hereditary pimp or a prostitute (more commonly the latter) would offer to bring the women required. If the offer was approved she collected women from among her acquaintances, and became responsible for  
810 their management and good conduct. From them she received fees, generally in the form of a levy upon their earnings; while in some cases, but apparently rarely, she also received an allowance from regimental funds. She lived with her women in the regimental chakla; and her duties were to attend generally to the comfort and welfare of the women, to fill up vacancies in their ranks, to take them to the periodical examinations by a doctor, and personally make supplementary examinations, to settle disputes, and to report such as she could not settle, together with all disturbances and offences occurring in the chakla under her charge. If her performance of these duties was not satisfactory, she would be dismissed and another appointed in her place, who would  
820 probably bring her own women with her in place of the old set.

Such persons were called mahaldars if men, and mahaldarnis\* if women. The whole system was simply a replica of that under which numberless other needs were being supplied on all sides. It, unfortunately, did not occur to us to ask the question; but, since large numbers of pankah coolies are needed in Cantonments during the hot-weather months, we should not be surprised to find that in many cases they are obtained through a chaudhri or jemadar of pankah coolies, whose duties and emoluments (whether paid by Government or levied from the coolies, or both) are precisely analogous to those of the mahaldarni. These mahaldarnis and their women often attached themselves  
830 to an individual regiment, and followed it from one Cantonment to another. In other cases (and especially when regiments were transferred by rail from long distances) they remained in the regimental chakla, and were taken over by each new regiment as it succeeded the old one. Many of the old mahaldarnis still act as *entreteneuses* to their groups of women, and levy fees upon their earnings as before; but they do so in a purely private capacity. In fact a mahaldarni may best be defined as an *entreteneuse* who is recognised by authority. She takes by custom a proportion of the women's earnings, varying from one-fourth, if she finds them in board and lodging, to one-eighth if she does not.†

840 40. This was the system prevailing from of old in all chaklas, long before Lock Hospitals were founded or the Lock Hospital Rules framed. In 1883 it  
The appointment of mahaldarnis by Government, and their dismissal.

\* The Persian word "mahal" means abode, hall, palace; and, metaphorically, a noble lady, a queen. The word "mahaldār" (*feminine mahaldarni*) would mean the person in charge of a mahal; and the latter word is said by Platts (Urdu Dictionary, London, 1884) to mean "the female superintendent of a Lock Hospital; the head midwife of a quarter or district; the head of a brothel, the mother bawd."

† NOTE.—This is what appears from the evidence as recorded; but we are not sure that the meaning of the women was not that half an anna (or an anna) was taken on each visit; which would amount to one-eighth, or one-fourth only when a private soldier paid no more than the minimum four annas, and to less in all other cases.

## VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

was apparently decided to utilise more fully the services of these women; and with this view it was determined to bring all mahaldarnis under proper control as paid Government servants. Accordingly, by Circular Memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, orders were issued to appoint to each chakla a paid head woman, to be called a dhai, whose name was to be borne on the roll of the Lock Hospital establishment, but whose duties were confined to the chakla. In 1888 the women were turned out of the regimental bazaars; and the regimental mahaldarnis were shortly afterwards dismissed, and their appointments abolished. In August 1888 and July 1889 the Meerut and Ambala Lock Hospitals, respectively, were temporarily closed; and their establishments, including the Sadar mahaldarnis, brought under reduction. At Lucknow, however, Amiran, the mahaldarni of the Sadar chakla, was retained in her appointment. In November 1890 the Officiating Cantonment Magistrate wrote of her: "She is not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but is employed to maintain order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order, as in other parts of the bazaar." In December 1890 a Cantonment Hospital, with enlarged establishment, was substituted for the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, by Quartermaster General's letter No. 5276-B. (Sanitary), dated the 5th December 1890; and in the revised scale of establishment the word "dhai" had disappeared, and provision was made for two matrons, on Rs. 12 and Rs. 10. Amirjan, the existing matron, was appointed to the former post; while the latter, that on Rs. 10, was given to Amiran, the old Sadar mahaldarni. It was probably intended that these two matrons should work at the women's ward of the general branch, as well as at the venereal branch, as they do elsewhere; but the general branch was not started at Lucknow till January 1892; and accordingly Amiran continued to live in the Sadar bazaar, where she apparently enjoyed a practical sinecure. At any rate, the Medical Officer hardly knew her by sight, never gave her any orders, and did not know where she lived and performed her duties, such as they were. Certainly presenting the women for examination was not one of them. In his Memorandum, dated the 15th December 1891, the Medical Officer pointed out that, "under the present system of Cantonment Hospitals, the services of the dhais are not all necessary," and proposed that a compounder should be appointed in her place. The General forwarded the proposal with his letter No. 836, of 23rd December 1891; and the change was sanctioned in January 1892, with effect from the 1st February. On that date Amiran was dismissed; and from that date no woman has been employed or has received pay on account of duties, either nominal or real, connected with a Sadar chakla. We quote these dates particularly, which we have verified by actual inspection of the letters, because they effectually dispose of the suggestion contained in Answers Nos. 884 to 919, and 471 and 472, given before the India Office Committee, that the dismissal of the woman was due to anything that had occurred at or after the first visit of Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell to Lucknow. No other woman of the sort was dismissed at the same time. In fact, the only other woman then employed, besides a female sweeper, was Amirjan, the Lock Hospital matron, who still holds her appointment. Both the Cantonment Magistrate and the Medical Officer absolutely deny that they ever held out any hope of re-employment to Amiran, or indeed contemplated the re-opening of the regimental chaklas as possible, or ever advised her as to her means of livelihood.

41. As we have already said, regimental mahaldarnis were dismissed when the chaklas were closed in 1888. When, at Meerut and Ambala, women were allowed again to reside in the regimental bazaars, mahaldars or mahaldarnis again appeared with the women; but they seem to have received no pay from the regiment, with the doubtful exception of the Cavalry mahaldarni at Meerut, who is said by the bazaar chaudhri to have received Rs. 2 a month (and each woman Re. 1), on condition of keeping soap and towels in their



## VII.—PROSTITUTES WITH REGIMENTS ON THE MARCH AND IN STANDING CAMP.

houses, for the last year of the stay of the 8th Hussars, who left in 1889. There is clearly something wrong about his dates, as the *chakla* was not re-opened till July 1889. When the 8th Hussars were succeeded by the 5th Lancers, this allowance was discontinued. In every case that has come to our notice in which women have been allowed to pitch their tents near a regiment in standing camp a *mahaldarni* has been at their head; and whenever women have accompanied troops on the march they will almost certainly have been in charge of a *mahaldarni*. These women doubtless held office subject to the pleasure of the Commanding Officer; but we have met with no case in which the *mahaldarni* has received any pay from the regiment. Any such payment, if made, would necessarily be from some such private regimental fund as the bazaar fund, which consists of small dues levied from traders for permission to trade within regimental limits. From the moment that the *mahaldarni* ceased to be borne on the sanctioned scale of establishment payment from any fund under the control and audit of Government became absolutely impossible. It is to be noticed that these *mahaldarnis* still continue to levy their fees as before from the women to whom they act as *entreteneuses*, even where they have long since ceased to have any recognised position or duties.

42. It will be well to note here that great confusion has been caused by the indiscriminate employment of the two terms, *mahaldarni* and *dhai*. The meaning of the former has just been explained. The latter term means originally a wet nurse or midwife, and is commonly applied to a matron attached to an institution for females. The matrons of Lock Hospitals are very properly called *dhais*; but they were probably, without exception, old *mahaldarnis*, perhaps because no other class of women would accept the post. On the other hand, the women appointed to the *chaklas* in 1883, as already related, were also described in the orders and in the establishment rolls as *dhais*, although they were emphatically *mahaldarnis*. By the custom of India a person who has once held a position of authority continues to be known by his old title, long after he has ceased to have any right to it; indeed it is often continued to his descendants. We constantly noticed in the course of our enquiries that the native officials spoke of and addressed the matrons as "*dhais*" or "*mahaldarnis*" indifferently; and the confusion between these two terms explains at once much misconception that has found a place in the evidence given before the Departmental Committee.

## VII.—PROSTITUTES WITH REGIMENTS ON THE MARCH AND IN STANDING CAMP.

43. The regimental bazaar is exclusively intended for the accommodation of persons who have dealings with the particular regiment within whose lines it lies. Every such bazaar contains a certain permanent population, which ministers to the needs of each successive regiment as one follows the other. But besides these, and besides the paid followers of the regiment, there are always a considerable number of persons resident in every such bazaar—petty traders, cooks, keepers of cook-shops, makers of ginger-pop, washermen, barbers, and the like, who attach themselves to one particular regiment, and accompany it from place to place, at any rate whenever it travels by road. On the line of march these persons pitch their tents in the immediate vicinity of the regimental lines, and, together with the paid regimental followers, are collectively known as "*the bazaar*." During the winter months British Infantry regiments which are stationed in the hills come down to Cantonments in the plains for what is known as the winter concentration; and, as there are no permanent quarters for them, they live in tents arranged to form a standing camp. Here, again, their bazaar accompanies them; or, if they have just reached India, grows up. In former days a "regular staff of women," to use the words of a Quartermaster



VII.—PROSTITUTES WITH REGIMENTS ON THE MARCH AND IN STANDING CAMP.

of old standing, formed part of every regimental bazaar, and accompanied the regiment from Cantonment to Cantonment.

44. When a regiment marches, carriage is provided through the Civil or the Commissariat Officer, on formal indent by the regimental authorities. This carriage includes both public carriage for the tents, stores, ammunition, &c., of the regiment, which is paid for by Government; and private carriage for officers and others, who pay for it themselves. When the bazaar can make their own arrangements for carriage in the open market, they do so; but this is often impossible; and in that case the Kotwal indents for their requirements, which are included in the general indent for private carriage, the hire, however, being paid in all cases by the persons for whose use the carriage is required. The regiment provides tents for the paid regimental followers; but the rest of the bazaar find their own tents.

45. By Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888, it was ordered that in future no registered prostitutes were to be allowed to reside in bazaars of British corps in Cantonments, and that no public prostitutes were to accompany regiments on the line of march or to standing camps. By Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892 (repeated in May 1893), it was laid down that prostitutes were not allowed to reside in regimental bazaars, or to accompany regiments on the march. If these orders are held to prohibit the residence of prostitutes in the immediate vicinity of regiments in standing camp, as well as on the line of march, they have been repeatedly violated or evaded. We will take the Gordon Highlanders and the Royal Irish, as typical instances of regiments in camp and on the march respectively.

46. The Gordon Highlanders reached Ambala direct from Ceylon in January 1892, and went straight into standing camp. When, on their arrival at Sabathu, the regulations on the subject of prostitutes were brought to the Commanding Officer's notice, he immediately severed all connection with them. But while at Ambala, a certain number of women, under a mahaldarni, were provided by the direction of the Commanding Officer through the Kotwal, a site was chosen for them, and an enclosure of matting erected within which they pitched their tents, at some little distance from the bazaar, and in the rear of the camp. One of the Regimental Police was posted there every afternoon and evening until roll-call, to keep order, being relieved every two or three hours. The mahaldarni and the bazaar peon used to take the women to weekly examination, with a book in which the medical officer entered the results of his inspection; and the fact of a woman having been admitted to hospital as diseased was reported on their return. No male natives were allowed within the women's enclosure. No payment of any sort was made to the mahaldarni, and the women were free to come and go as they chose. In the case of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who were encamped close by, somewhat similar arrangements were made, with the cognisance and approval, but not by the direct authority, of the Commanding Officer; but in their case there was no guard, though the Military Police patrolled the bazaar and its vicinity, in which the women's encampment was included; and no report was made of women being diseased. During the winter of 1890-91 the women of the two Infantry regiments then in standing camp at Ambala attended weekly examination; and in all probability some such arrangements existed as have just been described. At Meerut women were allowed to encamp, in somewhat the same fashion, in the vicinity of the bazaar of the Royal West Kent, which was in standing camp there in 1892-93. There was no special guard on their tents, and no special arrangements for examination, which they doubtless attended in common with the rest of the Cantonment women.

## VIII.—THE REGISTRATION OR LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

47. When the Royal Irish started to march from Peshawar to Ambala in November 1890, about a dozen women under a mahaldarni accompanied them, being changed twice on the road by the bazaar Kotwal. The march lasted between four and five months; much of the road lay through thickly-populated agricultural tracts; and as the Quartermaster put it, "We did it for the safety of the men, and to keep them under observation. If we had had no women they would have been all over the place, and we do not know what offences might not have been committed."
- 1020 The women were examined weekly by the apothecary; they found their own tents, and travelled in carts provided for them as part of the bazaar carriage, but for which they paid. No special guard was put over or accompanied them, but the Regimental Police patrolled their tents. They marched with the rest of the bazaar at night, in advance of the regiment, and no sort of guard or protection was afforded them on the road, nor could they have travelled in the company of regimental carts over which a guard was placed, as these followed the regiment and travelled by day. No payment of any sort was made to the mahaldarni. In this instance the women seem to have been arranged for by the regimental authorities. We find that women (in most cases the same
- 1030 women who had previously lived in the regimental bazaar or chakla) accompanied the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders to Dagshai; the 18th Hussars from Mathra to the Cavalry Camp at Aligarh, where they were turned off by the camp authorities and preceded the regiment to Ambala; the Gordon Highlanders to Sabathu; the West Yorkshire to Chakrata; and the West Kent to Chakrata, and back again as far as Rurki, where the Cantonment authorities objected to their presence. Probably, in most of these cases, the women accompanied the regiment with the cognizance of the regimental authorities, though not at their instigation. In no case was a special guard placed over their encampment, though doubtless the Military Police patrolled it or its vicinity. In no case was
- 1040 carriage knowingly provided for them, though in some cases it was very possibly included in the indents for the bazaar. In no case did any guard accompany them on the march, though it is just possible that some of them may, for the sake of protection, have followed (but not mixed with) regimental carts marching under a guard. No arrangements seem to have been made for the examination of the women, and no payment was in any case made to the mahaldarni. In all cases the women brought their own tents, and paid the hire of their own carts; and the only suggestion that has been made to us of carriage having been paid for by the regiment came from two women at the Ambala gora chakla. We think that they were mistaken, and that if they did not pay their own carriage
- 1050 the mahaldarni paid it for them.

## VIII.—THE REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

48. Under the old Lock Hospital Rules, every woman practising as a prostitute within Cantonment limits was bound, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to record herself as such at the Cantonment Magistrate's office. A register of prostitutes was maintained; a number was allotted to each, which she retained throughout the term of her residence in Cantonments; and a descriptive ticket was given to each, which was practically a licence to practise her calling. She was bound, again under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to present herself periodically at the Lock Hospital for examination by the Medical Officer. If found to be
- 1060 diseased, she was detained in hospital till cured. If not, the fact was noted on her ticket. If she wished to leave Cantonments she had to obtain permission to do so; and if she contemplated moving to another Cantonment notice of her intention was sent on before her. On entering a new Cantonment she was bound to present herself at once for registration and for medical examination.

## VIII.—THE REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

49. So far as these regulations concern registration and licensing, the old practice has entirely disappeared. No register or record of prostitutes as such is now maintained in any form or shape whatever; no numbers are allotted to the women; no tickets are issued; nor even are certificates of sound health given after examination, where examination is still practised. The Cantonment Magistrate maintains in his office certain registers for administrative purposes. At Ambala a general register of owners and occupiers of all buildings is kept up, in which the occupation of the latter is shown. At Meerut similar information can be extracted from a register kept up for the purpose of the assessment and collection of the house-tax. At Lucknow there is actually no register in which the occupations of house occupiers are entered. But in whatever register prostitutes are now entered, they are entered, not because they are prostitutes, but in common with all other residents of Cantonments, for the general purpose for which the register is maintained. No extracts from these registers are furnished to medical or other officers, nor are the alterations by which the registers are kept up to date communicated to them. It is true that (except at Ambala since August 1892) the Medical officer has kept a record of the results of his examinations of such women as presented themselves before him to be examined; and wherever, and in the same degree as his examination included the whole body of prostitutes (a matter which will be discussed later on), there, and in the same degree will this record have been a complete list of these women. At Ambala, where duplicates of these records were in some cases furnished to the mahaldarnis for the Commanding Officers' information, the number of women entered in them formed an insignificant fraction of the whole. And at Meerut and Lucknow, where the examinations were more general, the records were simply medical notes for the information of the examining officer, which were not communicated to any other person, and which, at Lucknow, were actually pasted one over the other as each new month's list was opened. No list or record of any sort is now maintained in the chaklas; though, when the regimental chaklas at Meerut were re-opened in 1889, a register seems to have been opened also of the women who consented to live in them on the prescribed conditions. It was found to be practically useless, and was probably discontinued as soon as the examination became general. So again, up to August 1892, the notes of examination of the few women examined in Ambala remained in the hands of the mahaldarnis of the regimental chaklas.

50. There are now no numbers by which the women are known, nor have there been since 1888. The numbers given in the notes of examination just referred to are simply the serial numbers of the entries. The houses occupied by the prostitutes bear their proper numbers in the serial numbering which extends to all houses in Cantonments. At Lucknow the rooms in the chakla still retain the old numbers which they had prior to 1888, and which were directed to be affixed by Circular Memorandum No. 69 of 26th November 1883, in order that soldiers might be able to identify the women thereby; but these numbers do not extend to the numerous houses occupied by prostitutes outside the chakla. At Ambala, apparently on the issue of Government General Order No. 617 of 4th July 1890, tin labels bearing large numbers were affixed to all houses, whether within or without either the British or the native enclosed chakla, which were at that time occupied by prostitutes; the object being to assist the soldier's memory in identifying the woman whom he believed to have diseased him, in order that she might be dealt with as "supposed to be suffering from a contagious disorder;" it being found that so many women had the same name (always a fertile source of confusion in dealing with natives) that some such assistance was necessary. But the numbers have not been touched since they were first put up; with the result that they now exist on many houses which are not, and are absent from



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many houses which are, occupied by prostitutes. In any case, the number was that of the house, not of the woman; who was identified, not as Prostitute No. so-and-so, but as the woman then occupying house No. so-and-so. And in no case do these, or any other series of numbers, correspond with the numbers under which the prostitutes are entered in any record whatever.

- 1130 51. No tickets have been used since 1888, either at Ambala, Meerut, or Lucknow; and no sort of certificate of soundness has been given to any woman after examination, if we except the entries in the mahaldaris' books at Ambala, and the case (to which we shall revert presently) of new women applying for a permit to reside at Lucknow, where the Medical Officer noted the result of his examination on the application. When Dr. Hamilton recommenced the examinations at Lucknow, he began on the first day to give to the women whom he found free from disease out-patient tickets, with the word "nil" filled into the column for disease. But it presently struck him that these might be used as  
1140 certificates of soundness; and he discontinued the practice—he thinks before the first day's examination was over, but certainly before the second day's was begun. In one case a woman was examined and given a formal certificate of freedom from disease, who had been expelled from the Cantonment under the rules of 1890 and wished to re-enter it. Properly speaking, under the letter of the rules, a written permission to re-enter should have been given; but that would have implied freedom from disease.

## IX.—APPROPRIATION OF PROSTITUTES TO THE USE OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AND THEIR TREATMENT BY THEM.

52. We have been told that, before 1888, it was an understood thing that registered prostitutes were reserved for the use of  
Appropriation before 1888. British troops. It is clear that this was not always  
1150 the case; for every prostitute was bound to register herself; and at Ambala there has always been a native chakla for the reception of prostitutes who were not in any way so reserved. The large enclosed chaklas at Meerut and Lucknow are still known as the gora or British chakla, though no kala chakla exists under that name; and it is probable that in former days, when a considerable proportion of the women lived in the regimental chaklas, the large enclosed chaklas in the Sadar bazaars were considered to be more especially reserved for British soldiers. This tradition still survives, and is acted upon. So far as the superior officers are concerned, any such reservation is unknown, with the trivial exception of the Cantonment Magistrate at  
1160 Ambala, who, coming new to the place and finding a separate gora chakla, gave orders for natives to be excluded from it, which orders he presently reconsidered, and cancelled as being *ultra vires*. But the Military Police have no such scruples.

53. The duties of the Military Police are to follow the British soldier everywhere, to keep order wherever he is, to apprehend him  
Appropriation in theory. when drunk, and to see that he is not out of barracks after midnight if he has a pass, or after 10 P.M. if he has not. They are divided into two classes, Regimental and Garrison; though the former only is found at Meerut; and are under the command of a Provost Sergeant. The  
1170 concern of the Regimental Police is with men of their own regiment only; and though they may follow them anywhere, yet as a fact, they seldom patrol outside their own lines, save in search of absentees. So long as the regimental chakla was open, they would prevent male natives who had no obvious business there from visiting it. The Garrison Military Police (which does not exist at Meerut) patrol Cantonments generally, and the chaklas especially, as being the places where British soldiers are most likely to be found drunk or out of hours, and where disturbances are most likely to occur. These Military Police

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take it as an established rule, to be acted on, that male natives are not allowed in the gora chaklas; though they do not interfere with the separate houses of prostitutes. They have no general or special order to that effect; but from every gora chakla they eject any male native found there by them at night, or in the day time without business to account for his presence. They are not without justification for their action; for their duty is to prevent disturbance, as well as to put it down when it has arisen. If English soldiers and natives were openly to consort with the same set of women, jealousies would certainly arise, and quarrels, which are specially to be deprecated as inter-racial, would frequently occur. We gather that the British soldier generally looks upon these gora chaklas as specially reserved for him, resents the intrusion of natives, and turns them out whenever he finds them there. There is thus little doubt that natives were rigorously excluded from regimental chaklas, whether in the bazaar or in the camp, so long as those chaklas were open; and that, in theory at least, they are not allowed to visit the gora chaklas for the purpose of consorting with the women who inhabit them.

54. In practice, it is almost certain that they do visit the gora chaklas, in the mornings, when the soldier is on duty, and after hours, when the soldier is in barracks. And there is still less doubt that the women of these gora chaklas do consort freely with natives, whether in the chakla or not. They are perfectly free to come and go at all hours, and to visit all portions of cantonments; where, as at Lucknow, the city is close by, they frequent the bazaars in the vicinity of cantonments; and most of them have native lovers, apart from the men from whom they earn their living. This last fact was recognised in military orders issued before 1888. In any case they are (except quite recently at Ambala, where the native chakla is open to them) perfectly free to live outside the chakla so long as they do not leave its vicinity. We have already discussed the strength and extent of the objection entertained by the better class of native to consort with women who are frequented by British soldiers. The same objection is felt in England by the better class of Englishmen. Beyond this feeling, all that the so-called reservation of these women for the use of the British soldier amounts to is that, so long as a prostitute chooses to reside within the four walls of the gora chakla, certain obstacles are put in the way of her receiving natives; but the obstacles are easily surmounted, and the chakla can be at any moment exchanged for a residence outside it.

55. As for the entry of the women under regimental headings in the hospital books, about which so much has been said before the India Office Committee, those entries are nothing more or less than addresses. We have stated in full detail in other sections of this Report, when and where prostitutes have been allowed to reside in a regimental chakla since 1888; and their entry by regiments simply amounts to a note of the place where they were residing at the time, just as "Sadar bazaar," "gora chakla," and "kala chakla" were noted against those women who did not live within regimental limits. So, in the hospital admission registers, the name of the bazaar (and therefore, in some cases, of a regiment or branch of the army) took the place of the registered numbers when registration was discontinued. In no case has the name of a regiment been entered except with reference to prostitutes living in the regimental bazaars; and the fact of their living there is the important point; the entry is a mere incidental consequence.

56. As for the treatment of the women by British soldiers, there is no doubt whatever that, when the soldier is drunk (as he often is at Christmas, and sometimes is after pay-

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day) he occasionally beats, and otherwise ill-treats the women. But the women themselves make singularly little complaint on this score. Among the thirty-eight women whom we had before us at Ambala in the beginning of June, only one had been ill treated since Christmas. Among the seventy-one women at Meerut, only one had recently been ill-treated. The thirty-three women present at Lucknow said they were seldom ill-used; and the women of the Laneer chakla had no complaint to make. On the other hand, there is much to show that the British soldier is habitually kind to them. In all three places the women testified to his good treatment of them when sober. The statement of the Ambala women, to whom the native chakla was open, as to why they preferred to live in the gora chakla, should be read in this connection (page x. of the Appendix). One of the patients in hospital said that she had left Lahore to come to Ambala, because there was no gora chakla there. We made some enquiries (not all formally recorded) as to what the class of prostitute who frequents these chaklas would expect to receive from a native, and have come to the conclusion that of the two, as stated by the Ambala women, the Englishman pays far higher. Above all, in the gora chakla, the women have the Military Police at hand to protect them from ill-usage, and to insist upon the men paying them. To this protection they evidently attach great value. We find that the suggestion of habitual cruelty on the part of the British soldiers is wholly unfounded.

57. As for the scale of payment which is mentioned in the evidence before the customary scale of the Departmental Committee, it appears to be current minimum payments, everywhere as a scale of *recognised minimum payments*; and, like everything else in India, to have become customary and traditional. If it ever rested upon authority, which is exceedingly unlikely, the time when it did so is lost in obscurity. In one place the women described it to us as coeval with British rule. The different charges, according to rank, are based upon universal custom. A hawker will refuse a rupee from an officer for what he will sell for eight annas to the sergeant next door; and some of our vernacular newspapers have a published scale of subscriptions, varying with the rank of the subscriber. The only manner in which the scale is recognised by authority is, that in the case of dispute, no more than the minimum customary payment will be enforced. The men constantly pay more; but if a woman complains to the Provost-Sergeant (in charge of the Military Police) that a private has not paid her, he will compel the man to pay four annas only, as being the recognised customary payment. We have been able to obtain no evidence as to complaints of non-payment reaching the Colonel of a regiment, except that the Provost-Sergeant of Ambala has known such cases. But in such an event, the complaint would be treated exactly as similar complaints by traders in the bazaar of non-payment for articles purchased would be and are treated; unless, indeed, the Colonel was prepared to deny to a prostitute the justice which he meted out to others. As for the amount paid by a private, viz., four annas, it must be remembered that five rupees, or eighty annas, is the monthly wage on which many of our servants support themselves and their families, while many employees of Government get four rupees only; that three annas is a full day's pay for a labourer hired by the day; that the subsistence allowance made to a patient in a Lock Hospital, or to the ordinary civil debtor when in jail, varies from two to two and a half annas; and that the allowance for dieting patients in Civil (extra-Cantonment) Hospitals varies from one anna three pie to one anna nine pie.

58. We have met with many indications that the women are worse off now in the matter of attention to small grievances, than when they were registered and lived in the regimental bazaars. They were then looked upon as in a way attached to the regiment, and had a ready remedy in a complaint to the



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Kotwal, to the Regimental Police, and, if necessary, to the Quartermaster and the Commanding Officer. Now they have the Garrison Provost Sergeant to help them, where Garrison Police exist; but beyond him is the Cantonment Magistrate, who cannot interfere executively; and there is a tendency to tell them that they are no longer recognised by authority, and therefore no longer entitled to assistance by summary order. 1290

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59. The old Lock Hospital Rules were suspended by Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 12 of 6th August 1888, and for two years no others were framed to take their place. In July 1890, rules under Section 26, Clause (21) of the Cantonment Act of 1889 were published by Government General Order No. 617, dated the 4th of that month. These rules— 1300

- (i) Provide for the establishment, at the public expense, of as many hospitals as may be necessary for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious and contagious disorders, in which treatment shall be gratuitous, and subsistence allowance shall be made to pauper patients, and to all persons who are received into hospital at the request of any Cantonment official.
- (ii) Lay down that, if the Medical Officer in charge of such a hospital certifies in writing to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by him to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder, and if such person refuses to go to hospital, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of the Medical Officer, order such person to leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours, and prohibit him or her from re-entering them without the Medical Officer's written permission. 1310
- (iii) Lay down further, that if such person, having gone to hospital, leaves it before the Medical Officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may act as in the preceding clause. 1320
- (iv) Provide a penalty of fine and imprisonment for any breach of orders given by the Cantonment Magistrate under either of the two preceding clauses.

These rules thus provide for the medical examination (under penalty of exclusion from Cantonments) of all persons supposed to be suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder; since the first thing to be done on the person reaching hospital would be to examine him or her, with the view of ascertaining whether the supposition as to the disorder was correct. They further provide (under the same penalty) for the detention in hospital of every person found to be suffering from such disorder, until pronounced free from it by the Medical Officer in charge. 1330

60. The rules are absolutely general; they refer to all classes of people, to both sexes, and to all infectious or contagious disorders without distinction. Discretion required in working the rules. But it was never intended that they should be applied in all cases to which they are applicable. The section and clause of the Act under which they were framed, empowers the Governor-General in Council to make rules for "the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment." It was intended, and is expected, that Medical Officers will use the powers thus given them with discretion, and with the sole object of preventing the spread within Cantonments of diseases dangerous to the public health. 1340

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No right-minded Medical Officer will exercise his powers in the case of disease from which no sort of danger is to be apprehended; nor, even in the case of a disease from which such danger may be apprehended, so long as he is satisfied that the risk of the spread of infection or contagion can be, and is being, otherwise duly guarded against. Again, the Medical Officer's freedom of supposition is, so far as the letter of the rule goes, absolutely unlimited; but it was clearly never intended that he should act without good *prima facie* ground for suspicion, or that he should institute inquisitorial proceedings into the private life of persons against whom no such *prima facie* suspicion can fairly be said to exist.

61. The only diseases from which danger to the public health may be apprehended, and which are met with in The infectious and contagious disorders of India. Indian Cantonments are cholera, small-pox, and venereal diseases. Typhus and scarlet-fever are practically unknown; and diphtheria is exceedingly rare, and, when met with, can generally be effectively isolated in the house of the patient.

62. Cholera and small-pox are perennial in every Indian Cantonment. When found to exist under such circumstances that effective precautions cannot be taken in the house of the sufferer, the usual procedure seems to be for the police to march the patient straight off to the infectious hospital, and then report to the Cantonment Magistrate and Medical Officer that they have done so. Even when such cases were reported to the Medical Officer at Ambala, he generally moved the patient to hospital at once, before reporting to the Cantonment Magistrate. So, again, we find a case at Meerut, where a small-pox patient was formally reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and taken (apparently without the option of leaving Cantonments) to the infectious huts; though the general practice there seems to have been to send the Hospital Assistant to warn the person, and if he refused to go to hospital, to report to the Cantonment Magistrate. Cases of refusing to remain in hospital have apparently never occurred, if we except one woman at Lucknow, who left Cantonments at once. But one Medical Officer stated that, had such a case occurred, he would without hesitation have placed a guard over the patient, and detained him until he had communicated with the Cantonment Magistrate. In fact, the action in the case of cholera and small-pox has throughout been far more arbitrary and peremptory than in the case of venereal disease, since the danger of infection is far more imminent, and the infection to be apprehended more widespread. Recent orders from Army Headquarters seem to have somewhat limited the power of a Medical Officer to remove a cholera patient from his house; perhaps because of the outcry which was raised in the Press last year on the expulsion of a cholera patient from Cantonments, -- the only legal method of treating him, be it noted, if he declines to go to hospital.

63. We now turn to the venereal disorders. And here the Medical Officer's real difficulty is to obtain information. Cholera and small-pox cannot long be concealed; but it is otherwise with venereal affections. Soldiers are bound to report themselves as sick as soon as they find themselves affected, and are punished, when detected, for failure to do so. So soon as the sickness is reported or discovered, the man is put under medical treatment, and so kept until cured. There is therefore no room in the case of soldiers for action under the rules. As regards men other than soldiers, it is practically impossible to obtain information until the patient voluntarily submits himself for medical examination and treatment. When he does so, he is almost invariably, except in very serious cases, treated as an out-patient; so that no such detention in hospital is attempted as the rules contemplate (however indirectly), and as is carried out in the case of women. A large number of the male patients come

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from beyond Cantonment limits, and to them the rules are not applicable, since their sanction fails. As regards residents in Cantonment, the difference in the treatment of the two sexes has been explained and justified to us by the fact that venereal cases among the male members of the civil population are so numerous (during 1892 over 400 at Ambala and 500 at Meerut were treated at the General Hospital), that there would be neither room to receive them as in-patients, nor money to diet them; that any action of the sort would only prevent men from availing themselves of medical aid, and so aggravate the evil which it was intended to cure; and that it is far less important to keep men than woman under observation while affected by venereal disorders, since the affection itself very generally incapacitates or disinclines the former (but not the latter) for sexual intercourse; so that the danger of the contagion being communicated is infinitely greater in the case of the female than in that of the male. At any rate, be the cause what it may, the rules are not enforced against males in the case of venereal diseases so far as the civil population of Cantonments is concerned.

64. In the case of women, the difficulty is still that of obtaining information. Except in the not infrequent cases where a woman herself applies for medical aid, this can only be obtained from men who have been diseased by them; and in practice this resolves itself into information received from British soldiers. We are told that venereal disease is comparatively uncommon in the Native Army. The men are all married, and have their wives, sometimes living with them and always within reach of a visit. They seldom drink, are far more careful than the Englishman in sexual matters, and have means of learning when a woman is diseased which a British soldier is without. Finally, when they do contract disease they refuse to state from whom they have contracted it. As a fact, much of such disease as there is among native troops is contracted from women living outside Cantonments, who are not subject to the rules.

65. Thus, so far as venereal disease is concerned, the operation of the rules, or rather of the provisions regarding women who are supposed to be diseased, is practically confined, not by any action or inaction of the authorities, but by sheer force of circumstances, to women who are frequented by British soldiers. Even with regard to them information is difficult to obtain; for a man often does not know, and still more often will not tell, which woman has diseased him. The second section of the rules, regarding the (indirect) detention of persons in hospital, is applied indifferently to all women who enter hospital, whether spontaneously or after examination. We find as inmates of the Lock Hospital women alike from the British and native chaklas, from the regimental and Sadar bazaars, from within and without Cantonments; and to all the rules are applied with equal rigour.

66. The rules are, generally speaking, worked with reasonable discretion. If a soldier's wife is reported to have spread disease, she is not always (though she is sometimes) required to come into Lock Hospital; but the Commanding Officer of the Regiment is informed, who will see that she is kept under treatment in the Station Hospital, which is the proper place for her. So, again, when a woman who has been reported as diseased is found to be living an apparently respectable life, or even to be living with one man, not her husband, so that there seems to be no danger of her spreading disease, no further action is taken. Action is often deferred till two or three reports point to the same woman, or till an outbreak of disease occurs in a regiment. And if the disease is of a mild nature the woman is treated as an out-patient, and not required to come into hospital. Under the second section of the rules, reports are made by way of precaution; but it is seldom found necessary to actually put the rules into



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operation; as they are well understood, and a woman who persists in leaving hospital before cure knows that she must leave cantonments also, and does so of her own accord. Here, again, the rules are for the most part worked with the least possible harshness. One diseased woman is given two days' leave from hospital, before leaving Cantonments or being reported, in order to dispose of her property. The woman's word as to her intention of leaving, supported by the subsequent statements of her associates that she has actually left Cantonments, is often accepted as sufficient. Nor is it only against natives that the rules are enforced. The number of European and Eurasian women against whom formal action is taken is large out of all proportion to the total numbers of the class, compared with the cases in which action is taken against native prostitutes; probably because the former are far less amenable than the latter.

67. The usual procedure seems to be as follows: When a soldier comes into hospital with a venereal affection, he is asked to specify the women who diseased him. If he cannot do so he is sent down to the bazaar with a non-commissioned officer or one of the Military Police, to identify the woman. When the woman can be identified she is reported to the Medical Officer, sometimes separately, but more often on the weekly report which is made of the health of British troops. From this point the practice differs somewhat.

68. At Ambala, where the books clearly show that no action of any sort was taken until after the publication of the rules of 1890, if the Medical Officer knew the woman, he sent the Hospital Assistant to tell her to come to him. Otherwise he reported her to the Cantonment Magistrate; in which case she either left Cantonments, especially if badly diseased, or came to him, not in custody of or accompanied by a policeman, but alone. If then (or in the course of his weekly examinations referred to later) he found a woman to be diseased, he asked her to come into hospital. In the rare event of her declining to do so, he warned her that in that case he must report her; and if she persisted, he did report her to the Cantonment Magistrate, and she had to leave Cantonments. On three or four occasions since the weekly examinations were discontinued, he found an outbreak of disease in a regiment (generally, if not always, the Artillery) and sent a matron to ask the women living in the bazaar of that regiment to come to him. They invariably did so, and he then asked them if they would be examined. They agreed, and he examined them, generally finding them free from disease. This was, of course, irregular. In most cases where a special woman was summoned on information, she was found to be diseased. If, after admission to hospital, a woman wished to leave before cure, she was warned that she would have to leave Cantonments; and if she persisted, the Cantonment Magistrate was informed of her intention, and asked to make arrangements, in which case he apparently sent a chaprassi (or policeman) to the station to see that she left Ambala. Occasionally she would not wait for this, in which case no restraint was exercised. In August 1890, the Apothecary in charge of the Lock Hospital suggested that all the women of the Sadar bazaar should be sent for examination; but no action appears to have been taken upon his suggestion.

59. At Meerut, reports of women on information derived from soldiers were almost unknown, as up to May 1893 all the women of Cantonments appeared for weekly examination; but if a woman did not appear at examination, inquiries were made from the other women or through the Hospital Assistant; and if she had no good reason for absence she was warned through her friends or the hospital chaukidar, and in the very rare cases in which she again absented herself, she was reported as supposed to be diseased. So, too, a new-comer who did not attend at examination would be reported. Women of both

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classes would, on examination, generally be found to be diseased; as, if they were not, they attended the weekly examinations. The propriety of the action thus described will be discussed later on. The present Cantonment Magistrate's practice on receipt of a report (since January 1893), has been to send for the woman (probably through the police), and warn her that she must either go to be examined or leave Cantonments. As a rule she went; but occasionally left Cantonments. His predecessor's custom was, to order the police to warn the woman that she must either attend the examination or leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours. (See answer No. 1195 in the India Office 1520 evidence.) The cases in which women left hospital before cure were very rare; and in such cases they almost invariably left Cantonments at once. The police were not called in in the first instance; but in one case a woman was reported, and the police were ordered to remove her from Cantonments, if not already gone. She was found living quietly with a butcher, and no further action was taken. We examined the record of the case referred to in Answers Nos. 1192 and 1194, given before the India Office Committee. One Massamát Ali Rakhi was fined Rs. 5 by order dated 15th January 1892, for re-entering Cantonments after having been formally expelled on the report of the Medical Officer, dated the 6th of January, that she had left hospital while still diseased. 153 She was not imprisoned; in fact the order did not state, as it should have done, the term of imprisonment to be undergone in default of payment; and she was not punished for leaving hospital.

70. At Lucknow no action whatever appears ever to have been taken under the rules. Till April 1892, all the prostitutes of Cantonments attended bi-weekly examination; and from June of the same year a large proportion of them attended weekly up to May 1893. No woman appears ever to have been reported as supposed to be diseased. But on two occasions, once in the summer of 1892, and again early in 1893, on the occasion of an outbreak of disease, the 1540 Cantonment Magistrate had the diseased men down to the bazaar to identify the women in fault in his presence, and then and there gave the women the option of going to hospital or leaving Cantonments. They chose the former, and many of them were found to be diseased. This was, of course, quite irregular. While Dr. Ranking was in charge (till May 1892), it seems that the only woman reported for leaving hospital was a leprous and syphilitic woman, who was afterwards found to have left Cantonments. After that time some ten or twelve women were reported; but they appear to have left Cantonments, and no action seems to have been taken. In no case was any report made of a woman on account of menses only.

1550

71. Under the rules of 1890, the formal procedure is as follows:—

- (1) The medical officer certifies in writing to the Commanding Officer (not the Cantonment Magistrate) that a person is diseased or supposed by him to be so.  
Formal procedure not always observed.
- (2) The person is directed to attend at hospital (it does not appear by whom).
- (3) If he refuses, or if, having attended, he leaves hospital before cure, the medical officer must apply to the Cantonment Magistrate.
- (4) Who may then order the person to leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours. 1560

It will be seen that the technical formalities are seldom, if ever, fully carried out. Probably the first report was never made in the first instance to the Commanding Officer, and stages (1) and (3) are almost invariably combined in one letter to the Cantonment Magistrate. But the business of doctors and military men lies elsewhere than with legal technicalities; and, except in a few

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cases of wholly irregular action, the spirit of the rules has been observed in the treatment of venereal disease, though their letter may have been overlooked. It is impossible to say as much for the action taken with respect to cases of cholera and small-pox, which appears to have been very generally absolutely illegal; the excuse doubtless being that, while formalities were being observed, the epidemic would have been gaining ground in the bazaar.

72. The question has been raised, how far the examination under these rules, in the case of prostitutes, can be said to be compulsory; and it has been stated that although, so far as the letter of the rules is concerned, there is no compulsion, since the woman can always avoid the necessity of examination by leaving Cantonments, yet in point of fact the compulsion is real, since the alternative means, in their case, starvation. This argument applies, of course, to all infectious and contagious diseases with equal force. *Primâ facie*, there is no reason whatever why expulsion from Cantonments should mean starvation to a prostitute, any more than to a groom, a cook, or other person to whom Cantonments offer exceptional opportunities of profitable employment, save in so far as the search for a new field of labour is more difficult for a woman than for a man. But there is a real reason which probably operates to render expulsion from Cantonments in some measure a greater hardship to a prostitute than to most other persons, and that is the loss of caste involved by intercourse with British soldiers, which we have already discussed at length. On the other hand, these women do in fact constantly leave one Cantonment for another, and the Cantonments for the native bazaars; for there is always and everywhere a demand for the wares which they offer, and even British soldiers are tolerably widely distributed over India. The question of how far indebtedness is a bar to their freedom in the matter of leaving Cantonments has already been discussed, and it has been shewn that this indebtedness is in no way peculiar to the prostitute, still less to the Cantonment prostitute. Of course, if a prostitute cannot leave Cantonments because of debt, it is no sufficient answer to say that others are in a similar position; because, unlike those others, she must, under certain circumstances, go to hospital because she cannot leave Cantonments. But here again, we are met by the fact that these women do leave Cantonments, year after year, in considerable numbers for the hot weather, and in smaller numbers permanently.

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73. We have shown that the rules of July 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But in addition to these occasional examinations, we find that in all the three Cantonments which we visited, periodical examinations of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth. We shall briefly note the history of such examinations in each Cantonment.

74. We have already described, in paragraph 34, how about the end of 1889 and beginning of 1890, women were resettled in the regimental bazaars at Ambala. Periodical examinations at Ambala. The Lock Hospital of that Cantonment was closed experimentally by Government for a year from July 1889. On its being reopened in July 1890, weekly examinations were begun of those prostitutes, and of those only, who were then living within regimental limits; and there can be little doubt that, as at Meerut, attendance at examination was made a condition of permission to reside within those limits. The examination of women from the Artillery and Cavalry bazaars was continued without intermission from the 22nd July 1890 to the 2nd August 1892, and of those from the Infantry bazaar from the 29th July 1890 up to the 3rd November 1891, when the Queen's Regiment left the station and were succeeded by the Derbyshire, whose Commanding Officer would



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allow no prostitutes in his bazaar. During the cold weather the women of the two Infantry regiments who were in starding camp at Ambala for the winter concentration were also examined; those of the West Yorkshire and of the King's Own Scottish Borderers in 1890 to 1891, and of the Argyll and Sutherland and the Gordon Highlanders in the beginning of 1892. The women appearing under the heading of each regiment were constantly changing; it was frequently noted against a woman that she had "left the bazaar"; and it is clear that the women were perfectly free to come and go, to attend examinations or 1630 to absent themselves; the only understanding being that if they did absent themselves, they must leave the regimental bazaar or (in the case of the regiments in camp) the chakla. The numbers attending for examination varied from about 20 in the hot to 40 in the cold weather. Dr. Wardrop, on taking over charge in November 1891, found these examinations in full swing; and continued them as before, till, early in August 1892, he received Quarter-master General's No. 20 of 11th July 1892, already referred to, which forbade "any special examination of prostitutes other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases." From the date of the receipt of these orders he discontinued his examinations, and the last entries in his books are 1640 dated 2nd August 1892. Before Dr. Wardrop took over the hospital, women living in regimental bazaars had once been reported (on 29th September 1891) to the Cantonment Magistrate as not attending examination; to which the Cantonment Magistrate replied that he had no power to interfere, unless the women were certified to be diseased or supposed to be diseased. A similar report was made on the 24th November 1891, very shortly after Dr. Wardrop's arrival, but with what result is not known to us. But after the end of November 1891 no such report was ever made; and no communication regarding the women to be examined, or that had been examined, was ever sent to or received from either the Cantonment Magistrate or any of the Officers Commanding Regiments. 1650 The women were usually brought up by mahaldarnis; and such as presented themselves were examined, new names, if any, being added to the existing lists. No measures of any sort were taken by the Medical Officer to induce or compel women to attend. The results of the examinations were noted for his own information; and when (as was generally, but apparently not always the case) the mahaldarni kept a book of her own, the results were noted in that also. These books were doubtless taken back to the regiments, and the results, at any rate in the case of the disease, communicated by the mahaldarni through the Kotwal to the Officer Commanding. But no such communication was ever made by the Medical Officer to any authority. If the time of examination was 1660 changed (which was very rarely done), the women were informed through the Hospital Assistant or matron, as there was no chaukidar attached to the hospital.

75. It was not only the women of the regimental bazaars and camps,

Examination by request at Ambala.

however, that Dr. Wardrop examined. On several occasions some of the women of the Sadar bazaar came up with one of their number who had been taunted by her fellows with being diseased, and asked him to examine her to show that the taunt was unfounded. And on two occasions, after his examinations had been discontinued, they came to him in a body thirty or forty strong, and not only asked him to examine them, which he did, but also begged him to re- 1670 establish weekly examinations for all the prostitutes in Cantonments; saying, what was no doubt true, that "there were a great many women living about the "places, casual prostitutes, and many of them foreigners, who were diseased. "That these women diseased the troops, while they, the proper Ambala prostitutes, were blamed for it." So anxious were they in the matter, that on the second occasion they brought an interpreter with them, to make sure that they should not be misunderstood.

76. At Meerut, on the issue of the orders of 1888, which prohibited compulsory examination, and directed that the Lock Hospital should be worked as 1680

Periodical examinations at Meerut.

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a purely voluntary institution, the sixteen women then in hospital were told that they were free to stay or go; upon which, with one accord, they left the hospital, which was accordingly closed from September 1888 to June 1889. We have already related (paragraph 33) how, when it was reopened, thirty-four women were settled in the regimental bazaars, on condition of attending weekly examination and staying in hospital if found to be diseased. How or when this limited system of examination became general, we have been unable to discover with certainty; but we are told that the change followed upon the publication of the rules of 1890. At any rate, in March 1892, when  
 1690 Dr. O'Connor took over charge of the hospital, he found that it was the practice for all the prostitutes of Cantonments to attend for weekly examination, and this practice he continued. In May 1893 the reissue of the orders of July 1892, forbidding special examinations "other than what would take place for any other contagious diseases" reached Meerut, and the Cantonment Magistrate issued a notice that the women were free to attend for examination or not at pleasure. The next Monday (Dr. O'Connor being on leave) none attended. The Monday after that, some thirty women from the Lal Kurti bazaar came, having been told by the Hospital Assistant that they had better wait and see what Dr. O'Connor said about it. And the following  
 1700 Monday, after our visit to Meerut, and Dr. O'Connor having returned in the meanwhile, not a single woman presented herself for examination. The maximum number ever examined after the beginning of 1892 (before which we have no figures), was 5 from the Artillery, 3 from the Cavalry, 34 from the Lal Kurti, and 65 from the Sadar bazaar. The usual attendance was about 60 in the hot, and 70 to 90 in the cold weather. Up to the end of 1889, we found that women were not reported for non-attendance; and in fact, until the rules of 1890 were published, there were no possible means of enforcing attendance.

Dr. O'Connor found lists of prostitutes who appeared at the weekly exam-  
 1710 inations, which were made over to him by his predecessor. He received no intimation from any Cantonment or regimental authority, of women who should be added to or removed from these lists. Ordinarily, every prostitute newly arriving in Cantonments accepted the existing practice, and presented herself in due course for examination. When she did not do so, her fellows were only too ready to act as informers, or the Hospital Assistant heard of her arrival. She was warned to attend through her friends, or the hospital chaukidar. A similar warning was similarly conveyed to any woman absenting herself from examination, who appeared, on enquiry by the Hospital Assistant, to have no sufficient excuse. In the very rare  
 1720 cases where these warnings failed to procure attendance, the Medical Officer reported the woman under the rules as "supposed to be diseased." As a fact, the supposition almost always turned out to be well founded; for the custom was so firmly established, that no woman, unless diseased, would dream of absenting herself. The time for examination was fixed each week, and the hospital chaukidar sent to let the women know. The results of the examination were noted simply and solely for the medical officer's information, and were not communicated to any other person in any way whatever. The women were brought up by nobody, not even by a mahaldarni, and still less by a policeman, but came of their own accord and unattended.

1730 77. At Lucknow, as elsewhere, the Cantonment authorities were directed Periodical examinations at Lucknow by the orders of August 1888 to abolish up to March 1892. compulsory examination, and to "work the Lock Hospital as a purely voluntary institution." No explanation of these orders was afforded; and while the authorities closed their registers and recalled their tickets, they allowed the weekly examinations to continue as before; the only change being that there was no longer any penalty for non-attendance.

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So strictly indeed did they adhere to the voluntary principle, that they made no use of the power which the rules of 1890 placed in their hands, and the rules have practically remained a dead letter at Lucknow up to the present moment. When Dr. Ranking took over charge of the hospital in February 1891, he substituted a bi-weekly for a weekly examination, and seems in a short time, by the display of practical sympathy and interest, to have gained an extraordinary personal influence over the women. His evidence at page xxxvii of the Appendix is well worth reading. He found, as at Meerut, lists existing of the women who attended examination; and, as there, he never received intimation from any authority that any woman was to be added to the list. But at Lucknow (as already described in paragraph 24) it was the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate until latterly to ask all new comers who asked for permission to reside whether they would be examined by the doctor; and on their consenting (which they always did) to send them to the hospital, with their application, for examination and report. This enabled the Medical Officer to keep his list up to date, and was the only means he had of doing so. If a woman did not appear, no steps were taken to compel her to do so. In fact, Dr. Ranking relied throughout upon his influence with the women; and with good reason, for absence appears to have been almost unknown. Compulsion was not exercised, even when a woman was found to be diseased and would not attend hospital, or left it before cure; though we find from the hospital report of 1892 that a certain small number of such cases did occur. The results of the examination were communicated to nobody, and were purely for the Medical Officer's information. The largest number ever examined on the same occasion was 83.

78. In March 1892 demi-official orders were received, and if any list of prostitutes was kept up, or if their attendance at examination was secured on pain of expulsion from Cantonments, that would be a breach of the orders of Government, which orders were to be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, "That," the Cantonment Magistrate remarks, "was the first intimation we received of what was to be understood by the term 'Voluntary Lock Hospital system.'" The examinations were then discontinued, and Dr. Ranking was almost immediately succeeded by Dr. Hamilton. About the end of June 1892 venereal disease was rife among the troops; and at the suggestion of the Cantonment Magistrate, Dr. Hamilton let it be known that he would always be at hospital on a certain afternoon in the week to examine all who chose to appear. In May 1893 these examinations were discontinued, under the orders already so often referred to. But between these two dates women appeared, week by week, in numbers which varied between forty and seventy, and which increased rather than fell off towards the end of the period. The attendance of individuals was exceedingly fitful and irregular; but it seems to have been not only voluntary, but spontaneous, if anything can be spontaneous in India; for not even persuasion, still less any stronger measure, was exercised, and no sort of notice was taken of absence. Out of the first batch that appeared for examination, no fewer than twenty-seven were admitted into hospital as diseased. In deference to the demi-official orders about lists of prostitutes, the results of examination were simply noted in pencil, and the notes destroyed as soon as the admission register had been filled up. No note was kept, as formerly, of the names of women examined for permission to reside; in fact, the Cantonment Magistrate ceased latterly to send these women for examination.

79. We now proceed to discuss the nature of the examination thus conducted; and the question of how far attendance at them was spontaneous, voluntary or compulsory, is the most difficult one which the Commission has to



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- consider. In the first instance, we were unwilling to believe that any woman, whether prostitute or not, would voluntarily submit herself for medical examination, merely as a measure of precaution, and unless something at least was to be gained by it. But the course of the enquiry has shaken out conviction on this point. Drs. O'Connor, Ranking, Hamilton, and Wardrop, all of whom speak with the authority derived from much experience, and some of whom at least have practically shown a very unusual degree of sympathy with and interest in the welfare of the women, are unanimous.
- 1800 They all declare with absolute conviction, derived from the whole demeanour of the women, that they do not feel the *slightest* objection on the score of modesty to the process of examination. The Meerut women, who certainly spoke to us most freely, and concealed nothing of their feelings, told us that, given an honest hospital staff, they had *no* objection to examination in itself, though they disliked the use of the speculum. The fact that women on several occasions spontaneously presented themselves to Dr. Wardrop for examination, simply in order to disprove the truth of a taunt by a fellow-prostitute; the fact that, after the total discontinuance of examination by Dr. Ranking, the women, on hearing that
- 1810 Dr. Hamilton was ready to revert to the old practice, attended in large numbers, and *absolutely* of their own free will, for a whole twelve-month; and the anxiety of the women of Ambala for the reinstitution of systematic examination—all tell most weightily against the theory that the women have any strong inherent objection to being examined. On the other hand, the women of Meerut absented themselves from examination on being told that they were at liberty to do so; but then they had grievances against the hospital staff. It appears that the women object strongly to the working of the rules of 1890 by the process of identification, on the ground that it acts unfairly, other women who are far worse diseased than those who are identified
- 1820 escaping scot-free. As the Ambala women said to Dr. Wardrop, there are many casual prostitutes about the place who disease the soldiers, while they, the proper prostitutes of Ambala, are blamed for it. And the women of Meerut, after we had taken down their statement and were standing up to go, said: "*We* know how to take care of our bodies and to keep them clean. It is not from us that the soldiers get the disease, but from the coolie women and "others who go about the barracks and Cantonments." From all we have heard we believe there to be much truth in this statement.

80. On the whole, we have come to the conclusion, which is entirely
- 1830 Conclusion as to the above. opposed to our preconceived opinion, that women of this class do *not* object, on the score of modesty, to systematic examination; and that they infinitely prefer it to occasional examination, based upon identification and report by a man who has been diseased. But the intense apathy and fatalism of the native would probably prevent them from availing themselves of it as a purely precautionary measure. There is reason to believe that submission to inspection, so long as it continues, lowers them to some extent in the consideration of their fellows; and we think that, if no influence were exerted or persuasion employed, nor any pressure used to induce the women to attend, and if they had nothing whatever to gain (such as freedom from examination on the report of a soldier) by such attendance, they would not attend of their own
- 1840 motion.

81. As for remaining in hospital when diseased, there is little doubt that their objection to remaining in when treatment is protracted and the hospital. disease is not so malignant that remedies bring relief from physical pain or anxiety, residence in hospital is felt to be irksome; and that few if any would consent to it, if nothing were to be gained by consent or lost by refusal.

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82. The whole question is complicated by certain considerations peculiar to the country and people. In the first place, the tenacity of custom and habit in India is absolutely extraordinary to the European mind. Once establish a course of action, and its traditional observance continues by mere inertia, long after the stimulus of sanction and penalty has been removed. A typical instance is afforded by the woman at Ambala who, having reported her arrival and obtained permission to reside, went straight to the doctor to be examined; and who, when asked by us why she did so, and whether any body had told her to do so, replied, "Tell me! Why should anybody tell me? Have I been a prostitute for eleven years without knowing the custom?" So, following the custom previous to 1888, women still occasionally petition at Ambala for leave to reside at Meerut for leave to practice as prostitutes, and at Lucknow for permission to leave cantonments; and women occasionally present themselves for examination, even at Ambala, prior to settling in cantonments. Every Indian official's experience supplies numberless instances of a similar nature. Again, the docility of the uneducated native as a class is extraordinary. The Englishmen, on being informed of an order, asks at once who gave it, and by what authority, and what is the penalty of disobedience. The native's first idea is to ascertain the order, or (what is to him the same thing) the custom; and, having ascertained it, to comply with it without further question. Thus, the mere fact that it has never been found necessary to enforce a rule or practice by compulsion, or by the infliction of a penalty, is not sufficient to show that the practice has not been looked upon as authoritative by the people whom it concerned.

83. The fact is, that the question whether any particular action can be said to be voluntary, presents two entirely different aspects according as it is looked at from the point of view of the official or from that of the woman. The action of the officer may be purely persuasive, and entirely free from any tinge of compulsion. But for countless generations the *marzi hâkim*, or pleasure of the governor, and the *hukm hâkim*, or order of the governor, have been equivalent terms in India. The idea that the local representatives of Government do not always possess authority to compel people to do all that they may wish them to do, and that there is a law which limits their power, is, at any rate as regards executive matters, an entirely novel conception, which may be said to have had its birth (in the Punjab at least) within the last 15 years, which is still filtering slowly down through the masses of the people, and which is even now fully apprehended by but few. There is still a strong tendency to receive the expression of his wish by one in authority as equivalent to a command. Add to this the extraordinary tenacity with which observances, once established, survive in India; and it becomes impossible to say how far a given result is due to the personal influence of an official, how far to his position of authority, and how far to a mere continuation of a traditional observance.

84. At Ambala, the attendance at examination was clearly voluntary. It was made a condition of permission to reside in the regimental bazaars, or in the vicinity of a standing camp. Such permission was given in violation or evasion of standing orders. But it was free to every woman to accept or reject it upon the terms upon which it was offered, and at any moment to discontinue her attendance at examination and return to the Sadar bazaar. By doing so, the most that she forfeited was a convenient residence in close proximity to a body of customers; and it was still open to her to pursue her calling in a place familiar to her, among old associates, and among the class of men to which she was accustomed.

85. At Lucknow we are without precise information as to how the custom of the general examination of prostitutes, which Dr. Ranking found in existence when he took



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over charge, came to survive the changes of 1888. It was probably a mere continuance of the old practice; and there is nothing to show that the women in any way realised that attendance had become optional. But it is clear that the attendance at bi-weekly examination during Dr. Ranking's term of office, 1910 was mainly due to the personal influence which he obtained over the women. There was clearly no sort of compulsion; no pressure, as distinct from persuasion, was exercised, no threats held out, no penalty enforced. The attendance at examination, when subsequently re-introduced by Dr. Hamilton, was as nearly spontaneous as it was possible for it to be. The powers given by the rules of 1890 were never exercised. As a fact, occasion seldom or never arose for their exercise; but even if this had not been so, it is doubtful whether they ever would have been exercised; for even during Dr. Hamilton's term of office, when the attendance of individuals had become fitful and irregular, action was taken on two occasions only, and it is clear that the Cantonment 1920 authorities regarded the whole matter as essentially voluntary. It is no doubt probable that Dr. Rankin's doctrine carried greater weight with the women than it would have done had he been merely a private individual. But to say that such persuasion is therefore of the nature of compulsion, and that its exercise deprives the action resulting from it of its voluntary nature, is to lay down as a maxim that all officials in India are precluded, by the mere fact of their being in authority, from endeavouring to influence their native fellow-subjects for their good.

86. It is impossible to speak so decidedly as to the voluntary nature of the examination of new comers the submission to examination, by women 1930 at Lucknow discussed. seeking permission to reside in the cantonments of Lucknow. It is true that the Cantonment Magistrate neither had, nor pretended to have, any power to enforce such examination; that he held out no threat, and gave no order; and that the woman was simply asked by him whether she would consent to be examined, and in all cases agreed. So far as he was concerned, the examination was voluntary. But, from her point of view, it can hardly be said to have been so. The magistrate to whom she was applying for permission to practise her calling asked her to submit to examination, and at the same time postponed his order on her application. Such a request, especially when addressed to a woman who was accustomed to or 1940 acquainted with the old regulations, must have presented itself to her mind in the light of a command. It is by no means certain that the success of Dr. Ranking's system did not largely depend upon this very action of the Cantonment Magistrate; for, without it, new comers might never have come within range of his persuasion, and as the older women died or left the place, his attendance might have gradually dwindled away.

87. The case of Meerut is very distinct from the other two. There, a woman who persistently absented herself 1950 The examinations at Meerut discussed. from examination without good cause, or who, being a new comer, failed to present herself, was reported by the medical officer as supposed to be diseased, and was offered the option, under the rules of 1890, of submitting to examination or of being expelled from Cantonments. Now, given a well established custom, accepted and acted upon in practice by the women, that all prostitutes should present themselves for weekly examination, it is probable that no better ground for "supposing a woman to be diseased" could possibly be found than her absenting herself without good cause. As a fact, in the great majority of such cases, the woman, when examined, was found to be diseased. But, in the absence of such a custom, it is clear that the medical officer's action would have been wholly unjustifiable. It was never intended that, under the rules of 1890, a medical officer should 1960 say to the prostitutes of a Cantonment as a body: "Such of you as do not attend examination, I shall report as supposed to be diseased; when you will be given the option of submitting to examination or of leaving Cantonments." Such action would be an abuse of the rules, and equivalent to the reintroduction



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of compulsory examination in a slightly altered form ; the chief alteration being that the women could escape it by leaving Cantonments. The "supposition" of the rules must be based upon reasonable grounds. In this particular case the reasonable grounds existed ; but they depended upon the prior existence of a customary rule of attendance at examination, and we are unable to say how that customary rule had grown up. To say the least, the system approached dangerously near to compulsion.

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88. In the case of women accompanying troops on the march, it is clear that they were, in some cases at any rate, periodically examined. The Quartermaster of the Royal Irish Regiment states that the Apothecary of the regiment conducted the examination ; and the old mahaldarni of the Artillery bazaar at Meerut had a certificate dated January 1891, and signed by the Assistant Apothecary of a regiment, to the effect that she "was painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." In such cases the examination will have been practically compulsory ; the alternative being ejection from camp while on the line of march.

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89. In every Cantonment ample means exist for the medical treatment of the soldiers and their families, whether British or native, at the military hospitals and by the medical officers attached to them. The arrangements for the relief of the civil population are not so complete. There has always been provision of some sort for the isolation of infectious cases ; and in some Cantonments, but not in all, charitable dispensaries have been maintained.

90. In 1865 Lock Hospitals were opened in all Cantonments for the treatment of such of the registered prostitutes as were suffering from venereal disease. 1990  
History of the Lock Hospitals.  
For some twenty-three years they were worked under the Lock Hospital Rules, which have already been summarised in paragraph 48. The Resolution of the House of Commons was passed in June 1888 ; and two months later Quartermaster General's Circular No. 12 of 6th August 1888 was issued, which directed that, pending the issue of revised rules on the subject, no register of prostitutes was to be kept nor tickets issued, nor any compulsory examination of the women to be held, and laid down that "the Cantonment Lock Hospital was, in fact, to be worked as a purely voluntary institution." From that date the name of Lock Hospital was officially disused, and the hospital was known as the "Voluntary Venereal Hospital," and from some time in 1890, 2000 as the "Cantonment Hospital." The Lock Hospital at Meerut was closed from August 1888 to July 1889, and that at Ambala from July 1889 to July 1890.

91. Early in 1891 the Government of India decided to constitute in each Cantonment, for the use of the army followers and the civil population of Cantonments, a "Cantonment General Hospital," and steps were taken to this end. The new hospital was, like existing military hospitals, to include three sections—the general, the infectious, and the contagious or venereal. The last two were already everywhere in existence. Where there was a departmental followers' hospital, or a charitable dispensary, it was amalgamated with them to form the first of the three sections ; and where there was none, arrangements were made for opening a general section of the new hospital. At Ambala and Lucknow this institution, with its three sections, exists in a complete form. At Meerut the general branch has not yet been built, though a site has been selected and plans and estimates prepared. But since August 1892 an outdoor department has been attached to the venereal branch, at which all diseases, whether

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2020 venereal or otherwise, are treated. At Lucknow Dr. Ranking of his own motion extended the scope of his Lock Hospital, provided separate accommodation for males, and carried it on very much on the present lines of the Cantonment General Hospital, from February 1891 till the general branch was opened in January 1892.

92. As has already been explained, cholera, small-pox, and venereal or  
The Lock branch mainly for prostitutes. quasi-venereal diseases, are practically the  
only infectious or contagious disorders  
known in India from which danger to the public health can be apprehended.  
The first two are in all cases treated at the infectious branch; the last, in the  
2030 main, at the venereal branch. For reasons already given in paragraph 63,  
males suffering from venereal disease and belonging to the civil population, are  
for the most part treated at the General Hospital as out-patients; and when it  
is necessary to take them into hospital, they are admitted into the general  
branch, as there is no separate accommodation for them in the venereal section.  
Among females, by far the larger number of venereal cases naturally occur  
among prostitutes; and the result is that the venereal section is practically a  
prostitutes' hospital. It is not exclusively so, for respectable women are still  
occasionally admitted to it at Meerut, where there is no charitable dispensary or  
general branch for them to go to, and used to be so admitted at Lucknow before  
2040 the general branch was built. Nor is it exclusively a venereal hospital; for  
prostitutes suffering from non-venereal diseases who require in-door treatment  
are admitted to it, partly because they prefer the society of their fellows, and  
partly because their presence in the female ward of the general branch is  
considered objectionable. In serious cases, however, or when a major operation  
becomes necessary, they are removed to that branch. European females  
are admitted under the same circumstances and with the same freedom as native  
women. Where, as at Ambala, separate chaklas exist for the use of British  
troops and natives, prostitutes from both are admitted indifferently; and every-  
where patients from outside Cantonment limits are not unfrequently received  
for treatment. In all three Cantonments cases of secondary syphilis are always  
2050 admitted.

93. At Lucknow Dr. Ranking made it his practice to admit prostitutes to  
hospital during their menstrual periods.  
Admission to hospital for menses. This he did on the ground that during  
such periods sexual connection, while only endangering the man's health  
very slightly if at all, involves very serious risk to the health of the woman.  
His successor, Dr. Hamilton, found the practice established and continued it;  
though he did not hold quite the same views regarding the risk incurred by  
the woman. Women so admitted to hospital received no diet, as they were  
suffering from no disease, and therefore were not entered in the admission  
2060 registers. At neither Ambala nor Meerut have women been admitted on  
the score of menses only since 1888. When a woman who presented herself  
for examination was said to have menses she was sent away unexamined and  
told to come next time. The Handbooks of daily treatment in which the  
Hospital Assistant records day by day the doctor's orders regarding each patient  
contain, no doubt, numerous entries of menses. But this is simply for the  
information of the Hospital Assistant, since all medical treatment is discon-  
tinued during the menstrual periods; and it was found in each case that the  
patient had been admitted on account of some specific disease. The statements  
made to the contrary effect to Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell are probably  
2070 explainable by the fact that native women look upon leucorrhœa as the  
remains of their menses, and not at all as a disorder. As the Meerut women  
said to us: "We all have *sufed pani* (leucorrhœa) from the age of 12 years,  
and the Hospital Assistant calls it gonorrhœa." How doctors differ in dealing  
with this point is apparent from the fact that Dr. Ranking, who admitted  
women with mere menses to hospital, recorded 86 admissions for leucorrhœa in  
1891; while Dr. Hamilton, who succeeded him, only admitted 8 during 1892

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for the same complaint. Dr. Hamilton's practice seems to have been the same as that of Dr. Wardrop at Ambala, who disregards leucorrhœa altogether, unless present in a marked degree.

94. While in hospital, a woman who has menses is never examined.

Detention in hospital for menses. And as she cannot be discharged as cured 2080 until she has been examined, it is no doubt possible that the physiological moment of cure might arrive during the currency of her periods, and her formal discharge be delayed till they had ceased.

95. The venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals occupy in all three Cantonments which we have visited, the building used as the Lock Hospital under the old rules; and are still commonly known to the people as the "Lock Hospital," or the "Prostitutes' Hospital." Throughout this report we refer to them, for convenience sake, as Lock Hospitals; without, however, in any way accepting 2090 any connotation that may be supposed to attach to the term. The persistence of the name among the native population signifies nothing. Names, like everything else, are persistent in India. The public garden in every civil station in North Western India is still known as the "Company Garden," though the Honourable East India Company ceased to exist some five-and-thirty years ago. The local head of the police in each district of the Punjab is still always spoken of as the "Captain Sahib," though the police force has ceased to be a military force under captains of the army for a still longer period.

96. The buildings thus occupied present to eyes accustomed to Indian 2100 dispensaries and other public institutions no structural peculiarities. At Lucknow, indeed, the high front-wall with its small doorway, is somewhat suggestive of confinement; but the wall and gate of the recently built infectious ward close by are still more so. In the other cases, high walls mean merely that other buildings or premises adjoin; as, for instance, the police lines at Ambala.

97. A chaukidar usually forms part of the establishment; sometimes attached to the Lock section only, and sometimes to it and the general branch in common. This 2110 The hospital chaukidar. chaukidar wears a brass badge of office, as being a Government servant; but he is in no case one of the Cantonment police force (known at Lucknow only by that name), but is as much a hospital servant as is the matron or the sweeper. Such chaukidars are attached to most public and private institutions, and are in many stations entertained by every English resident who is worth robbing. Thus, when the Lock Hospital at Meerut was closed, the chaukidar was the only member of the establishment whose services were not dispensed with. Their duty is to keep watch over the premises and property, more especially at night; and where there is no chaprassi, they are commonly used as messengers, having less to do than the other servants. British soldiers, when 2120 drunk, have several times been known to try to get at the women in hospital; and it would doubtless be the part of the hospital chaukidar, as it would be of the matron or of the Hospital Assistant, to prevent the intrusion of unauthorised visitors. In this respect, the chaukidar at Lucknow appears to have been the only one who did his duty on the occasion of the visits of Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell.

98. The hospital, like all other buildings in Cantonments, is included in the beat of a policeman or Cantonment Watch and ward over the hospital. chaukidar But in no case was there, on the occasion of our visit, any special guard of any sort posted over the 2130 hospital; nor had there previously been, except at Ambala where there is not



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even a chaukidar attached to the Lock Hospital, and where a policeman had been put over the hospital in consequence of some drunken British soldiers having attempted to gain access to the inmates. This policeman was taken off some months ago as unnecessary, the police station being next door. His orders were simply to keep people out who had no business there, and not to interfere in any way with the patients. At Lucknow a police guard was applied for not long ago, as a European patient complained of having been robbed; but a man could not be spared for the purpose.

- 2140 99. As in all hospitals, or at any rate in all military hospitals, the patients, while in a Lock Hospital, are not free to go in and out at pleasure at all hours. So long as they stay in the hospital they must observe its rules, without which discipline would be at an end. But the discipline is of the mildest. Leave is freely obtainable; and the women make constant visits to their houses to look after their property, and to see their friends—visits often purposely arranged at hours when the soldiers will be on duty, so that the chance of disease being spread may be minimised. On one occasion indeed, in June 1892, the Medical Officer in charge of the Meerut Lock Hospital
- 2150 stopped the leave of all patients for a week. But the reason was that one of the women who had gone out had returned drunk. But while, so long as a woman elects to remain in hospital as an in-patient she must conform to the discipline of the hospital, the moment she elects to leave hospital she is free to do so. Before the issue of the rules of July 1890, she was *absolutely* free to do so. Since the issue of those rules, she does so with the knowledge that she will not be allowed to remain in Cantonments. Instances have been numerous in which women have left on that understanding; and the only trace that we have been able to discover of any obstacle being placed in the way of their so leaving is,
- 2160 that at Ambala, after July 1890, it was the custom to report the woman's intention to the Cantonment Magistrate, and not to allow her to leave the hospital until arrangements had been made (as they were made within a few hours of notice being given) to ensure that she at the same time left Cantonments. But even here it is clear that no actual restraint was exercised; as we have several cases of women leaving hospital notwithstanding, before a report could be made. At Meerut, the usual course was to warn the women that leaving hospital would involve leaving Cantonments also. At Lucknow, even that was not done, at any rate under Dr. Ranking; as the necessity seems never to have arisen in his time.
- 2170 100. The rules of July 1890, already referred to, provide that persons suffering from certain disorders must either remain in hospital until cured, or leave Cantonments. Attendance at hospital being thus rendered quasi-compulsory, they further lay down that treatment at such hospitals shall be gratuitous; and that if the patient "is without means of support, or was admitted to the hospital "on the request of the Cantonment authorities, or of any officer of that "Authority, such patient shall receive from the Cantonment fund subsistence "allowance." In all the general and infectious branches, and in the Lock Hospital, Lucknow, the patients are dieted at the expense of the hospital, as is the universal custom in the case of pauper patients in all civil hospitals
- 2180 outside Cantonments throughout Northern India. In the Lock Hospitals at Ambala and Meerut, subsistence allowances of two annas and six pies, and two annas per diem, respectively, are made to the inmates; the corresponding allowances in civil hospitals varying from one anna three pies to one anna nine pies. In venereal disorders, diet ordinarily forms no part of the treatment; while prostitutes, who constitute the great majority of the in-patients, are accustomed to better and more varied food than other native women of the lower classes. At Ambala dieting was tried for a while; but the opposition on the part of the women was so strong that the system of allowances was returned to. At Meerut one anna of the allow-

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ance is paid to the keeper of a cook-shop close by, who for this amount provides 2190 a plain diet, which is supplemented by the women from the remainder of the allowance. In all cases, except in the few exceptions where poverty prevents them, they provide themselves with small luxuries, such as tobacco, pan, and opium.

101. At one place, Meerut, the women complained bitterly of the subordinate hospital staff; and the complaints seemed to be genuine. They said that Treatment of patients by the hospital staff. unless the hospital assistant was fed, he delayed their cure by applying unsuitable drugs to them; and at this very hospital the doctor had had to dismiss the matron and chaulkidar, for obtaining money from the women on 2200 pretence of being able to hasten their discharge. These Lock Hospitals are visited two or three times a week by the doctor in charge; and unless he very grossly neglects his duty, any action of the nature attributed by the women to the hospital assistant would be absolutely impossible. But it is exceedingly possible that a dishonest subordinate should instil into the minds of the women the belief that he has such power of hastening or retarding their cure, and so obtain money from them. And from what we know of native subordinates, we have little doubt that this is sometimes done. If it is, it is only what is done all round us, in every department, and by almost all petty officials according to their opportunities. At Ambala and Lucknow the women spoke warmly of the staff, and said that they were well cared for while in hospital. As to the superior medical staff, we have been strongly impressed with the consideration for the feelings of the women which seems in every case to have governed them in their discharge of unpleasant duties; and with the marked degree in which they had won their confidence. 2210

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102. A few minor points remain which it will be well to notice; and we shall refer briefly to such specific allegations contained in the India Office evidence as have not already been noticed. Minor points.

103. It has been suggested that Government officials are still concerned 2220 with the supply of women for the use of the official supply of prostitutes for British soldiers, and with the proportion the use of the troops. which the number of prostitutes in cantonments bears to the number of troops. So far as to procure women from the neighbouring bazaars and to allocate them in the vicinity of the regimental lines, for the convenience of the men of the regiment, by the orders or with the cognisance of the officer commanding, comes under this description, we have already given full details. But if the suggestion goes further, and implies that, subsequent to 1888, officers have concerned themselves in any way whatever with the supply of women to the Cantonment market, or with the maintenance of the general supply of 2230 prostitutes, we are convinced that it is absolutely without foundation. We have asked every cantonment authority who has come before us, and they have with one accord scouted the idea. It is alleged in Answer 484 before the India Office Committee, that Colonel Plowden, Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut, used to give money varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 with which to procure new women. Colonel Plowden has left India. His head clerk, who has been twenty-five years in the office, and twenty years as head clerk, states that he has never heard of such a thing. One thing is certain, that if Colonel Plowden ever did so advance money, which we do not believe, he did so from his private purse; for Cantonment Funds are drawn upon by cheques bearing the signature of the officer commanding the station, and the accounts are audited 2240 by the Accountant General; and it would be absolutely impossible for such a charge to escape challenge, unless a deliberately false entry was made. All

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the officers whom we have examined state that such a thing is absolutely unheard of.

104. In answers 564 to 567 it is suggested that the police habitually oppress and ill-use prostitutes as such. We have asked all the officials who would be most likely to have knowledge of or to receive complaints on the subject, and none of them have any reason to believe that such was the case; nor did the women themselves complain when questioned on the subject, though in one instance (already discussed) they complained very bitterly against the hospital staff. But extortion by the native police is common all over India and in almost all classes of life. The particular instance given in the India Office evidence had no connection with the status of the women, and is, so far as the demand for money goes, exactly what a policeman would do wherever he thought it safe. The allegation of physical cruelty is always added to strengthen accusations against the police, and generally without truth. Prostitutes are more intelligent and less timid than other native women of their social stratum; and so far would be less easy victims to impression. On the other hand, they are more often without male protection. One thing is certain, that for every opportunity that a policeman now has for extortion from a prostitute, he enjoyed a hundred before the abolition of the Lock Hospital rules.

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We now proceed to summarise our conclusions; and in doing so we shall take as our text the "Statement of Facts" prepared by Messrs. Stansfeld & Stuart, which formed the enclosure to the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 50 (Military), dated 20th April 1893; and which would perhaps be better described as a "Statement of Deductions from Facts." We shall take the individual allegations therein contained, in the order in which they occur, and affirm, contradict, modify, or explain each one, following as far as is possible the language in which it is stated. The words quoted from the "Statement" will be italicised in the following paragraphs. Our conclusions, as before explained, refer to the three Cantonments of Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, which we have visited, and to no other.

- (1) *In each Cantonment there are assigned several quarters for prostitutes*; as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours.
- (2) All quarters thus assigned for prostitutes are called *chaklas*, so long as they are occupied by prostitutes.
- (3) They are frequently situated close to, and in some cases, till quite recently, actually within, the military (Regimental) bazaars.
- (4) The individual *chakla* in some cases consists of a single building or enclosure, having a series of small rooms or houses, of a type common throughout Northern India, and in no way similar in appearance to any military building. In other cases it consists of separate tents (not huts) grouped together; and sometimes, when in the open, enclosed within, not a fence, but a matting screen. It most often consists of rooms or houses scattered about the prostitutes' quarter, among those of shopkeepers and others, which may or may not include one or more enclosures such as are described above.
- (5) Each room or tent is occupied by one woman, native or otherwise, and used by her to receive the visits of her customers; who are,



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in the case of certain of the enclosures, chiefly *British soldiers who come to the chakla for the purpose.*

- (6) *The women, like all Indian prostitutes, do no work for wages, and live for no other purpose.* 2300
- (7) *There is no solicitation by the women, unless within the chakla, or (until put a stop to) at its gate; as solicitation is not practised in India.*
- (8) *Of many of the enclosures it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, owing to the fear of the soldiers, and to the action of the Military Police, but not owing to any action or orders of the authorities, no natives are allowed to resort to them; though they do visit them at certain hours, and the women consort freely with natives outside the enclosure.*
- (9) *The women are at perfect liberty to leave the chakla or Cantonment without permission, either temporarily or permanently.* 2310
- (10) *In no case does the chakla belong to the Government; nor has any chakla been occupied by prostitutes, while the property of Government, since 1888. In some cases it is owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government.*
- (11) *In no Cantonments do the women live rent-free; in all they pay rent.*
- (12) *In no Cantonments is a guard in uniform placed within, or near to, the chakla; though in one case a policeman was placed over the chakla for a short time last year; and in one instance a military policeman was posted at the tents occupied by women in the vicinity of a regimental camp. In both cases the sole object was to preserve order, and not in any way to interfere with the freedom of the inmates.* 2320
- (13) *In no Cantonment is a register kept of the chakla women; though in certain of the regimental chaklas the head women have kept lists of the prostitutes occupying the chaklas.*
- (14) *There is no such thing as the register numbers of the women.*
- (15) *In one place metal plates bearing numbers were affixed over the entrances of such of the separate rooms in the chakla as were occupied at the time by prostitutes (which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers); of which numbers the object, when first affixed, was, that a soldier might be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name and address. This object soon ceased to be secured, owing to changes in the rooms (or houses) occupied by prostitutes.* 2330
- (16) *In every instance the chakla with its occupants used to be under the control of a woman superintendent (or occasionally a male) called the mahaldarni (or mahaldar). In 1888 the mahaldarnis were dismissed; and, with the exception of one woman, who was retained till the end of 1890 at Lucknow, have since then been recognised only in regimental chaklas. At the present moment there is no such person recognised by authority, though the old mahaldarnis, who were nothing more than the representative heads of groups of persons following a common occupation, such as are found throughout Indian society, still act as procuresses, and are in some cases still recognised by the women as their heads.* 2340
- (17) *These women used to be paid in all cases from 1883 to 1888, out of the funds of the Cantonments, in addition to receiving (as it is the custom of the country for such representatives to receive)* 2350

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a share of the earnings of the women. Since 1888, with the Lucknow exception just noted, no such person has received pay from any public funds, though such of them as still fill the position of mahaldarni or procuress continue to levy fees from their women.

- 2360 (18) In the only case in which we have found a *mahaldarni* possessing a certificate signed by a British officer of later date than 1888, the certificate was signed by an Assistant Apothecary, was dated Gurgaon (where an Artillery camp is held), 22nd January 1891, and testified to her being "painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." Most of the certificates described in the evidence given before the India Office Committee date from before 1888.
- 2370 (19) At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888 had such duties, which were practically the same as formerly before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and included the care and control of the women under their charge, and their presentation for periodical examination.
- 2380 (20) There have been no women in regimental chaklas since 1888 at Lucknow, and none since August 1892 at Meerut, except in standing camps, or with troops on the march. Where women are placed in such chaklas, the number of women is doubtless proportioned in some cases to the number of British soldiers in the Regiment, averaging from 12 to 15 in standing camps, but from 4 to 8 only in the chaklas of the regimental bazaars. But the number of women in all the chaklas of a Cantonment, taken collectively, is in no case whatever proportioned to the number of British soldiers for the time being in the Cantonment; this being left entirely to the operation of supply and demand in open market.
- (21) The number of such women in each Cantonment varies from about 60 to 110.
- 2390 (22) A uniform minimum rate of pay is recognised (as given in the "Statement of Facts"), the lowest item in which represents two days' sustenance for the woman. More is often paid; though in case of complaint the man is not compelled to pay more. The scale is higher than would be paid by natives to women of the same class.
- (23) If not paid, complaint is sometimes made to the authorities. Such complaints rarely go beyond the Provost Sergeant, but it is not impossible that on rare occasions the amount has been stopped from the man's pay, as would be done in case of a well-founded complaint of non-payment by any trader in the bazaar.
- 2400 (24) Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living, a customary fee (as in the case of other callings) to the recognised representative of the group to which she belongs. We know of no other various demands. When a woman is wholly or in part kept by an entreteneuse she, doubtless, has to pay her (as is the case with prostitutes all over India and Europe) demands of an extortionate nature, but this seems to be less often the case with the prostitute of Cantonments than with her sister in the neighbouring towns. She is, like all natives, subject to occasional demands from the subordinate police; and at

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Meerut there were complaints of blackmailing against the subordinate hospital staff.

- (25) Some few doubtless *live in abject poverty*, as some members of every class always will do; but they are very few, and the 2410 women as a class are comfortably and in many cases exceedingly well off, far more so than most native women in their stratum of life.
- (26) All our evidence goes against the statement that they *generally get into debt to the mahaldarni*; but it is probable that they, often do so, like prostitutes all over the world.
- (27) Like almost all natives, they deal on credit for their daily supplies; and are therefore *generally in debt to some outside creditor*; though most of them we believe to be perfectly solvent.
- (28) Some few of them are probably *therefore unable to quit the Can-* 2420 *tonment*, as is the case with many of all the poorer classes of natives. But these women do constantly quit Cantonments in considerable numbers.
- (29) Their life is not a *life of shame*, in the sense in which this is true in England. Most of them are prostitutes by caste, and can feel no *desire to give it up*. Those who do feel such a desire would doubtless occasionally be prevented by debt; but far more often by the almost entire absence in India of all remunerative occupation for women, save hereditary occupation, to which caste restrictions would in most cases be an absolute bar, or manual 2430 labour, for which they are unsuited.
- (30) Many of them undoubtedly *live in the Cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes, until (unless they sooner die) they are too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women*. But this is seldom the result of anything that has been discussed before, or of any inability to quit Cantonments at pleasure; but simply because they prefer so to live. If we substitute "servants" for "prostitutes," and "active men" for "attractive women," the sentence stands true of hundreds of 2440 residents in Cantonments.
- (31) *The prostitutes are generally not girls*, but women of over 20 years old; few of them *being very young*, and only two out of 143 examined by us being *apparently fifteen years of age* or under.
- (32) *When a regiment changes its Cantonment, women associated with that regiment not unfrequently accompany it on the march*; as do numerous other persons who find their livelihood in ministering to the wants of the soldiers. All alike travel in carts, always paid for, and sometimes hired by, themselves; but more often *provided for their transport* by the authori- 2450 ties, on indent for "private carriage" for the use of the numerous unpaid followers of the regiment. They are *never sent by railway*. During their progress they are *never protected by European guards*; though they may, in rare instances, march behind carts travelling under guards. They are *accompanied by the mahaldarni, who is one of themselves*.
- (33) There is no *woman entered on the register*, because there is no register. At Ambala, up to August 1892, the women who were allowed to live in regimental chaklas, and at Meerut, up to a month ago, all the prostitutes of Cantonments, were *required to present them-* 2460 *selves for periodical examination by the appointed Medical Officer at the hospital established in each Cantonment for the treatment*



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of these particular diseases; on pain, at Ambala, of having to leave the regimental chakla, and at Meerut, of being reported, in case of persistent absence, to the Cantonment Magistrate, and given the option of being examined or leaving Cantonments. At Lucknow no woman was required to present herself for periodical examination; but, as a fact, many did so.

- 2470 (34) *The examinations are usually once a week; but were for some time at Lucknow bi-weekly. At Ambala they were limited to the women living in regimental chaklas, and therefore to the women consorting (though not exclusively) with British soldiers. At Meerut they comprehended all the prostitutes of Cantonments. At Lucknow they did so until the middle of 1892, after which time the attendance became very irregular; but there was no limitation to any class of prostitute.*
- 2480 (35) *The examination is made individually by the British Medical Officer, and is generally conducted in the presence of the resident Native Medical Officer of the hospital, and in the presence also of the Lock Hospital nurse (called the "dhai"). The examination is made on a table (not necessarily special), and generally, though not always, with speculum, &c. The women subjected to it speak of it without abhorrence; and apparently have no objection to it on the score of modesty.*
- (36) *The women (so far as they attend examination) assemble at the fixed time at the hospital. Doubtless they either walk there or (if distant) ride in cabs; excepting, perhaps, the very few who are "living in abject poverty." The use of carts is improbable.*
- 2490 (37) *Upon the examination, the women attending it are either dismissed until the next examination day which they may attend, with liberty and license (unwritten) to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime; or, if diseased, are not detained but invited (with the legalised alternative of being expelled from Cantonments) to remain in the hospital.*
- (38) *Detention is never ordered. No sort of restraint is exercised upon the women. At Lucknow, and there only, the women were invited to remain in hospital, not only in case of detected disease, but even during the natural menstrual period without disease; and this for the protection of the woman's health.*
- 2500 (39) *During residence in the hospital each woman receives (under rules framed by the Governor General in Council and having the force of law) an allowance from the Cantonment Fund, ranging from two to two and a half annas per diem, whenever she is a pauper, or is received into hospital as an alternative to expulsion from Cantonments, so that her residence is not altogether voluntary. Patients are similarly dieted in all Civil Hospitals.*
- 2510 (40) *No woman is registered. A woman not presenting herself on the prescribed day for examination is breaking no regulation. At Lucknow no action would be taken in such a case. At Ambala such a woman would, before August 1892, have been reported by the mahaldarni to the Commanding Officer of the regiment in whose chakla her residence was conditional upon her regular attendance at examination; and she would have had to leave that chakla and live in the Sadar bazaar. At Meerut, and at Meerut only, if a woman absented herself without good excuse, the Medical Officer would send to her by her friends or the hospital watchman (never by the Native Police), and, in the rare event of her again absenting herself, would report, not the fact, but that she was*

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supposed to be diseased, to the Cantonment Magistrate, who (under rules framed by the Governor-General in Council and having the force of law) would be bound to order her either to come up for examination or to leave Cantonments. If she disobeyed, and did neither, she would be liable to arrest by the police: and then, and not till then, she might be fined or imprisoned. This amounts in practice to being expelled from the Cantonment. The necessity for such action hardly ever arose.

- (41) If a woman suffering from a contagious disease leave the hospital before being formally discharged, she would (under the rules already referred to) be liable to the like penalties, though it has very rarely been necessary to resort to them. 2530
- (42) Every woman is everywhere perfectly free to leave the Cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate; which is, if asked for, always given without medical examination at the hospital. If she leaves without permit, she is in no way precluded from re-entering the Cantonment. No woman can be so precluded absolutely: but if she is expelled under the rules, for refusing, when diseased, to undergo medical treatment, she is re-admitted only on undergoing examination at the hospital.
- (43) The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman from the Cantonment is in no way tantamount to starvation. Such women constantly leave Cantonments of their own free will. There are many Cantonments; and prostitutes exists in India outside Cantonments. 2540
- (44) All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious diseases are used quite exclusively for the treatment of infectious, and never for the treatment of venereal diseases. All infectious diseases, that are dangerous to the public health are treated in them, whether contracted by the prostitutes (there are no registered prostitutes), or not.
- (45) All the hospitals for the treatment of contagious diseases are used mainly, and, where a general branch of the Cantonment Civil Hospital exists, almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes; males and respectable females being treated at the general branch. Prostitutes are freely admitted for other than venereal diseases. Very rarely, except as noted above are patients other than prostitutes admitted; as they go to the General Branch. The cases of diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted are extremely few; as other contagious diseases that are dangerous to the public health are practically unknown in India. The only such case we heard of was a case of leprosy; and there mainly, and, where a general branch of the Cantonment Civil Hospital exists, almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes; males and respectable females being treated at the general branch. Prostitutes are freely admitted for other than venereal diseases. Very rarely, except as noted above are patients other than prostitutes admitted; as they go to the General Branch. The cases of diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted are extremely few; as other contagious diseases that are dangerous to the public health are practically unknown in India. The only such case we heard of was a case of leprosy; and there syphilis was present also. 2550
- (46) In all these hospitals, cases of secondary syphilis are treated precisely in the same way and in the same hospital as cases of primary syphilis. Such cases are never sent out of the Cantonment; unless it be under the rules already referred to, and under circumstances in which cases of primary syphilis would be similarly expelled. 2560
- (47) No women are compelled to submit to the periodical examination; though in Meerut the system approached very near compulsion. There are no registered women. There are no women reserved for the use of British troops; though there are places (which the women are free to quit, and can find accommodation next door), from which the natives are expelled when found there. The examination has always been absolutely general to all women in Cantonments, 2570

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except at Ambala, where it was confined to women living of their own free will in the regimental chaklas.

- 2580 (48) We know of no separate *women used by native soldiers*; and no woman is ever *sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment*. But all prostitutes, of whatever class, are admitted indifferently to the Lock Hospital; even (so far as accommodation permits) when coming from beyond Cantonment limits.

106. To sum up very broadly and generally in our own words. Prostitutes are confined to special quarters of Cantonments, as are the followers of many other occupations, and of all other occupations which are in any degree offensive to the neighbourhood. In these quarters they live in the most absolute freedom, whether in separate houses, or in enclosed quarters; no restraint whatever being put upon their liberty to leave, or to change the house, the quarter, or the Cantonment, save such as is common to *all* residents.
- 2590 Since the issue of the orders of August 1888, there has been no registration or numbering or licensing of prostitutes in any shape or form whatever. Since 1888, no building has been occupied by prostitutes while the property of the Government; and (with one exception) no payment from public funds has been made to any person for duties in connection with a prostitutes' quarter. The prohibition against the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazaars was for some time misinterpreted at Meerut, and has been wholly disregarded at Ambala; the orders forbidding them to accompany regiments on the march or in standing camps have been in numerous instances violated or evaded;
- 2600 and in both cases the permission to so reside or to accompany the regiment has been made conditional upon attendance at periodical examinations, which the women would probably not have attended spontaneously. Periodical examinations of all the women in Cantonments have been held until recently at both Meerut and Lucknow; and at the former place the rules of July 1890 have been used to enforce attendance at examination, on penalty of being compelled to leave Cantonments. At the latter place the attendance seems to have been absolutely voluntary, save in so far as it may have been affected by traditions of the former system; but women newly coming into Cantonments have been examined by the Doctor, under a procedure which to them amounted to an order of the Cantonment Magistrate. The examinations have been conducted in every instance with all possible consideration for the
- 2610 feelings of the women; and are not objected to by them on the score of modesty. The rules of 1890 have been worked with the greatest discretion and impartiality, and with the most careful avoidance of all harshness; and though legal technicalities have not always been observed, yet their spirit has been violated in only the rarest instances. Persons suffering from contagious diseases have been dealt with in a far less peremptory manner than those afflicted with infectious disorders. It has been found practically impossible to apply the rules to males suffering from venereal disease; in whose case indeed, the common danger which can alone justify measures of compulsion is comparatively slight. So, too, the information upon which alone action against women
- 2620 under the rules can be based, is seldom forthcoming except in cases where British soldiers have contracted venereal disease; so that the working of the rules, so far as they refer to the examination of persons suffering from contagious (as distinct from infectious) diseases, has been narrowed by force of circumstances to the case of women who have diseased British soldiers. So far as the rules refer to women already in hospital, they have been applied indifferently to all. In only the very rarest cases has it been found necessary to resort to the penal provisions of the rules. The venereal branches of the Cantonment civil hospitals have for the most part been used almost exclusively for
- 2630 prostitutes; neither males, nor, as a rule, respectable women being admitted, at any rate as in-patients; but prostitutes have been admitted as necessity arose, from whatever disease they might be suffering. No restraint of any sort has been



## XIV.—SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

placed upon the patients, beyond the discipline necessarily maintained in the hospitals; and they have been free to leave, and have frequently left before cure, with the knowledge that their doing so would involve the necessity of their leaving Cantonments also. This fact alone disproves the assertion that expulsion from Cantonments is tantamount to starvation. The women strike us, as a class, as far more prosperous than, and at least as contented as, other native women in their own stratum. Many or most of them are hereditary prostitutes, to whom prostitution is no disgrace, and who are debarred by birth from adopting any other calling. Ill-usage by the British soldier does occur; but is not frequent; and the women on many grounds prefer him to the natives as a customer; among others, on the ground that he is a better paymaster. In certain enclosed chaklas, the British soldier looks upon the women who may be living there as reserved for himself, and resents the intrusion of natives; in which he is vigorously seconded by the military police, though no orders exist to justify their action. But the women of these chaklas live there of their own free will; and do as a fact consort with natives also, though not at such times and places as would bring the two classes into contact.

107. A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement, only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes: condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-  
abhorrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation.

KASAULI,  
28th June 1893.

DENZIL IBBETSON.  
JAMES CLEGHORN.  
M. SAMIULLAH.



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## APPENDIX.

## Statements and Notes.

AMBALA, THE 6TH JUNE.—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE  
ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

AMBALA, 6TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited the **Cantonment General Hospital**. It consists of three parts. The main building is in the bazar, and is open to patients suffering from general diseases. It has a separate building for women. The branch for infectious diseases is called Section I, and consists of a brick building with room for sixteen beds, generally used for small-pox cases, and a temporary structure for cholera patients, which can be enlarged at pleasure and burnt after use. It is situated about a mile from the main hospital, and at some distance from habitations. The branch for contagious venereal diseases is called Section II, and is in the bazar, some three or four hundred yards from the main building. All these parts of the hospital are under the same medical officer, with a separate hospital assistant in charge of each. The branch for venereal diseases presents no unusual structural features. Over the gate is a board with the inscription "Cantonment General Hospital, Section No. II," and in vernacular "Charitable Hospital" It contains three wards with four beds each. Patients applying for admission or suspected of disease are examined in an upper-storey room. At the time of our visit the hospital contained two prostitutes suffering from syphilitic disease. We were told by the Surgeon in charge and his hospital assistant that the hospital was confined exclusively to female in-patients, and that, as a fact, the cases were almost without exception venereal. An inspection of the admission register bore out this statement. 10

In the main hospital and its infectious branch the patients are dieted. Here they are given a subsistence allowance, partly because diet does not enter so largely into the nature of their treatment, and partly because the patients, being mainly prostitutes, are accustomed to a more varied diet than that of the other classes who enter the hospital. 20

We examined the books. We found a general register of prostitutes, the last entry in which was of October 1888. The hospital assistant stated that no register had been kept up since, and that the examination of prostitutes not applying for admission or suspected of disease had been discontinued for more than two years under Dr. Beatson's orders. There were no ticket forms, and the two patients said that they had neither numbers nor tickets, though their houses were numbered like all other houses in cantonments.

The form of admission register has a column headed "Regimental corps, battalion, or brigade," in which is entered the name of the bazar in which the patient lives; as "Royal Artillery," "British Infantry," Sadr Bazar, and so forth; and in the book of daily treatment corresponding initials are entered under the woman's name to serve, as it was explained, as an address and means of identification. The admission register form was printed Form I.A., and is used in all Military Hospitals. 30

The letter book and certain registers had been sent to Simla under orders of Government. But in a small book of letters received we found a letter dated 29th September 1891, which is referred to below in Dr. Cleghorn's note. The registers sent to Simla were said to contain the results of the inspection of women supposed to be diseased and examined accordingly, whether subsequently admitted to hospital or not.

In the book of daily treatment is found the letter M. (menses) entered against certain patients on certain dates. It was, we were told, entered to account for the modified treatment which was pursued during these periods; and as a fact we found in all the cases which we examined that the women had invariably been admitted for a specific disease, during the course of which the menses had occurred. 40

Of the two patients, one lived in the chakla frequented by the British troops, and the other in that used by natives. They both seemed happy and contented. The former said she preferred English to natives, and had recently left Lahore for Ambala because there was no British chakla there. Asked if she would rather marry and lead a virtuous life, she said she would not mind if she could get a decent living by doing so.

It may be noted that the hospital assistant spoke of the matron (dhai) as the mahal-darni. He admitted that the name was more properly applied to a manager of a chakla; 50 but said that it was often used for these matrons also.

**Dr. Cleghorn** subsequently examined such of the hospital books as had not gone to Simla, and recorded the following note :—

The Commission visited the "Cantonment General Hospital" and its two sections on the afternoon of the 7th June. The General Hospital is a large building for the treatment of departmental followers, and the civil population residing in and out of cantonments. It is  
Y 24265. P P





AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—CAPTAIN BAIRNSFATHER, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—  
KOTWAL OF SADR BAZAR—INSPECTOR OF CANTONMENT POLICE.

The medicines and instruments were kept in a small room in the second storey of a detached building in the compound. This room is also used for examining patients when it is necessary to introduce the speculum. It is fairly well adapted for such examination. The room is perfectly private, and those examined could not be seen from the outside.

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.

**Captain Bairnsfather, Cantonment Magistrate**, attended by Saraj ul Haqq, Kotwal of Sadr Bazar since 1881, and Mr. Meakins, **Inspector of Cantonment Police** for 18 years, and at Ambala since March 1884.

I have been Cantonment Magistrate here since 1st March 1893. I officiated for four months at Rawal Pindi and Mian Mir during last hot weather. Captain R. F. Anderson was Cantonment Magistrate during 1891 and 1892, and up to 28th February 1893. He is now Assistant Judge Advocate General at Pachmari, Central Provinces. Besides being Magistrate and Small Cause Court Judge, I am the Executive Officer of the Cantonment Committee and of the Officer Commanding the Station. As such I have very considerable powers. No building can be erected or altered in cantonments without permission conveyed through me. The localities in which persons practising any trade or calling must reside for the purposes of such trade or calling may be specified, and such persons required to reside there. The Act gives power to frame rules authorising us to eject any person from cantonments without grounds specified; but as yet no rules have been framed under that section so far as I am aware. The only power we have to exclude persons from cantonments is under the rules regarding people suffering from infectious or contagious disorders (Military Notification, No. 617, of 4th July 1890).

My power and duties extend alike to all bazars, regimental or otherwise; though the regimental bazars are, unlike the Sadr Bazar, under the immediate control of the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

We maintain two registers of houses in cantonments. The one is merely for the purposes of house-tax, and has only been kept since last September. The other is a general register of old standing, and shows each house in cantonments. This includes regimental bazars. I produce the register in five volumes. It is headed (in vernacular) "Register of houses and persons, Ambala Cantonments," and its columns are—(i) Serial No.; (ii) Name of occupier; (iii) Parentage and caste of occupier; (iv) Occupation of occupier; (v) Date of registration; (vi) Name of owner of house; (vii) Parentage, caste, and residence of owner of house; (viii) Amount of rent; (ix) Number of residents, with detail of men, women, and children; (x) Name of quarter or locality; (xi) Remarks.

Column (i) is the serial number of the house, all houses having been numbered, and the last number being 5841. This is the Sadr Bazar Register only. The registers for the other parts of the cantonments are in the same form. The British chakla is entered at Nos. 2825 to 2920, these being the numbers of the houses in the chakla. Of these, nineteen houses are empty, one is occupied by a wood and hay merchant, two by ginger-beer sellers, two by labourers, one by a servant, one by a cook, two by cloth sellers, one by a tailor, five by male owners whose occupation is not entered because the owner is the occupier, three by pimps, and the other fifty-eight by prostitutes. In only forty cases are two consecutive houses owned by the same person; and this includes two groups of seven and five houses respectively.

The native chakla is entered in just the same way, Nos. 1693 to 1779, of which twenty-seven are occupied by prostitutes and two by pimps. Both chaklas have been used as such for very many years.

I have no other register of prostitutes besides this, which has been maintained since 1885, the present copy being made in February 1892. We supply no copies or extracts to medical officers or others, nor do we communicate alterations in it. We treat the portion of the registers which refers to prostitutes, in EVERY respect, in *precisely* the same manner as we do the rest of the registers. I have no registration of prostitutes as such.

I have had two or three applications from a woman wishing to practise as a prostitute, stating what chakla she wished to live in; and I have given permission—at least, I have passed an order that there is no objection. If a woman settled without permission we should say nothing. [The Kotwal and Inspector say that, as a fact, women nowadays do not often give applications. When they do, a vacant house is found for them.] They are not sent to a doctor for examination, and have not been since inspection was abolished. There is no register of, or form of, permission. The petition is stamped and written by a petition writer like all other petitions, and we charge no fee.

We now have two chaklas in cantonments, both in the Sadr Bazar, one for the use of British troops, and the other for that of natives. There used to be three other chaklas, Royal Artillery, British Cavalry, and British Infantry, in their respective bazars. A letter from the Quartermaster General of 12th May 1888 directed that registered

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190 prostitutes be no longer permitted to reside in the bazars of British corps in cantonments, and that in future no public prostitutes were to be allowed to accompany regiments on the line of march, or to accompany them to standing camps as part of the ordinary bazar followers. These orders were communicated on 29th June 1888 by the Cantonment Magistrate to all Commanding Officers of British corps, with the request that the registered women in the regimental chaklas might be directed to go to the Sadr Bazar chakla for British troops and reside there. Additional accommodation was at once provided in the Sadr chakla, and the women moved there within a month. The regimental chaklas were then let to ordinary tenants, and are still so occupied, though they have been sold meanwhile by public auction. They were before that cantonment property. I believe I am safe in saying that no prostitutes are living in these chaklas. If they are it must be secretly; for since the orders of 1888 the regulation has been that no prostitutes may live in regimental bazars. When I came here I learned from the police that they suspected certain persons living in these bazars of being prostitutes, and I had them turned out. There were six or seven such persons in the regimental bazars. I believe their residence there was unknown to the regimental authorities, and that they were living there as private individuals.

200 If initials or words are entered in the Venereal Hospital Registers, showing that the patients live in regimental bazars, I believe that they must refer to these six or seven women, and that the entries must be of a date prior to my order, which was issued in the first half of May last.

The two Highland Regiments have never been stationed here. In the cold weather, 1891-92, they were here for winter concentration, and were living in tents within cantonment boundaries, but quite apart from all bazars. In such a camp I should not think of interfering, unless absolutely necessary on sanitary or other grounds.

210 [The Kotwal states that before the transfer of 1888 from the regimental chakla to the Sadr chakla there were some 40 prostitutes in the latter. After the transfer the numbers were 80 or 90. There are now about 40 or 45. The difference is due to the women having gone to the hills where the regiments have gone. But since the transfer, the chakla being insufficient, many of them live outside the chakla; most of them close to it, but a considerable number at some distance from it.

The chakla is by no means always full, as when women move out other women who have rented houses outside do not move in. I am trying to get them in as much as possible, as they are there better under control, or rather the soldiers who visit them are so; for disturbances occasionally occur.

220 All land in cantonments belongs to Government; but the houses belong to their builders or their successors, subject to cantonment rules. No ground rent is charged. The Sadr chakla belongs to private individuals, and it is believed has done so always. [The Kotwal speaks for 12 years past.] Nothing is or has been received by Government or by cantonment funds on account of the chakla except the house-tax, which is levied on all buildings alike. The rooms are rented by private arrangements, with which we have no concern.

230 I am the head of the Cantonment Police, who wear the ordinary police uniform. We have no cantonment chaukidars, nor do we use badges with that inscription. There is no watch or guard of any sort over the chakla, though the chakla is, of course, included in one of our police beats. [The Kotwal states that there used to be a chaukidar placed over the chakla the day before the examination of prostitutes to prevent soldiers having access to them. But that has been discontinued since the examination was stopped four or five years ago, at the time when the regimental chaklas were closed.]

240 One of the Sadr chaklas is for British, and the other for native use—not for troops necessarily. I am not sure that if an Englishman, not a soldier, entered the former, the soldiers might not resent his intrusion; but there would be no objection on our part. Such a thing practically does not occur. The latter is used by natives indiscriminately. The British troops do not go, as a fact, to the native chakla, partly because some women object to entertain Europeans, and they might have difficulty in finding a woman there; partly because they are used to their own women. But there is no rule forbidding them to go there, simply because there is no need for such a rule. If I found that they did go, then I should certainly suggest the framing of such a rule. No part of cantonments is out of bounds for British soldiers, as far as we are concerned; but there may be regimental rules with which I have no concern. There are four or five prostitutes not associated with either chakla, who are visited without objection by British soldiers. The women already described as living outside the chakla are still held to belong or to be attached to the chakla. There are probably plenty of other women who do receive men, but no others who can be said to be public prostitutes, in the Sadr Bazar at least. I know of no rule against a native going to the British chakla; but there would probably be a disturbance by the soldiers if he did, and I should, I think, interfere to prevent it. The women attached to but living outside the British chakla may perhaps receive visits from natives.



## Statements and Notes.

v

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[The Kotwal thinks that, if so, it is done secretly, and that they do not habitually go from their houses to meet natives. The Police Inspector believes that they do receive natives frequently, whether at home or outside. He has seen them driving to the city 250 with natives.]

I do not know whether there is any woman at the head of the chakla. I have never made enquiries, nor have I ever heard of such a woman. If there is such a woman, I, as Cantonment Magistrate, have *no* concern with her of any sort whatever. We neither pay her nor appoint nor dismiss her; nor do we require anything of her, or take any cognisance of her existence. [The Kotwal states that when the women used to be inspected there was a mahaldarni over each chakla, whether sadr or regimental. The sadr mahaldarnis were paid from cantonment funds. They looked after the women, reported matters to the police that required report, presented the women for their examination, and reported and sent to hospital women suspected of disease. There are now no such women; the prostitutes are all independent.] There are chaudhris for trades of 260 every description in the bazar—yekka drivers, cartmen, milk sellers, petty grocers, grain sellers of the mandi (grain market), the brokers, the banias—these men being elected by the persons whom they represent, and the first two being subject to the approval of, and dismissal by, the Cantonment Magistrate, who has constant relations with them on account of the large demand for carriage. These two levy fees on all earnings of the drivers, and receive all requisitions (official or private) for carriage and make the necessary arrangements. In short, they represent the body in all dealings with the officials and the outside public. In all other cases any orders issued or arrangements made are issued to or made through the chaudhris as representing the body. They receive nothing from Government, and are in no sense Government servants. 270

The segregation of prostitutes in two quarters can be paralleled in the case of many of the other occupations of the bazar. The butchers live all together, the grain sellers in their market, the cow-keepers and vegetable sellers, the leather makers and tanners in a separate quarter, the copper-smiths—in short, almost all the trades are every bit as much segregated as the prostitutes are. Even the grocers and cookshops are mainly confined to a single part of the bazar. These people, as a fact, live so by general custom or for convenience. There are no rules or orders on the subject. If a copper-smith lived outside his quarter, I should take no action of my own motion; but if the noise was complained of by the neighbours, I should make him live in the copper-smiths' quarter. [The Inspector of Police states that, as a fact, no such order has been passed for the past 12 years, because there never has been any complaint; since, in fact, the people do *not* 280 live outside their quarters.] I should be particularly ready to interfere in the case of butchers, where religious feelings are concerned. I should peremptorily refuse to allow, or I should close, a butcher's shop in the Hindu quarter. If a woman known to be a prostitute settled outside the chaklas, I should, as already explained, try to move her into the chaklas in order to prevent the risk of disturbance; and this whether she was frequented by British or natives; and in the case of well-founded complaints by the neighbours, I should certainly move her. That is the extent of the control exercised by us over their residence. I do not know whether rules have been framed under the Act regarding the residence of persons following certain trades; but I should certainly act as above. I wish to explain that I consider the occupation of prostitutes, by its nature, to require stricter control and supervision than others, as it is more likely than any other 290 to give rise to disturbances, especially between natives and Europeans, which are particularly to be deprecated.

A woman is absolutely free to leave cantonments at pleasure; she is absolutely free to return at will. [The Kotwal and Inspector of Police state that when the women used to be examined they had to get a permit to leave, and to state where they were going and information used to be sent there so as to bring them on the registers. Since the regimental chaklas have been abolished and inspection discontinued (four or five years ago) this is wholly at an end.] I have no more power to exclude people from cantonments than I have to expel them. In fact, I have *no* power to exclude, though I can expel under Notification 617, already quoted, and that only. 300

The Sadr Bazar has a population of 23,000 souls. It may be defined as that portion of cantonments, outside regimental lines, which is inhabited by natives.

The total population of cantonments is 51,020 souls.

[The Kotwal and Inspector of Police states that there are now about 40 or 45 prostitutes attached to the British chakla, and about the same number to the native. There may be 100 altogether in this cantonment. The numbers in the native chakla fluctuate much less than those in the British chakla. They are always lowest in the hot weather. The maximum will probably be 80 to 90 in the British, and 45 or so in the native, chakla.]

I have no concern with the number of prostitutes in cantonments, and I have never known of any official notice being taken of the numbers being too small. [The Inspector 310 of Police says the same, and so does the Kotwal for the Sadr.] I have never heard of money being advanced for the purpose of supplementing them.



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I have no knowledge or concern with the charges made by the women to soldiers. I have never had or heard of any complaints, either by women or by soldiers, regarding payment [nor has the Kotwal or the Inspector of Police].

I exercise no supervision nor do I make any inspection, either personally or through my subordinates, with regard to the chaklas, save such as is exercised over or made of all other cantonment premises. As a fact, I do not happen ever to have been inside the chakla here.

320 Cases are reported of women suspected of disease. I have had two or three cases, one of them a European woman, the wife of a corporal in one of the British regiments. We keep no record of these cases, the original docket being usually sent back to the medical officers, as the matter is treated as confidential. The letter book of July to September 1890, shows that an English woman was reported by the medical officer, sent for inspection by the Cantonment Magistrate, and detained in the hospital as being diseased. She at first refused to remain in the hospital, but on being threatened with expulsion from cantonments, consented to do so. In another case an English woman was given the option of being examined or leaving cantonments, and chose the latter. This was in November 1891. I can give no figures for the number of reports, but I can for  
330 the number of expulsions from cantonments. There were no such cases in 1892. The medical officer does not give reasons for his suspicion—at least not since I have been acting as Cantonment Magistrate. I had no reports of this sort during the four months during which I officiated last year. I have never expelled anybody from cantonments. I may, on the whole, have had three reports here, not more. I have had no reports against men; but one of the women referred to above was not a public prostitute, but an English woman living with her husband, and I felt some hesitation in dealing with the matter. One of the women habitually leaves the station when summoned on suspicion, and returns afterwards.

I have issued orders that prostitutes are *not* to live in any regimental bazars. If they are so living, the chaudhris of the bazar should have reported them. [The Kotwal  
340 says that since the last two or three years prostitutes have begun to live in the regimental bazars, but he cannot say where they live in the bazars.] There are women in every bazar whom we cannot say are actually prostitutes, but who do, without doubt, receive men. It is very difficult to draw the line where to interfere.

No fine or imprisonment has been inflicted last year [nor, says the Inspector of Police, since the regimental chaklas were abolished] under Notification 617. The report goes to the police, who warn the woman to go to the hospital, and she goes.

I had a case of small-pox reported under these rules—a male. The child had been taken to hospital when the report reached me. The man was punished for not reporting the case. In previous years other cases of small-pox have been reported under the rules.

350 I have never heard of any general examination of prostitutes in any one of the three cantonments in which I have acted. Certainly there is none here.

There are a certain number of camp followers living in regimental bazars who move with the regiment; but the population of the bazar consists mainly of permanent residents. It is like the Sadr Bazar on a small scale, and is controlled by the Commanding Officer of the regiment.

[The Kotwal states that the Venereal Hospital was in old days the Lock Hospital. It was then known as such, and the common people still call it so, and it is generally known as such. There has been no alteration in the wall or gate since then.]

360 I have not, nor ever have had, reason to think that the police practise oppression on this class more than on any other. [The Inspector says the same.]

There are no police now on the Lock Hospital. There used to be, I believe, before the inspection was abolished. After that they were removed. Then a policeman was put on again at the request of the medical officer for the protection of Government property in the building, and was finally removed last April. He used to patrol outside the wall in the front of the gate. There is a policeman on the church; on no other public buildings, I think, except the guard on my office. We have no chaukidars on public buildings. The police guard was simply to preserve the property. He had orders not to interfere with the prostitutes in any way, but he might or might not have interfered with a soldier trying to go in. He had no orders to that effect. A soldier would not wish or try to go in.

370 I have never known prostitutes to apply to the Cantonment Magistrate for pecuniary assistance. The cantonment accounts are audited by the Accountant General, Punjab.

*Questioned by Maulvi Sami Ullah.*—[The Kotwal states that the alterations in the Sadr chakla, which were made to receive the regimental women in 1888, were made by the owners of the houses at their own expense, but at the instance of the cantonment authorities.]

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—LIEUTENANT BAKER, QUARTERMASTER OF THE 18TH HUSSARS—SADR CHAKLA FOR BRITISH TROOPS.

**Lieutenant Baker, Quartermaster of the 18th Hussars.**—I have been Quartermaster of the regiment five years, and in the regiment 31 years. There is a regimental bazar which is controlled by the Commanding Officer through me. There is no regimental chakla there. There is a building which used to be the women's quarters. There are no women there now. I know of no prostitutes in our bazar. So far as I know there are none. I believe that there are none. I do not think the women in the Sadr chakla look upon themselves as belonging to different regiments. The bazar is divided into two parts; one part is occupied by native followers, sweepers, syces, watermen, and their families, who move with the regiment from place to place. That part is absolutely under my control. The other part is occupied by permanent residents. That I have nothing to do with beyond sanitary supervision. I believe there were women living in this second part of the bazar, but I had nothing to do with them. But they were moved into the Sadr Bazar some three weeks ago by the Cantonment Magistrate's orders. They petitioned me against the orders. I have not the least idea how many there were. They lived in the permanent part of the bazar; not in the old women's quarters, which is now a yekka and cart stand. We had nothing of any sort to do with them, or with where they lived so long as they did not live in our lines, which they did not. 390

I believe our men do go to the chakla for natives. We object on sanitary grounds, and also because it leads to disturbances if the women are used by both in common. We have no rule against it, and do not punish men who go. They go all over the place. It is practically impossible to prevent them. We do not mind their going to the women who live in our own bazar, because we see that it is kept clean. Nor do we interfere with any women coming to live in or leaving our bazar—at least I never did, and should not now from a regimental point of view. But now I should not allow it, since the Cantonment Magistrate's orders that they were not to live there. 400

The regiment has been here 18 months. It came from Mhow by rail to Matra, and then by road. I can state positively that there are no women here now who were at Mhow with the regiment. I can't say whether there are any Matra women; but we were only there two weeks. From Matra we went on to the Aligarh Cavalry camp. On arrival there I found that eight or ten women from Matra had come with us, and I turned them out of camp. They were in the followers' lines. I had had nothing to do with their carriage or the tents they were living in. They had arranged all themselves. We find tents for the camp followers and carriage for them. I don't think the women had come with the camp followers; but they were pitched outside my lines, close to the camp followers. They went clean away, probably back to Matra. We brought no women here to my knowledge, and certainly provided no tents or carts for any. In 1864, when I was out here, women followed the regiment and marched with it, but at their own expense. We have no guard on the followers on the march, but have a guard on every-thing carried in carts, not with camels. 410

I have never had a complaint by women of ill-treatment by British soldiers. I am the person to whom such complaints would be made by persons living in our bazar, and I do receive daily complaints.

There is no system of inspection or tickets connected with our regiment; nor have I any sort of official concern with any prostitutes whatever, save in so far as I have with all the other residents of our bazar.

I have never had any complaints by men or women of overcharge or non-payment. I have never heard of any case of money being cut from pay. It would come to me first, and I should take no action, as the women are no longer recognised. It used to be done in old days, when I was in India before, 1864–71. 420

When a man gets venereal disease, he is taken to the bazar to identify the woman who gave it to him. The police go with him. We take no further action. The woman has to go to the hospital.

The Commission visited the **Sadr Chakla for British troops**. It is situated in the nanbai (bakers) bazar, sometimes called the Gora chakla bazar, a portion of the Sadr Bazar.

It consists primarily of a large enclosure, with 46 small quarters ranged round, numbered in small numbers, 2832 to 2877, and in large numbers 1 to 46. It is surrounded on all four sides by bazars. The quarters were originally two rooms deep. When more accommodation was needed (in 1888), the communications between the two were closed, and doors opened from the inner room into the outer bazars, thus giving a double row of quarters, back to back; the inner ones opening into the enclosure, the outer ones into the bazar. The 46 rooms within the enclosure are exclusively occupied by prostitutes. The outer rooms are in many cases occupied by shopkeepers and others; the rest by prostitutes. Other prostitutes occupy other houses, somewhat separated from the chakla, as described above; but all within 100 yards or so of it. They are all considered to belong to the chakla. There are said to be a few living independently at a distance. There is a large wooden gate to the enclosure; 430



AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—BOALI BAKHSH KANCHAN (PIMP)—THE WOMEN  
OF THE BRITISH CHAKLA.

but it apparently has not been shut for at least a year; it cannot now be shut; and the panels are all gone, so that if it was shut it would not prevent ingress or egress.

The large numbers, 1 to 46, are continued outside the enclosure, but not consecutively, the series running up to 112 (it is said). They were attached about eighteen months to two years ago on the application of the medical officer, who found that many of the prostitutes having the same name, the soldiers were unable to identify the women whom they alleged to have diseased them. They were affixed to all houses then occupied by prostitutes, and have not since been altered; so that now some of the numbered houses are occupied by others than prostitutes, while some of the prostitutes live in houses which are not so numbered.

**Boali Bakhsh Kanchan (Pimp).**—Has lived here for 50 years. Since the cantonment has been here this has been a chakla (since 1843). The Kanchans, including my father, built this place when we came from Karnal at our own expense. Now the houses have passed into the hands of different owners, the same man owning the inner and outer rooms of each pair. The women pay Re. 1 per month in the hot weather; in the cold weather, Rs. 2 to 3; and Rs. 4 for two superior quarters which have been built. The rent rises in the winter, because the women come back from the hills, and there is greater demand for accommodation. The owners pay house-tax since last September to the Government, and nothing else.

This chakla was for the native troops till five years ago. The Gora chakla was then where the Kala chakla now is. It is only half the size of this. At that time the regimental chaklas were closed, and all the women were collected in the Sadr; so this was taken, as being the larger, and enlarged as already noted. There is only one woman in each quarters. There are now about 38 in the enclosure, and there are still eight or ten outside, though four days ago they were all ordered to come and live in the chakla. Four of the old Kala chakla women live by permission in the outer rooms, as they owned the rooms.

There is no chaukidar. If there is a row, the policeman in charge of the bazar is called in. He is not specially in charge of the chakla. Besides this, military police of the British regiments visit the chakla occasionally during the night, partly to turn out British soldiers staying after hours, and to see that no natives visit the place. If they find one they turn him out. Till lately this rule was not insisted upon strictly; but since 20 or 25 days they turn out even the male cooks and tailors. This is after 7 p.m.

The door (a big wooden gate) always stands open at night.  
No register or list of the prostitutes is kept up here.  
Till twelve years ago I was mahaldar. Then a mahaldarni was appointed on Rs. 10. I used to get nothing. The Rs. 10 were paid by Government. I used to take one anna of each rupee of the women's earnings. Since there was a mahaldarni I have taken nothing, and live on my rent. [This the women confirm, and say that nobody now takes fees on their earnings.] Now for three or four years the mahaldarni has been turned off, and has left the station. I am the chaudhri of the women, but take no chaudri's fees. I do the work for nothing. They pay me nothing.

None of the women receive natives here, nor do they go outside to prostitute themselves. The men who used to come were men who brought things from the bazars—tailors, cooks, &c.

No woman has lived in this chakla as mahaldarni for the last three or four years. Before that there was one who regularly received pay from Government. The women do not have tickets since the examination, which was stopped now three years or so ago. Before then they got tickets after examination; since then there has been no mahaldarni.

The Commission then examined the women of the British chakla, 39 in all. The youngest was about 16, another about 18 years old, and the rest all older. Five belong to the Royal Artillery, six belong to the Cavalry, and 28 to the Sadr. There are five women who belong to the 2nd Queen's. When that regiment went away, about one and quarter years ago, they attached themselves to other regiments. The regiment that came in its place, the Derbyshire, brought no women, and none consider themselves as belonging to the Infantry. Of the 39 women, 31 are hereditary prostitutes, and the rest belong to other castes. One or two of the oldest ones seem poor (not poverty stricken), most of them distinctly comfortable, and some distinctly well-to-do. The five Royal Artillery and six Cavalry women have only been living in the chakla some 15 days after being turned out of the regimental bazars.

The five Royal Artillery women used to live in this chakla two years ago. The Royal Artillery mahaldarni (who has now left the station) took them to the Colonel and then to the hospital, and they were settled in the Royal Artillery bazar.

The six Cavalry women were similarly taken, after inspection by the doctor, by the Cavalry mahaldar who came with the 18th Hussars. He got no pay, but his daughter was in service and sent him money. His name is Umra. We call him mahaldar because he took us to the regiment.



AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893—SERGEANT OF MILITARY POLICE.

We used all to be examined, without exception, periodically. But since this has become the Gora chakla, that has been stopped (*dikhai tutgayi*). But we still have to go if a soldier says we have diseased him.

Q.—If you do not go, what then?

A.—Why should not we go when we are summoned?—No one here has ever been punished for not going. But we used to be fined and imprisoned when examination was the rule. Since Government has released us from this, we eat our bread in peace.

All say that no one has ever been compelled to accompany a regiment which has moved. We all go for a living of our own free will. 510

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.

The commission revisited the British chakla and found the Military Police at the chakla.

Sergeant T. George, 2nd Derbyshire Regiment, **Sergeant of Military Police**, states that he is responsible for keeping order wherever British soldiers are. The police visit the chaklas every night to take drunken soldiers into custody, to turn out men after hours (10 p.m. without, and 12 p.m. with passes), and to see that no men come in after hours. They also visit the place occasionally in the day time. They allow one male native cook for each woman, and up to a reasonable hour at night. After that they would be turned out, and male natives at any time who have no business in the chakla, e.g., native police. Men working for the women would not be interfered with in the day time. The women are free to come and go, and are not interfered with, except that a custom of sitting in chairs at the gateway and quarrelling for the men's custom has been stopped. If a woman was seen driving in the bazar with a soldier, they would be stopped; but if the woman was alone, she would not be interfered with. I have complaints of men ill-treating the women—generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the Commanding Officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself. I have been on this duty for nine months. If a shopkeeper complains that he has not been paid for things bought exactly the same procedure is followed. The rate varies with the women, and some men pay more; and sometimes they pay more according to the time they stop. But 4 annas is supposed to be the minimum rate. I should not interfere to make a man pay more than that. The customary rate is 4 annas, but there is no order about it. That is for privates. I should expect a Sergeant to pay one rupee, a Corporal 8 annas, a Lance Corporal 6 annas. These are the customary minima, but more is often paid. We found that so long as the women lived all about the place we had no control over the men. They used to break out of barracks, and go at all hours. So we reported the matter to the Cantonment Magistrate lately, and he has got the women into the chakla as far as possible, where control over the men is easier. I know as a fact that the women go out at night and consort with natives. So long as they are outside the chakla and not with a British soldier, I have no concern with them and do not interfere. Some days ago we had to complain about the native police who would come into the chakla. The Cantonment Magistrate told us to see that natives did not come in; but after that again we were told we had no power to turn any men out. At present my orders are not to turn them out unless there is a disturbance, or probability of one. If soldiers come down here and find native men here without business there would very likely be a disturbance. Some of the native police have taken to going with the women and the men do not like it. 520

[Cantonment Magistrate (present).—The Chair nuisance was stopped because they blocked the street. The chairs were provided by shopkeepers outside the chakla, and they were fined for obstructing a public road. When the women were concentrated here, I gave the police orders (some three weeks ago) to keep natives out of the chakla. But since then I reconsidered the question, and doubted whether I had the power. So now my orders are to turn men out, only if a disturbance is taking place or is apprehended. I issued this order a week ago or so.] 550

Last year, before I was on this duty, I have sometimes seen a native policeman sitting on a chair by the chakla gate. I can't say whether he was on the chakla. Some time ago I complained that the native police did not look after the place and prevent chairs being put in the street, and prevent disturbances and stop people from coming in without any business; and the Cantonment Magistrate told me that I had better keep the chakla in my own hands. Since then the native police have had nothing to do with it, but only have to patrol the bazar. [The Kotwal (present) says:—A special police constable was put on the chakla last cold weather. I do not know why.] 560

I have occasional disturbances and constant complaints. The other day a native "fancy man" took away all his woman's things and left her on the bare ground. She complained to me, but I could do nothing. Natives sometimes complain that British soldiers who have found them here have struck and abused them. I never had any serious row; but I always prevent what is likely to cause one. I come here every night and stay here for some hours; sometimes to 3 or 4 a.m., especially after pay day. Last night a lot of men came down after midnight. I have eight men under me.

## Statements and Notes.

AMBALA, 8th JUNE 1893—WOMEN OF THE BRITISH CHAKLA.

The regimental bazars are also under me, and I go where prostitutes live if I think a man is there after hours. The women in the 18th Hussars bazar used to live in the 18th Hussars's chakla; but that was broken up ten or fourteen days ago. Before that eight women lived in the chakla, and I used to visit it every night. They now live in this chakla. I know of no other common prostitutes living in that bazar. The chakla had about ten houses; there are no shop-keepers or similar people in the chakla. Three or four women, now here, used to live in the Royal Artillery bazar. But the regimental police used to look after that, so I left it to them. No women have been living in the British Infantry bazar.

In the sarai near the railway station prostitutes occasionally live. We have to go and look *everywhere* for men out of bounds after hours. I was complained of by a man who kept a woman in that sarai for searching for men at night. It is not only the prostitutes' houses that we are bound to turn men out of; but that is where they are most likely to be found. Sometimes a man will disappear for two or three days, and we have to search for him. The women always deny his presence.

**Women of the British Chakla (38 present).**—We are absolutely free to come or go, to leave the chakla or the cantonment. We are not interfered with in any way. Many have gone. We shall go to the hills, some of us, if it gets hot. We might go and live in our own houses, but we prefer to live here all together. We prefer to live here in the Gora chakla, chiefly because we can earn more money here than we can in the Kala chakla. There they often don't pay us at all. When they do it is 2 annas to 6 annas. Some of us have lived there too. Here we can get the Serjeant to make the man pay us. The natives expect us to sit and talk for hours, and give them pipes and *pān*. The British soldier comes, does his business, and is gone. The British soldier gives us no trouble. When he is drunk he beats us, but that is seldom. No one here has been ill treated by a soldier since Christmas day. There was a general row that night. We took all our valuables out of the chakla for that night for safety. The \*police turn out a drunken man and protect us. One woman complains that for the past fifteen or twenty days they have had great trouble, because they are not allowed to sit outside as they used to, and now their cooks are turned out of the chakla. If they may not go out, how can they get their food. Another woman says she was prevented from going out ten days ago, but not since. The woman who complained says she had not been stopped for three days. The others all say they go and come as they choose. [The real trouble seems to be that they are not allowed to go and sit outside.] We welcome the presence of the \*police. We are alone in the rooms with the men, and might be killed sometimes if it were not for the \*police.

Of the 38 women present, only three have come here with regiments during the past five years. In two of these cases the Commanding Officer paid the carriage, but not the tent hire. In the third case the woman paid all. They camped at some little distance from the lines. In one case a guard was put on to keep the men visiting them in order. In the others there was no guard; but they were made to march at 10 P.M.

We pay nothing to Boali Bakhsh, our chaudhri. He is a good man, and wealthy.

We used to have numbers, but not since the examination was given up; and then we got tickets. Now we have no numbers, except those of our houses, and no tickets. In those days we should have been fined and imprisoned if we did not go to be examined. Now we need not go, and we do not.

Two women recently came, and were told by the other women that they should report themselves. One gave a stamped petition. The other reported at the Kotwali. The former, after giving the petition, on which the order was that she might live here, went straight to the doctor to be examined. No one took her or told her to go. "Why should they? when she has been a prostitute eleven years and knows the custom." The doctor examined her and noted her name, but he gave her nothing in writing. No one here goes to be examined unless she is called on complaint, or is ill and wishes to be treated. The women do not put pressure on one another by warning men that so and so does not go for examination.

Most of us owe some money to banyas, or for rent, but none to the chaudhri. We cannot go away while in debt, as the banya would be sure to have us arrested for debt.

We have no complaints against the police or against the hospital staff of extortion or ill-treatment. We are well cared for in Hospital.

No fees are taken when we first enter the chakla.

There is license for three days at Christmas. The men are not arrested then, except when there is a real disturbance.



AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.—CHAKLA FOR NATIVES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN MUMBY, IN CHARGE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—KISHN CHAND, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

We used to have to go to hospital for menses before the examination was given up. Since then no single woman has ever been to hospital for that. We sit in our houses and do not practice our calling during that time, but are not interfered with in any way.

[*Cantonment Magistrate (present)* :—We have no form of application for persons to practice as a prostitute, or any register for such applications.] 630

The scale of payment is as stated yesterday, the men only pay more : sometimes less if they have not got the money.

The Commission then visited the **Chakla for Natives**. It is a building on precisely the same plan as that for British troops, only smaller. The women live in the same manner, both inside and outside the enclosure, which is surrounded by a high wall, and the gate is a strong wooden one in good order, with spikes on the top. It used to be shut and locked under the old rules to prevent the entry of British soldiers. This is no longer done. The quarters occupied by the women have large and small numbers, as in the chakla for British troops. The main difference is that the native chakla is dirty and untidy, whilst the other is clean and in good order. Here we found a young Kanchani of 8 years old, not yet practising. There is no guard on the chakla beyond the police patrol in the bazar. The women pay Re. 1 per month for quarters much the same as the worst in the other chakla, and take 4 annas to 8 annas, and less than 4 annas, sometimes, from their visitors. Some of the best women charge Re. 1. They say that British soldiers do not come to them, and that most of them would not consort with them if they did. They say that there are plenty of prostitutes living in the bazar apart from the chakla, and that they ordinarily take less than 4 annas. This is only since the examination was abolished. Almost the whole chakla is owned by a single native. It was noticed that some of the cantonment establishment wear a badge with the inscription "Cantonment Police, 1852," though they have no police duties or powers, and do not wear police uniform. 640 650

**Surgeon-Captain Mumby, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital** for the last week only ; attended by **Kishn Chand, Hospital Assistant**, in special charge of the Venereal Section, and in general charge of all three branches. Has been in charge of the Venereal Section since February 1892, and also for three months in the beginning of 1891. Has been in Ambala since 1889.

[The Hospital Assistant states the women and common people call it "Lock Hospital," or "Women's Hospital," or Prostitutes' Hospital." There is no general register of prostitutes in the hospital, nor has such register been kept since he joined the hospital.]

I have examined no women for the seven days I have had charge, except the in-patients, as none have presented themselves. 660

I have received no reports about women diseased, have sent for none, and have reported none to the Cantonment Magistrate to be sent for examination.

[The Hospital Assistant states that since he has been attached to the hospital no woman has been admitted to hospital merely on account of menses.]

The Cantonment Hospital is for departmental followers and for the civil population of cantonments. Not for soldiers, who would not be admitted in any case. Men with venereal diseases would go to the main hospital : the Venereal Section is for women only. If a prostitute had cholera, or small-pox say, she would be sent to Section I, the infectious branch. [If she had a disease that was not contagious or infectious, the Hospital Assistant says that if an out-door patient, or if a major operation was required, she would be sent to the main hospital ; otherwise she would be sent to Section II.] 670

In the main hospital and Section I we give them food ; in No. II subsistence allowance. And this for two reasons—

- (i) It is of less importance to regulate the diet in venereal than in general diseases.
- (ii) The class of women who mainly come to No. II object to being fed.

In the report of the hospital for 1892, it is stated that the dieting had been tried in No. II also, but the women objected to it so strongly that the allowance was reverted to.

I have no power to prevent a woman from leaving hospital ; but if she did so, and I considered her in a dangerous state, I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate. [The Hospital Assistant says women are not prevented from leaving before cure, though they seldom wish to do so. One woman, who was very ill, did so last year. She was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and left cantonments.] 680

[The Hospital Assistant says :—Formerly many women used to come and be examined of their own accord who were neither ill, nor reported to be so. But about a year ago Dr. Wardrop told them that he would no longer examine them. They then petitioned him to reconsider this order, saying that they were always liable to be falsely reported for disease, and that they preferred to be examined regularly and have done with it. But the doctor returned their petition, and replied that he was not allowed to examine



AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893—MAHR-UL-NISSAH, DHAI OF CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.

690 them. Women used then to be sent for examination who were reported by soldiers as having given them disease, and this is still done.]

[The Hospital Assistant states that the results of the examination of the women who came voluntarily as above were entered in the books that have been sent for to Simla. In that book the women were entered in different lists, one for each bazar. These lists showed, not all the women of each bazar, but only those who presented themselves for examination. I think dates were fixed, but I am not sure. I copy the letters from Section II generally, but sometimes the second Hospital Assistant does so. The letter book is in my charge. When the women above-mentioned did not come for examination no action was taken. It was purely voluntary. I see the letter, 29th 700 September 1891 (referred to at page ii); that is before my time. Since I have been at the hospital, no such letter reporting women simply for non-attendance has been written.]

[The Hospital Assistant says that if the Highlanders' women came for examination, as stated in answer 641, it will be shown in the book which has gone to Simla, and they will have come voluntarily.]

I have no form of ticket or certificate of Health. [The Hospital Assistant says he has never seen one since he has been attached to the hospital.]

[The Hospital Assistant states that there are chaukidars on the main hospital and on Section I, but not on Section II, as it adjoins the police station (kotwali), and the police sentry on duty there looks after it.]

710 I have never had a woman come to see me and ask me to examine her. [The Hospital Assistant remembers only two such cases, besides the women mentioned above, who came regularly. There were two persons who wished to set up in Ambala as prostitutes: the doctor examined them, but gave no certificate.]

I examined the two patients we now have in the wards. They are both cases in which mere superficial examination without speculum is sufficient. [The Hospital Assistant states that all first examinations are made in the room upstairs, already referred to. If an in-patient requires internal examination or application, she is taken there for the purpose; and the appropriate dressing and medicines are kept there.]

720 [The Hospital Assistant says that the women from the native chakla never came for examination except when they thought they were in need of treatment. He never knew one of them reported for having diseased a British soldier. But they came when ill. One of the two patients now in hospital is from the native chakla.]

[The Hospital Assistant knows of no such thing as numbers for the women. The houses are numbered, but the women change about from house to house. In the registers that have gone to Simla, the only numbers entered are serial numbers of entries.]

We treat secondary syphilis in the Venereal Section. One of our two present patients is in for it. Her case is contagious.

There are two dhais in the Hospital Section No. II on Rs. 10 and Rs. 8. Both also work at the women's ward of Section No. I.

730 [In March 1892 the Hospital Assistant was attached to the Departmental Hospital and on field duty. He was not there when the ladies came. The Hospital Assistant then attached to the hospital is now away from Ambala.]

**Mehr-ul-Nissah, Dhai of Cantonment General Hospital**, has been here at this hospital 12 or 14 years. Before that was a mahaldarni of the kala chakla. Is a Kanchani (hereditary prostitute.)

740 The women used to come for examination six or seven years ago. Then they had tickets from the Magistrate. That was discontinued six or seven years ago, and the tickets were taken away from them. Since then women who are ill come for examination, and those who are reported by the soldiers are sent for and examined. But no women who do not want advice for sickness come since six or seven years ago. Since then no women have come to be examined voluntarily without disease. Since that time no woman has come to hospital voluntarily or otherwise for menses only. If a woman does not want to stay in hospital she is allowed to go even while ill. Several women have left before cure. As far as I know, nothing was done to them.

750 About a year ago two ladies came and talked to the women. I talked to them, and showed them where the women used to be examined, and they gave me four annas when they went away. I never told them that women still come for examination, and that if they did not come they would be scolded by the Cantonment Magistrate. I never told them that a woman could not leave hospital till cured, and that if she did she would be imprisoned. I never said that women came on account of menses, and that some of the patients were there then on that account. My assistant dhai was not there when the ladies were there; so she could not have told them. If it is written that the Ambála Hospital dhai said such things it is untrue.

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.—ROYAL ARTILLERY CHAKLA—BRITISH CAVALRY CHAKLA  
—THE CHAUDHRI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR—BRITISH CHAKLA—CAVALRY WOMEN  
—ROYAL ARTILLERY WOMEN—UMAR BAKSH, MAHALDAR OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR.

I am sometimes called mahaldarni, sometimes dhai, indifferently. Properly the mahaldarni works in the bazar (*i.e.*, in the chaklas), and the dhai in the hospitals. There used to be a chakla and a mahaldarni in each bazar. The mahaldarnis have been turned off since examination was abolished. No women have lived in the chaklas since then.

When the ladies came I talked to them in Hindustani. In telling them that women used to be examined I used the word "*peshtar*," for formerly, as I used it just now in my statement. Two ladies came. They both spoke Urdu well, and will have understood what "*peshtar*" means. No one was interpreting for them. We did not talk in English, as I know none. They told the women they would pray for them. They went upstairs and saw where the women used to be examined. I never said any of the women were in debt to me. How could they be? 760

The Commission visited the **Royal Artillery Chakla**, a small enclosure with high walls and strong doors, and eight houses; exactly similar to the others, but much smaller. It was bought from Government four years ago or so by Karim Baksh, darzi (present). He let it to cartmen, and then to yekka drivers, who used to pay 8 annas per month per house. About a year ago he let it to prostitutes, who paid 12 annas to Re. 1. They were turned out a few days ago. They had no mahaldar or mahaldarni with them.

The Commission then visited the **British Cavalry Chakla**. First the old regimental chakla; an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous people (not prostitutes) since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new chakla (now commonly known as the chakla), which is a small enclosure of similar plan, with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a banya. It used to be let to bhistis, and then to cartmen. In April 1890 the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on 9th November 1891; and in January 1892 the 18th Hussars' women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day. 770

The **Chaudhri of the Cavalry bazar**, who came with the 18th Hussars, says :—The women were turned out of the Aligarh camp, where they had come from Muttra, and came straight on here in advance of the regiment. There was a mahaldar whose wife acted as mahaldarni, but presently went back to Matra. He believes that the women used to go to weekly inspection till turned out. He never saw them go, but the mahaldar used to tell him that they had been to inspection. A man from the hospital used to come and tell them when they were wanted—generally on Tuesday. I heard that they went to examination three or four days before they were turned out. It was entirely voluntary. The mahaldar petitioned the Commanding Officer for pay as he had had at Matra. The Commanding Officer said he had nothing to do with either chakla or women, and would not pay anything. The women came here at their own expense. If they did not go for examination the first time when summoned, they were sent for again and threatened with being sent before the Cantonment Magistrate. Nobody was ever taken, because they 780  
790  
also went if reported.

The Commission then proceeded to the **British Chakla** again, and called the **Royal Artillery women**, who said :—We used to go every week without being reported. If we had not gone, we should not have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar. We also went if reported.

[*Note*.—The Officer then Commanding is now in England.]

The **Cavalry women** say the same. Going to weekly examination was a condition of being allowed to live in the Cavalry bazar. Used to go on Mondays, unless the doctor was away, and the day was altered. The Colonel made this a condition with us.

[*Note*.—The Officer then Commanding is now in England.]

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We used to have a book which the mahaldar kept, who took it to the chaudhri after the doctor had entered the inspection, and he showed it to the Colonel.

The **Royal Artillery women** say they had a similar book, but do not know who kept it.

**Umar Baksh Mahaldar of the Cavalry bazar** :—I have lived for 14 years as mahaldar. I used to belong to the Cavalry regiment that was at Matra and went to England. The 18th Hussars took their horses. I brought my seven women here from Matra to Aligarh with the regiment, with a cart supplied by the regiment, but for which we paid the hire, and with our own tents. At Aligarh the General turned us out; or it may have been the Magistrate; and we were turned out of the camp. We came down 810  
to Ambala, making our own arrangements, and got here eight days before the regiment. The women went to the chakla, and I lived outside. My daughter came as mahaldarni, but went back to Matra very shortly. The women lived in the chakla till turned out the other day. I got no pay except fees from the women. The hospital chaprassi used to come and tell us when we had to go. It was generally on Tuesday. They used to go



AMBALA, THE 8TH JUNE 1893.—RAHIM BAKHSH, CHAUDHRI, ROYAL ARTILLERY BAZAR.  
MEERUT, THE 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—  
CHAUDHRI OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

every week, on Monday. For five or six months that has been given up, and since then they have only gone when reported. When reported they all went, as they could not tell who had been reported. I used to send with them a woman, whom I employed for this purpose, as I could not go, being a man. When they went every week, there were books in which the patients were entered. Since that was stopped the books have been discontinued. I kept the book, and have it now at home. When they used to go every week, they would have been turned out of the bazar if they had not gone. [This witness afterwards produced the book, which was a rough register, ruled and headed by an uneducated man. Heading:—"Attendance Register of women who volunteered (*sic*) on examination, 18th Hussars." Below that a statement with names, and date headings, with columns for "state" and "initials" under each date. The inspections ranged from 12th January 1892 to 26th July 1892, in weekly intervals; the state being entered, for 2nd August 1892 by the Hospital Assistant, but not initialled. The "state" entries are "fit," "M," (menses) or "H" (Hospital). The number of women examined varied from seven to eight.]

**Rahim Bakhsh Chaudhri of the Royal Artillery bazar.**—Have only dope this work for 18 months. The books of the women's inspections were with the mahaldarni. She is dead, and I don't know where they are. I have not seen them since she died. The women left off going every week about a year ago. Since then they have only gone when suspected. In that case the man would come down with a bombardier and point out the woman, and she only was summoned. I never saw them all go. The book was with the mahaldarni. I never saw it, or showed it to the Colonel. The mahaldarni died two or three months ago, and her people have gone. I live about 100 yards from the chakla.

MEERUT, THE 9TH JUNE 1893.

**Major Hewett, Cantonment Magistrate,** since 2nd January 1893. Has been Cantonment Magistrate since 1885 continuously; at Cawnpore, two months; Chakrata, two years; Allahabad, two and a quarter years; Rawal Pindi, 16 months; Peshawar, four months; Jalandhar, two months.

Attended by **Baseshar Das Chaudhri, of Sadr Bazar,** for a year; before that for 17 years Conservancy Darogha in this cantonment: by **Bansi Dhar, Serishtadar,** for past five years in this office; and by **Karm Singh, Inspector of Police,** appointed here in August 1892.

I have worked the old contagious disease rules.

As the Executive Officer of the Officer Commanding and Cantonment Committee, I have very wide powers; e.g., no house should be built, or even altered, without sanction conveyed through me. I allot localities where certain occupations are to be carried on; and I have the power to expel persons from cantonments under Notification 617 about infectious and contagious diseases, but not under other circumstances. As far as I know, no rules have been notified under Section 26 (20) of the Cantonment Act; but, as a fact, trades and occupations always have been and are regulated within my experience as a Cantonment Magistrate.

My powers extend to regimental lines, as well as to all other parts of cantonments; but, as a fact, they are managed by the Commanding Officers, and I should ordinarily interfere as little as possible. This refers not only to the lines occupied by regimental followers, but also to the whole of the bazar lying within regimental limits.

In this cantonment, and, as far as I know, in this only, there is a very large bazar which has been allowed to grow up contrary to regulations, and which is included within the limits neither of the Sadr bazar nor of any regimental bazar. It is an extension of the British Infantry bazar, and is consequently known, in common with that bazar, as the Lal Kurti bazar; but almost the whole of it is outside regimental limits. I exercise the same control there as in the Sadr bazar.

We keep up three registers in which inhabitants of cantonments are entered; (i) only of persons assessed to income tax; (ii) of all houses in cantonments for purposes of the house tax; the headings being—(1) Number of the house; (2) Name of the mahallah; (3) Kind of house; (4) Name of owner; (5) Name of tenant; (6) Deductions of one-sixth rent for repairs; (7) Amount of house tax on account of 4th per cent. per annum; (8) Amount paid by owner; (9) Remarks. That does not show the occupation of the occupier. (iii) Register of those houses only which have sanctioned private latrines for the purposes of the latrine tax. We keep up no other register of occupiers of houses in the cantonments.

We keep no register of any sort in which prostitutes are entered, except in so far as they may be mentioned in the registers above-mentioned. I produce the old register of prostitutes. The latest entry is dated 27th August 1888, and a remark is entered below that, "in accordance with Quartermaster-General's Memorandum No. 12 (Confidential) of 6th August 1888, this register is closed. Tickets of all women present have been taken back, and they are informed that attendance at examinations or at the Lock Hospital is



MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—CHAUDHRI  
OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

voluntary.”—(Signed)—GEO. PLOWDEN, Cantonment Magistrate, 28th August 1888. There is now *no* separate register or record of any sort of prostitutes.

I have received applications, say three in my five months of office, from native women to be allowed to practice as prostitutes. My order was that they had permission to live in the house they specified, but that no order could be given about the prostitution. Every native who wishes to inhabit any house in any of the bazars, whether on first coming into cantonments, or on account of change of residence, has to ask for my permission; which, when given, is communicated to the police, who without it would prevent him from occupying the house. The object is to confine people to their proper quarters. The other day a kabari (a second-hand furniture dealer) went into a house without my leave. He was reported, and I refused him permission to occupy the house, as it was not in the kabari's quarters. This rule is, in my experience, peculiar to Meerut; but here it is absolutely general to all inhabitants. In no other cantonment in which I have acted do I remember to have had an application of this sort, whether from a prostitute or otherwise. No fee whatever is charged in Meerut. The police keep up no registers; but they know the inhabitants of their beats, and so are able to report unauthorised changes.

[The Chaudhri of the bazar states that he has no list or register of occupiers of houses. If he wants information, he gets it from the House-tax Register in the Cantonment Magistrate's office.]

[The Serishtadar says that the custom here used to be to give a woman asking such permission a pass to the doctor, who examined her before permission was given. This continued about a year after he came to this office (in March 1888), and was then discontinued. The register has been destroyed under the record office rules. After that the police used to be asked if there was room in the chakla. If there was, permission was given; if not, it was refused.]

There are certain quarters set apart for prostitutes. They would not now be allowed to practice in any other part, precisely as in the case of other traders, or of the kabari mentioned above.

I produce two petitions of November 1892 from prostitutes coming from elsewhere to live in cantonments. They ask for leave to live in the chakla. On both the order is—“Permission given. Police to be informed.” No other order. Then one of May 1892, in which the woman asks permission to move from one house to another. Order: “If the second house is in the chakla, permission is granted.” The police reported that it was. These are taken at random from the files of 1892. They are all ordinary petitions, on paper bearing an anna stamp, and written by a petition-writer. A form of application (hand-written) is attached to all such petitions, in which the order is filled in, and which is returned to the applicant, so that he may show it to the police as his authority.

If I found a woman practising as a prostitute outside the chaklas, I should move her into them; and this quite independent of whether British soldiers went to her or not.

In the Sadr Bazar our chaklas are defined portions of certain streets. Not one single woman known to be a prostitute now lives within regimental limits. In the Lal Kurti Bazar, the women live scattered, and have probably come into it from regimental limits. They were turned out of regimental limits some years ago. I produce the record of the Cantonment Committee's proceedings directing this, dated 13th June 1888. [The Head Clerk states that it was at that time proposed to build quarters for the women at the general expense: but the proposal was disallowed.] The population of the Sadr Bazar proper is 13,434; of the Lal Kurti Bazar, 9,496, of which only about 3,000 live within regimental limits. The total population of cantonments is 41,744.

I know of two letters of October 1891 from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital to the Cantonment Magistrate, complaining that women from the city were practising as prostitutes in cantonment limits. One of these cases, I believe, referred to two Europeans. There is no record of them in our books. They appear to have been passed on direct to the police, and I have inquired from the District Superintendent of Police what action was taken; but I have not yet received an answer. [Further inquiry showed that the letters were Nos. 47 of 19th October 1891, and 49 of 26th October 1891, from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital. The police made inquiries, and found that they referred to two European women, both admittedly diseased, one of whom had been turned out of cantonments in June by the Cantonment Magistrate. She had then obtained permission to re-enter cantonments to conduct a lawsuit in which she was interested on condition of not prostituting herself there. No further action was taken.]

I know of no other such complaints. I do not remember within the last three years ever to have received complaints of women practising without permission. It has certainly not been the custom to give permission, nor have I had applications for permission elsewhere than here.

## Statements and Notes.

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—CHAUDHRI  
OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

There is no chakla here set apart for British troops. As far as I know, natives and Englishmen go indifferently to the same women. The natives probably go after hours for British troops.

[The Chaudhri says that the women are absolutely forbidden to receive natives, who must go to the city (3 miles off) if they want a prostitute. There is no formal order to that effect, and nobody prevents them; but it is understood that they must not.

[The Chaudhri and the Inspector of Police agree that there are no recognised prostitutes living within regimental limits. There is one Sadr chakla; and there are prostitutes living, more or less together, in the portions of the Lal Kurti Bazar outside  
950 regimental limits. They say that the Lancers' women live in the Sadr, and the Royal Artillery women live in the Lal Kurti Bazar. The West Kent women settled first in the Sadr; now some of them have gone into the Lal Kurti Bazar. They came out of the regimental limits when the general orders were passed turning them out, since when they have not lived there. Some six months after the order the Cavalry women did return to regimental limits, but were immediately turned out. The chakla, that is in the form of an enclosure, is in the Sadr Bazar. It belonged to Kalandar Ali and Piari Lal. Kalandar Ali got it from Ilahi Baksh, who built it himself. Hira, a prostitute of the city, has built another chakla in the Sadr on land, furnished her for the purpose in 1888 by the Cantonment Magistrate, it having been formerly occupied by a Government latrine.]

960 [The Inspector of Police says that the Sadr chakla is known as the Gora chakla; but, as a fact, natives go with the women. He knows this of his personal knowledge.]

All land in cantonments is Government property. Houses are the property of the builders, subject to resumption on payment of compensation for buildings erected with proper sanction. No ground rent is charged. No building occupied by prostitutes belongs to Government; nor is any income, except house-tax, derived from any such building. It is paid by the owner and not by the tenants. I have no sort of concern with the provision of buildings for this purpose.

As far as I know, there is no head of the women, either mahaldar, mahaldarni, or  
970 chaudhri. [The Chaudhri and Inspector say the same.] We pay *nothing* to any of them; nor do we recognise any of them as representatives in the same way in which we recognise chaudhris as representing their trades. We pay Rs. 15 to the *dhai* of the Lock Hospital. Her pay appears in our cantonment accounts which are audited by the Accountant-General. No payments to a mahaldarni could be paid unless she was borne on our establishment scale sanctioned by Government.

Except the policemen within whose ordinary beats the chaklas may fall, there is no guard or watchman of any sort on any chakla. Neither I nor my subordinates supervise or inspect or control the chaklas in any way differently from what we do general cantonment premises.

As far as I know, there is no sort of attempt to confine any set of women to the use  
980 of British troops. I say certainly not; though probably natives keep away of their own accord while British soldiers are about. I have often seen native soldiers in what is known as the Gora chakla. I have never even heard of any attempt to prevent them, though I have known this formerly in other cantonments.

The regimental bazars here have been allowed to grow so big that they are really little Sadr Bazars. The Commanding Officer of the 5th Lancers declined to be responsible for his bazar, and I manage it with the rest of the Lal Kurti Bazar.

I have no military police under me, and there is no such force for the cantonments as a whole. Each regiment has its own, under the orders of its Commanding Officer. They may, perhaps, visit chaklas to look for their own men under regimental orders.

990 Since 1888, I have never had *anything* to do with keeping up the supply of prostitutes for the use of troops. Nor have I ever been applied to for money for the purpose. [The Head Clerk (for 25 years in the office, and for 20 years Head Clerk) says he has never known of money being advanced for this purpose; nor is there any sort of record of such advance.] If money was advanced for such a purpose, it *could* not pass audit unless it was entered under a false heading. I have never known money advanced for anything of the sort either before or after 1888. I can speak from 1882 with personal knowledge.

A good many shopkeepers do follow the regiments from cantonment to cantonment —traders and dealers of sorts, who have been accustomed to supply the regiment. They constitute what is called the "bazar" on the march.

1000 I have no concern whatever with the scale of charges levied by the women. I have had no complaints; but if I did I should take no notice of them.

I have never had any reason to think that the police treat prostitutes worse than they do other classes of society.



MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893—LIEUTENANT WATERMAN, QUARTERMASTER OF THE  
5TH LANCERS.

The present Cantonment General Hospital is the old Lock Hospital, and is still known as such. A chaukidar on Rs. 5 is borne on the establishment of the hospital. We have no cantonment chaukidars as such.

I have had women reported supposed to be diseased. I call for the women, and tell them they can either go to hospital or leave cantonments. Generally they go to hospital—not always; some leave cantonments. I have often had small-pox reported to me by the police, and have directed the persons affected to go to hospital. Generally they go. The other day a man left cantonments rather than go. There has never been need for a doctor's report. I have never had men reported by the Medical Officer to me for venereal diseases, though I have for small-pox. I have never had a European woman or a respectable woman reported by the Medical Officer. It is practically always a prostitute. The Medical Officer does not state the ground of his supposition. I have had women reported to me by a Medical Officer as being absent from examination since 1888, but not since 1890. I had them up and told them to attend, which they did. I have never had to expel anybody from cantonments under the rules for any disease.

I produce the file of the case in which, by order dated 15th January 1892, one Massamat Allah Rakhi was fined Rs. 5 for having reappeared in cantonments after having been formally expelled on the report of the Medical Officer that she had left hospital while still diseased.

*Note.*—This, with reference to answers 1192-94.

I cannot say whether any regiment which came here last cold weather to the concentration brought women with them. They were here before me.

**Lieutenant Waterman, Quartermaster of the 5th Lancers** for 5 years and 3 months; ever since they have been in India. Have been at Meerut 3 years and 7 months, and before that at Mhow, which was our first station.

The regimental bazar is under me as regards discipline. The paid regimental followers live in the grass mandi. The bazar includes all sorts of people. None of them came up with the regiment, because we came up by rail from Mhow. We brought no followers with us, and took over the houses and followers of the regiment whose place we took. No prostitutes at all live in our bazar. There were a few in the bazar when we first came up here. I don't know whether they belonged to the 8th Hussars; but we never took them over, and they were turned out a few months after our arrival, I think, by the Cantonment Magistrate, and since then there have been no women living in our bazar. I don't know where our men go for their women. I suppose to the Sadr Bazar; but I do not know. I do not know where the Provost Sergeant would go to look for our men after hours. That is the Adjutant's business. I have no idea if there is any special set of women to whom our men go as a rule. I have never heard of any place called the Lancers' chakla. I have nothing to do with any arrangements outside our bazar.

No women accompanied us from Mhow: that I can state positively. We had no regimental bazar at Mhow; there was one bazar for the whole cantonment. I know of nothing that is done to keep the men from disease. I was in India from 1870 to 1874, and then we had a regular regimental staff of women, who lived in our bazar, were looked after by the Quartermaster, and were periodically examined. As far as I know, there are absolutely no precautions now taken to keep our men from disease. I hear answers 238 to 242 read. I know of no such place as the Lancers' chakla. The regiment as a whole has never been to the hills, though a detachment, say of 100, goes up every year. No women accompany them so far as I know. I can't say if any go with the men who go by road. I have nothing to do with their carriage; that is arranged for by the officer in command of the detachment going up to the hills. The troops going to Chakrata go by rail to Saharanpur and then march, and their followers go by rail; and the troops going to Landaur march the whole way. But we sent no followers with them. All the followers we send go by rail. I have heard answer 614. I never heard a word of such a thing, and I do not believe it to be true. The only march we made, as a regiment, by road, was to Aligarh in November 1891, and back again in December 1891. It was nine marches each way. I was with the regiment, and was responsible for carriage arrangements, and for looking after the followers and the bazar. I say positively that no women went with us to Aligarh. I must have known of it if they had. There were no women near our camp at Aligarh, and they would not have been allowed to stay there. Our Colonel then was Colonel Harvey. He is at home. The Commanding Officer now is Colonel Johnstone Douglas, who was not with the regiment at Aligarh.

I have never heard a complaint by any woman against any man of ours of ill-treatment or non-payment. Natives bring their complaints to me first; and these would have come to me if there had been any. I know of no women connected in any way with the regiment. About 80 of our men marched up from Mhow by road. I do not believe they had any women with them. I should certainly have heard of it. The old Lancers' chakla in our bazar had women in it when we came. But they were shortly after turned out of the bazar. The regiment got here in October 1889.



## Statements and Notes.

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893—LIEUTENANT MANSFIELD, QUARTERMASTER OF THE  
ROYAL WEST KENT REGIMENT—SADR BAZAR CHAKLA.

- 1070 **Lieutenant Mansfield, Quartermaster of the Royal West Kent Regiment** for 7½ years. We have been in India since January 1892. Came here by rail all the way. We landed at Karachi on 19th January, and came up in three batches, on three consecutive days. Either the first or last batch arrived on 29th January. We went under canvas. I had come on ahead, and took over the tents and camp equipage from the Border Regiment. We left this on the 8th March, and marched to Chakrata. We came back in December 1892, and stayed under canvas till 20th March 1893, when we took over the Manchester Regiment's barracks. We are still there. While we were in tents there were about 12 or 14 women who lived in tents in a line with our bazar, and about 20 or 30 yards from it, but behind our rear-guard. We had not taken them over from the Border Regiment. I heard nothing about them when I came and stayed for a week, taking over charge. As the bazar grew they came and settled there. The tents were not ours. We had not enough for our own followers. There was no other regiment near; and no doubt our men went to them. We had no sort of disturbance there; nor had we a guard of any sort, except the ordinary bazar Kotwal and his one chaprassi. The women's tents were outside our lines, and they probably would not look after them at all; though if there had been any disturbance, doubtless they would have gone to stop it. But if there had been any disturbance the women would have been turned away at once. The regimental police would patrol the bazar as part of their beat, and may or may not have patrolled the tents also as being close by, though outside the lines. But it was not their business to go there, and they had no orders, special or otherwise, to do so.
- 1080 When the regiment marched for Chakrata on 8th March 1892 the women were still on the ground which it had left; and I had some difficulty in clearing them off (as was my duty), as they could not get carts to move their tents. I do not know whether they followed the regiment; but though I did not go with the regiment myself, I know as a fact that some women *did* follow the regiment to Chakrata. I make the arrangements for carriage. I found no carriage for women; but I found carriage for the bazar. The Kotwal told me he wanted, say, 28 carts for the bazar; he collected the hire and paid it to me, and I indented for the carts and made them over to him. I ask no questions as to who and what goes in them, as we do not pay for them. The bazar consists of all the regimental followers and servants, cooks, pop-makers, barbers, &c. They generally travel at night, but quite at their own pleasure, and we give no guard of any sort with or over them. A guard accompanies the carts with stores and ammunition. I think bazar carts would be allowed to follow them, but certainly not to mix with them. Some women followed the regiment on the return march from Chakrata. I do not know whether they are here now. I lost sight of them at Rurki. I saw a small camp there near the elephant lines, and was told they were women, and ordered them to be sent away at once. This was by the Commanding Officer's orders. I think the Cantonment Magistrate had made some complaint about their presence. I did not see them again.
- 1090 I never saw or heard of these women going in cabs for inspection every Monday in February 1892; but they could easily have done it without my knowing anything about it. I never heard of any arrangements by which these women were allowed to live close to our camp on condition of being inspected. If such an arrangement had been made, I think I must have known it.
- 1100 I look after the small piece of the British Infantry bazar which is within my limits and in which our followers live. I can swear that no prostitutes live in that portion of the bazar, or have lived there since we have been in barracks. I have checked every single family. I do not think there is any particular part of the bazar or any particular set of women to whom our men go. If there were I should have heard of it, and I never have.
- 1110 We have regimental police. Their duties are entirely within regimental lines. If a lot of our men were absent at night they might be sent to look for them; but we hardly ever have any men absent. A picket goes out at night to patrol the bazar. I do not know exactly where they go, but they patrol the neighbourhood in case of disturbances. We take no precaution whatever to provide sound women for the men, or to reduce the danger of disease.
- I have never had a complaint by a woman against a man of ours for ill-treatment or non-payment, nor heard of one. Such complaints would come to me.
- Our married women went up to Chakrata under an escort in 28 carts.
- I am *certain* that there was no bigger tent near the prostitutes' tents (which were all very small shuldaris, with little more than room for a bedstead) in February 1892; and I do not think they would have been allowed in any of the tents in the bazar, some of which were big. But as a fact we were then badly off, for we had not then got our proper followers from the Suffolk Regiment, and were doing the best we could with what we could get. We had not even copies of the Indian Regulations.
- The Commission visited the **Sadr Bazar Chakla**. There are two enclosed chaklas here. The first has 8 rooms. The land on which it stands was confiscated after the

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—BRITISH INFANTRY (LAL KURTI) BAZAR—CAVALRY CHAKLA—ROYAL ARTILLERY CHAKLA.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.

mutiny, and bought by Ilahi Bakhsh, who built the chakla. From him it has passed to its present owners. Kalandar Ali has been in possession as mortgagee for the last 14 years. When he got it, two or three prostitutes and other people lived in it. Some eight years ago, about 1887 or 1888, the regimental chaklas were closed, and some of the women came to live here. After about a year the regimental chaklas were re-opened and the women went back. That was when the Lock Hospital was closed, and the cantonment authorities told the women they might live where they liked. Since then it has occasionally been occupied by prostitutes. It is now under repairs and empty. It is of the ordinary enclosure type. 1140

The second chakla belongs to one Hira. It is close to the first, and has 21 rooms with two large gateways. It was built as a private speculation when the closing of the regimental chaklas created a demand for accommodation. The small chakla (described above) is known as the Lancers' chakla, as the women of the Lancers went to live there when the Cavalry chakla was closed. The women remember the two ladies who came out here. They first visited the small chakla, and then talked to the women in this one. The Lancers' women were then living in the small chakla. They only left it lately when the rooms fell in. They say inspection was stopped only a few weeks ago.

[The Cantonment Magistrate says that a fortnight ago he issued a notice that there would be no more inspections on a fixed day, but that the women might go any day they liked or not at all, and that the doctor would always be there in the morning.] 1150

Prostitutes live all about the quarter in which these two enclosed chaklas are situated. There is only one series of numbers on the houses, which is that of the census and house-tax registers, and includes all houses alike. When the women used to have English tickets, the registered numbers used to be affixed to their houses; but not since the tickets were abandoned.

The Commission then visited the **British Infantry (Lal Kurti) Bazar**. There the women live more scattered than in the Sadr Bazar, but still only in a certain portion, and that outside of regimental limits. There is here no enclosure in which they live. 1160

The Commission then visited the **Cavalry Chakla**. It is a small quarter, not an enclosure. It is in the Cavalry bazar, and was built by the father of the present owner, Gulzar, when the cantonments were first started. It was a chakla as long ago as Gulzar, who is 30 years old, can remember. Some five years ago there was a change of Colonels, and the new Colonel paid the rent, which before that had been paid by the women. He did this for fifteen months. Then the 5th Lancers came and the Colonel would not pay; so the women began to pay again. Then a year after that, some three years ago, they were turned out by the Cantonment Committee, since when there have been no prostitutes in the chakla.

The Commission then visited the **Royal Artillery Chakla**. The owner was not present. It was closed as a chakla more than two years ago; was empty for six months; and since then has been let to various people—not prostitutes. It is an enclosure. Bakhshi, who has been Chaudhri of the bazar for three and a quarter years, says that the women were turned out some two and a half years ago. Till then there was a mahaldarni who took two annas in each rupee on the girls' earnings, but got nothing from Government. The women themselves paid rent. 1170

MEERUT, THE 10TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited the **Cantonment General Hospital**. At present this hospital consists of two branches. A site has been granted, and plans and estimates sanctioned for the main hospital; but it has not yet been built. The branch for infectious diseases consists of a vacant space with huts ready for erection on the occurrence of small-pox or cholera.

The contagious branch is the old Lock Hospital, situated in a large open compound. It is divided into two departments; that for out-patients, where all diseases are treated; and that for in-patients, where women only are received, and the cases are mostly (but not exclusively) venereal. There is accommodation for 27 inmates in one large and one small room. 1180

The dhai is the old Cavalry mahaldarni. She used to get Rs. 10 from the regiment, and two annas in the rupee on the women's earnings; but some three years ago the Cavalry chakla was closed, and she was dismissed. Last July she was taken on here as dhai on Rs. 15 per month. She is often still called "mahaldarni." The chakla was closed when the doctor ordered that examination of the women was to be abolished, and that the women could go and live where they liked. The dhai says that the women wished that examination should continue, as it kept them clean and sound. 1190

We saw here the form attached to applications for permission to reside in cantonments, of which the Cantonment Magistrate spoke yesterday. Its columns are (1) Date of application; (2) Name of applicant; (3) Name of bazar for which permission is to be



## Statements and Notes.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—DR. CLEGHORN'S  
NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

given; (4) Matters for which permission is asked; (5) From what date to what date; (6) Order and date; (7) Remarks. In this particular case, of a woman who had just come, (4) was "to live in a certain house and bazar, and to practice prostitution," (5) was empty, (6) was "The house is in the chakla. Permission granted. No order about prostitution."

There were three in-patients. One said she had been a prostitute for 12 years, and had always gone for inspection, both here and in the hills, and that she had come to Meerut three times with a regiment. Everybody, she said, had to go to inspection. She had come to hospital of her own accord. There was no order for inspection, but she liked it, as it was convenient. She lived in the British Infantry bazar. Another said she came to inspection of her own accord, as it was a good thing.

The women are examined in the office room. There is a chaukidar on the establishment, but with no badge. There are no entries of regiments or bazars against the women's names in the hand-book. The admission book had gone to Simla.

Dr. Cleghorn examined the hospital books, and recorded the following note:—

The books and correspondence in the Cantonment Magistrate's office regarding the Lock Hospital and prostitutes were examined with the following results:—

1210 There was a book containing the register of prostitutes, the last entry in which was dated 27th August 1888; and following the name of the last prostitute entered was a note stating that, "in accordance with Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 12 (Confidential), Army Head-quarters, Simla, dated 6th August 1888, this register is closed. Tickets of all women present have been taken back, and they were informed that attendance at examination or at lock hospital was voluntary."—(Signed) GEORGE FLOWDEN, Cantonment Magistrate, dated 28th August 1888. Opposite the name of each prostitute in the register is entered "Ticket returned," with date of return.

1220 The Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital reports to the Cantonment Magistrate in a letter, dated 30th August 1888, that, owing to the recent alterations in the rules for the Lock Hospital, the sixteen patients then under treatment in the hospital were asked if they preferred to remain in hospital for further treatment, and that they all declined to do so. They were then informed that they could leave the hospital and return to the bazar and, if they wished, they could attend hospital voluntarily for treatment.

The Cantonment Committee, at a meeting held on 12th September 1888, passed a resolution to the effect that the Lock Hospital should be at once closed and the establishment dismissed, but that the chaukidar should be retained to look after the place. They recorded at the same meeting that the hospital could be re-opened with a small establishment in the event of any woman presenting herself for treatment. A copy of the above was sent to the Medical Officer, Lock Hospital, for compliance.

1230 On 15th September 1888, the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital reported to the Deputy Surgeon-General, Meerut Division, to the Medical Officer in charge of the Station Hospital, and to the Cantonment Magistrate, that the Lock Hospital had been closed, and that the establishment had been discharged.

From an annual report of the Lock Hospital, Meerut, for the year 1889, written by the Apothecary in charge of the hospital, it appears that the hospital was re-opened on the 25th June 1889, and the report goes on to say that:—"In July 1889, with the sanction of the Officers Commanding Corps, the old regimental chaklas were reopened, and "that a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding "that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and, if found "diseased, to remain in hospital for treatment. These were the only women who were 1240 "registered; but I cannot state that this registration was efficient, as very often a woman "would have her name removed from the register, and simply absent herself without "excuse. The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the "three regimental bazars, viz.:—Cavalry 10, Infantry 10, Artillery 14."

In another place he states that "for the last month of the year during which the "hospital was opened, the average monthly number of the women on the register was 29. "For November there was a falling off in the number on the register owing to the closing "of the Infantry chakla on the departure of the 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers for "Burma." It is distinctly stated in the register that no fees were levied from the women 1250 for registration or other reason, and that no women were reported for non-attendance at examination, although such attendance was not regular.

Thirty-seven cases of venereal disease were treated in the hospital for the six months under report, the majority of the cases being of a virulent type. Three of the patients came to hospital of their own accord; i.e., they were not included in those examined; but they left the hospital in the course of treatment before they were cured.

There were no admissions for menstruation. The writer reports that "weekly "examination did not materially modify disease, as there were no restrictions placed on the



MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

“soldiers, and, from what I can learn, they did not visit these regimental chaklas. The bazars in this cantonment, particularly the infantry and sadr, contain a large number of prostitutes; the three women who presented themselves voluntarily came from the latter; and when they left hospital to renew their practices they were in a bad state.” 1260

The above shows in a practical way the feeling of the prostitutes as regards treatment in hospital; and the following extract from a letter from the General Officer Commanding Meerut Division to the Quarter Master General, Army Head-Quarters, dated 1st June 1889, shows in an equally practical manner what they think of the examination:—“As a matter of fact, from the date on which the Lock Hospitals were closed till now, not a single woman has presented herself for examination or treatment.”

During 1892 numerous memos. were sent from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital to the Cantonment Magistrate reporting women supposed to be diseased, and requesting that they be sent to hospital for examination and treatment. They are endorsed by the Cantonment Magistrate to the effect that the women be sent by the police to the hospital; and, if they refuse to go, they are to be told that they must leave cantonments within 24 hours. 1270

No reports appear to have been made by the Medical Officer that certain women did not appear for examination. One woman was reported to have left hospital uncurred, and the Cantonment Magistrate is requested that, as she is still suffering from disease, she should be removed from cantonments. The orders passed on the case were that the police were to remove her at once if she had not already left, and that if she returns again without permission she is to be arrested. It was found on enquiry that she was living under the protection of a butcher in Lal Kua, and no further action was taken. 1280

**Surgeon-Major O'Connor in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital** since March 1892, except September and October 1892. Dr. Mills was in charge in February 1892; he is in England. Attended by **Ishtiaq Husen, Hospital Assistant**, who has been attached since June 1892, and by **Azim-ul-din, Hospital Assistant**, who was in charge in February 1892.

The building is the old Lock Hospital. I do not know what it is commonly called. It has two departments for in and out-patients. The out-patient department is for all classes of cases and patients. More men come than women. The in-patient department is for women only: we have no place for men. As a matter of fact, no women but prostitutes come as in-patients, though we have a ward we could put them in separately. We once had two children there. The women in-patients are always venereal cases. We had one woman for three months last year, who was not a prostitute, and was in with rheumatism (not syphilitic). Other civil patients from cantonments would go to the City Civil Dispensary. I refer to my books. Last year we had a child and a woman with fever, two cases of remittent fever, two of rheumatism, two of spleen, as in-door patients. These women were probably respectable. The other cases were venereal, and were probably all prostitutes, except one respectable married woman from the city. We had a European woman in for venereal disease, a prostitute; and another Eurasian under similar circumstances. We admit cases of secondary syphilis of all sorts. 1290

I have never heard here of any attempt to keep specific women for British troops, or to distinguish between women for them and women for natives. 1300

The hospital is kept up entirely from the Cantonment Funds. We allow subsistence allowance. We give two annas per diem, of which one anna is given to the cook-shop close by, which supplies them with ordinary food, and the other anna to the woman to supplement her diet. She often gets her food from her own house. Some of them come in with Rs. 50 worth of jewels on them. But they take the two annas all the same. If a child comes with the woman, she gets one anna extra as an allowance for its food.

I can report and examine women I suppose to be diseased. If I find a lot of men in hospital with disease, I suspect there must be diseased women. It is no use asking the men which woman diseased them. Sometimes they do not know, and, if they do, they will not tell. So we do not ask the men. As a fact, I see all the women every week, and have no need to ask the men. I have made formal reports of women supposed to be diseased under the rules. Sometimes the other women will tell me that such and such a woman is diseased. Again, if a woman does not come up for one or two examinations, I suppose her to be diseased, and report accordingly; and very often I find that she is. I generally either tell the other women to warn her or send the chaukidar of the hospital to tell her to come. It is not often that they absent themselves in the first instance, and very seldom when they are sent for. If they do, I report them. I don't remember ever to have reported them in the first instance without warning. As a fact, I never have any trouble whatever with the women. They come when I send for them. I may sometimes come to know that respectable women are suffering from venereal disease. And, under the rules, I have legal power to compel such women to come and be examined. But I take the object of the rules to be to prevent the spread of disease, and work them with that object only; e.g., last year 1320

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MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

I was told that a certain woman was practising as a prostitute and was diseased. I reported her to the Cantonment Magistrate, who sent her to me. Her husband came with her; I was convinced that she was leading a decent life, and I let her go without examination.

In small-pox cases, when reported to me, I send the Hospital Assistant to see that the person affected is removed to our infectious huts. If he will not go, I report him to the Cantonment Magistrate, who gives him the option of going to hospital or of leaving cantonments. In cholera cases we have the huts ready for them, but allow them to stay in their houses if they prefer to, as that is the order in the Bengal Army Regulations. I should treat typhus and scarlet fever the same as small-pox; but I do not look upon cholera as either infectious or contagious. There is no other contagious and non-infectious disease except venereal, which is dangerous to the public health. When we do interfere in infectious diseases, we treat men and women identically.

Men, if suffering from venereal disease, and belonging to regiments, go to the military hospitals. As for other men, I take no means to prevent the spread of venereal disease through their agency; and I do not know how I should set about it if I wished to, for I have no means of knowing which men are diseased; nor have I any accommodation for them. Last year I had among my male out-patients 11 venereal cases; but I have no male ward. In some cases when prostitutes have the disease in a very mild form I treat them as out-patients, and do not force them to come into hospital.

I have once had to report a woman to the Cantonment Magistrate for leaving hospital before cure. I think once only. A woman is perfectly free to leave, so far as restraint goes. I sometimes tell a woman she had better stay a day or two longer, but no restraint of any sort is exercised. There is absolutely no restraint. As a matter of fact, they go out to their houses two or three times a week for a couple of hours to look after their house and property. I do not let them all go at once; but there is not a day that some of them do not go. They ask leave each morning and I give it. They understand that they are not to leave hospital till cured. As a matter of fact, the same thing is done in all other hospitals as regards asking leave. No certificate is given when a woman is cured.

When I first came to the hospital, I had to discharge the matrons and chaukidars for getting bribes on the pretence that they could get the women discharged as cured. I have had no complaints since. I have known money offered to the Hospital Assistant with the same object. He reported it to me himself. I visit the hospital always three, and sometimes four times a week, and it is impossible that a woman should be kept in after cure. It is our object to get her off Cantonment Funds as soon as we can.

I never admit or retain a woman in hospital for menses. As a fact, when they come for examination, and one says she has menses, I let her go home unexamined. I do not even make the dhai see if it is true, unless I find from my register that she has given the same excuse two or three weeks running. While a patient has the menses, I do not examine her. Thus if she was not cured before they began, I should not examine her, and therefore not discharge her as cured, till they were over.

Till three weeks ago, all the prostitutes of cantonment, about sixty in number, came to me for examination every week. Generally on Monday, sometimes Tuesday. If it was to be put off till Tuesday, I sent and let them know. Each week I fix my hour for examination the day before, and the chaukidar goes and tells the women what hour it will be. There is no other possible messenger except the sweeper or bhisti. The examination is at the hospital in the morning. I know of no distinction between women for British troops and others. I do not know why the women have not come for three weeks. Probably some order was issued, but I have been away for the last twelve days or so. The British Infantry women came last week. I mean by them, the women living in the British Infantry bazar. There are always more women coming for examination in the cold weather than in the hot, but I do not know if they come in with the regiments coming for concentration. The women do not come to me as belonging to any regiment. I know nothing about that. They used to be arranged in the examination sheets under the various regiments, but not for a year past. They were so entered by the Hospital Assistant. All it meant was, that the women lived in a certain bazar; so that a woman living in the Lal Kurti Bazar would be shown under "British Infantry," as a sort of address. The women used to assemble outside the compound; but now they are brought in and not allowed to collect outside.

The examination is made by the dhai, who does not ordinarily use the speculum. The Hospital Assistant stands outside the room with the reed mat down, and I do not even allow the women to pass the door while a woman is under examination. They are only admitted singly. I sit by, so that I can see what is being done, but do not myself examine the women unless either I or the dhai perceive signs of disease. They never display the slightest hesitation. They walk in, pull up their own clothes, lie down, and expose themselves as a matter of course.



MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

The record of this examination is kept on separate sheets of paper. They have gone to Simla. The result is not communicated to anybody. I give no certificate. I make no entries in any other books. The sole record is these sheets, which are for my own information only. If the woman is diseased, I enter the proper treatment at once. She gets two or three hours' leave to go to her house for clothes and so forth, and then comes back to hospital. They always do come back. I never heard of a woman not coming back. 1390

The only list I have is the list of women who present themselves for examination. If I heard of a prostitute who did not come, I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate. As a fact, the other women tell of her at once, and also say that she is diseased; and I report her as supposed to be diseased. I expect every prostitute to come for examination, but I have no list of them of any sort, except the list of the women who do come. New women turn up almost every week, without my having sent for them, or ever having heard of their existence before. As a fact, if a woman absents herself persistently, I almost always find that she is diseased. 1400

As for a woman being expelled from cantonment if she did not come to be examined; if she did not come for two or three times, I should send and tell her to come. If she still did not come, and I found she had not got a good excuse, as fever, marriage, &c., I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate as supposed to be diseased, and he would give her the choice of going to hospital or of leaving cantonment. I do not think we have ever examined more than 70 or 75 women. [The Hospital Assistant says as high as 85 or 90]. I never remember to have seen one younger than about 17. I remember a girl called Mariam in hospital. [The Hospital Assistant says that she was an in-patient when Mr. Bell came in December, and was about 14 years old.] I remember the girl perfectly as the youngest looking girl we ever had there, but I am certain she was not under 17 years old. This system of examination has been going on since August 1890 till three weeks ago; that is to say, since the opening of the Infectious and Contagious Hospital under the rules of 1890. I do not know what preceded it. The women came as usual the Monday before I left, which was on Saturday, the 27th May. I believe that *none* came on the next Monday. The Monday after that, twenty or thirty came. Next Monday I doubt whether they will come. [It was subsequently ascertained that not a single one came.] 1410

Nobody brings the women up for examination. I have never heard of a mahaldarni before to-day. It is absolutely untrue that the police bring them. The chaukidar, who wears no badge, tells the first woman he comes across each week what day and hour the examination will be, and the news goes round. It is not true that a woman leaving hospital of her own accord would be brought back by the police. No such thing has ever been attempted. I have never had a case of a woman leaving the hospital uncured, except three or four, who immediately left cantonments and went to the city. One of the women left uncured the other day. She said she was going to live in the city, but wanted two days to pack up, as she was well off, and had a lot of property. I said she might stay in her house in cantonments for two days, and she left hospital. I never inquired whether she did leave cantonments; but, if she had not, the other women would certainly have told me, or some of the hospital establishment. 1420

I see a great number of these women. Comparing them with native women of the lower classes, I consider them well-to-do, and some exceedingly wealthy. Some six at the very outside I should call poor. We can supply them with clothes in hospital, if necessary, from the hospital fund; but I do not remember ever to have found it necessary. They all smoke in hospital. They always bring their own bedding, and often their own bedssteads, though we have both belonging to the hospital. 1430

I have never known a woman come to me to be examined, on the ground that she wanted to settle as a prostitute, and could not do so without examination; nor have any women ever been so sent to me. In no case whatever have I ever given a certificate, or made any report whatever of the result of my examination of any woman. I have never been asked to examine a woman with a view to her being allowed to leave cantonments. In *one* case I did examine a woman, and certify that she was sound. She had been turned out of cantonments before my time and wanted to return, and had to be examined under the rules of 1890. She said she had been turned out for disease. She came herself and asked me to examine her, and I gave her a certificate of health. 1440

I never heard of myself or any other medical officer having any concern whatever with the proportion of prostitutes to the number of British troops, or with making up that proportion.

The cases I report to the Cantonment Magistrate or send for the woman in are cases of venereal disease. If other contagious diseases were reported to me I should act similarly; but, as a fact, they are not reported. My view of the whole matter is that I am treating venereal diseases in exactly the same manner as I do treat and should treat any other contagious disease. If I found small-pox prevalent in a family, I should examine 1450



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MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—MAQBUL JAN, CHAUDHRI OF LAL KURTI BAZAR—BAKHSHI, CHAUDHRI OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY BAZAR—PANDIT SHEOMESHWAR, CHAUDHRI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR—HIRA'S CHAKLA IN SADR BAZAR—THE WOMEN OF THE CHAKLAS.

the family regularly, and treat it as I do the community of prostitutes, and either get them turned out of cantonment as dangerous to public health, or send those affected to hospital. I know from hospital returns that venereal disease is rife in cantonments, I believe that most of it comes from the prostitutes, and I take precautions accordingly.

*By Dr. Cleghorn.*—I manage the hospital under the immediate control of the Cantonment Magistrate, as representing the Cantonment Committee. I have never received any orders from him to stop examinations of prostitutes. I simply carried on the duties as they were carried on by my predecessor. I receive circular orders from the Quartermaster-General in India through the Principal Medical Officer. I received such a circular last year, dated July 1892, which reached me in August. One paragraph of that circular stated that no special examination of venereal cases was to be made, other than would be made in the case of other contagious diseases. One receipt of this order I asked the Cantonment Magistrate whether this meant that I was to stop my weekly inspections; and I was told to continue them as before. I have never received any instructions since to the contrary, till some three weeks ago, when Colonel Reid (Commanding the Station) said he thought they had better be stopped. I do not think the examinations gave the women ground for thinking that they (the women) were in any way recognized by Government. In fact it was often explained to them that they did not. The sole object was to prevent the spread of disease; and this was fully understood by them.

*By Moulvi Samiullah.*—Q.—Do you know that the Governor General has ever given an order to stop examinations of prostitutes?

A.—I know of no such order. There is an order that no special examination was to be permitted other than what took place in the case of every other contagious disease.

**Maqbul Jan—Chaudhri of Lal Kurti Bazar**, for only eleven months, of which nine have been spent away from Meerut. I have no authority in any part of the bazar, not even in that part which is within regimental limits. Our regiment has declined to accept responsibility for any part of the bazar. The women all live outside regimental limits; none have lived within them since I have been there. There is a chakla in the other portion, *i.e.*, a quarter in which the women live. But I know of no enclosure whichever was a British Infantry chakla.

**Bakhshi, Chaudhri of the Royal Artillery Bazar** for a little over three years. The regimental chakla has been closed a little over two years, since I have been here. I got the order and closed it. The women, fourteen of them, left, and went to the Sadr and Lal Kurti bazars. Since then no prostitutes have lived in our bazar. The women of the chakla had a mahaldarni, called Gujratan. She is now in the Lal Kurti Bazar, and has two women whom she prostitutes. She takes the whole of their earnings; and gives them board, lodging, and clothes. Most of the women in the bazar are kept this way by procuresses, who take their earnings, and support them. She used to get two annas in each rupee when she was the Artillery mahaldarni; but she got nothing from the Battery. She used to look after the women generally, take them to examination, and come back and report if any of them had been detained in hospital. The batteries don't move to the hills; only a few invalids go. When I came to these parts, the chakla was open, and the women living there. The rent was then paid by the women to the owner of the chakla, Re. 1 per each house.

**Pandit Sheomeshwar, Chaudhri of the Cavalry Bazar** since 1884. At that time the chakla was open under the old rules. It was first closed about three or four years after the 8th Hussars came in 1884. It may have been closed some eight or nine months. Again it was opened, and remained open for two years or so. The 5th Lancers came in October 1889. It was again closed some three or four months after that. That will have been the beginning of 1890. Since then it has never been occupied by any prostitutes. They, however, lived in the bazar outside the chakla. There were eight or nine women in 1890, who went and lived in the Sadr chakla, but I do not know in which part. When the 8th Hussars came first, Janki was the mahaldarni. When the chakla was again opened, the same Janki was appointed. She used to get Rs. 2, and each woman Re. 1 on condition of keeping soap and towels for the last year of the 8th Hussars' stay. Before that she got nothing. When the 5th Lancers came the Colonel would have nothing to do with them and paid nothing. When it was again opened nothing was paid. No rent has been paid by the Cavalry for the chakla since I have been here. It is private property. The mahaldarni used to take two annas in the rupee from the women. She used to take care of the women, and take them to the weekly examination, and take any of them who got diseased to hospital at once. Janki petitioned for the place, and the Quartermaster gave it her. This was in 1884.

The Commission visited **Hira's Chakla in the Sadr Bazar**, where 71 women from all parts had been collected.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893—HIRA'S CHAKLA IN SADR BAZAR—THE WOMEN OF THE CHAKLAS.

The four Cavalry women have been living in the Sadr for the last two or three years, since their chakla was closed. It had been closed for a year before, when the tickets were taken back. Then Colonel Plowden settled us in Kallandar Ali's chakla. Then the Colonel of the Cavalry sent for us to his chakla again. When again turned out, we returned to Kallandar Ali's chakla, which we left last rains, because it is falling in.

Ten Artillery women now live in the British Infantry bazar. When the tickets were taken back, the Artillery chakla was closed, and remained so for a year. Then the Artillery Adjutant sent for us back. Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratani. (Mina, old Mahaldarni, is speaking.) I took away my women, and Gujratani brought hers. They are now all gone from Meerut but one. The chakla was open for nine months, and it was closed three years ago. 1520

Eighteen British Infantry women. There never was any enclosure for us to live in the bazar, and sometimes we would come and live here (in Hira's chakla). There has been no regular mahaldarni for British Infantry for the last twelve or thirteen years. There is no distinction now between the women of the different regiments. For twenty or twenty-two years they can say there has never been any mahaldarni in the Sadr.

Thirty-nine women of the Sadr Bazar. When the tickets were taken back, inspection was stopped for three years. Two years ago the inspection was renewed by order. Two weeks (now nearly three) ago we were asked whether we came of our own will, and we said "no;" so we were told we need not come any longer. The Lal Kurti women went, because the Hospital Assistant told them they had better go that week until Dr. O'Connor came back; and if he would let us leave it off, well and good. 1530

The examinations generally took place on Monday, or, if the doctor was busy, on Tuesday early. The chaukidar of the hospital used to come and tell us what day. If a woman did not turn up, the Hospital Assistant used to come to see whether she had fever, and tell her to go. If she then did not go, the police used to take her to hospital. At least, they did not take her, but they told her she would be punished if she did not go. One woman was had up, called Munni, one or two months ago. She did not go to inspections twice, and was sent to prison in consequence. She also used to get a carriage, and go all about the cantonment practising prostitution at night. We cannot say what she was punished for, or whether she was first ordered out of cantonments; but she got eight days. This is the only instance we know of. [Subsequent inquiry showed that this woman, Munni, was fined Rs. 8, or eight days' simple imprisonment in default, by Order No. 136 of the Register of Summary Cases, dated 27th February 1893, for indecent exposure of her person in the public street. She was seen by a Major having connection with a soldier close to the Mall.] 1540

We get no tickets. If one of us is ill, she stays at hospital, and is entered as an in-patient. If one of us gets menses, she is not examined, but is told to come back as soon as they are over, and then be examined. We are not sent to, or kept in, hospital because of menses. But if the doctor thinks us diseased, we are kept. If we want to leave hospital before cure, we are allowed to go, but are told that in that case we must leave cantonments. 1550

If new women come, the doctor knows, because we tell of them; and the Hospital Assistant makes enquires also. We always tell of the new ones; if we did not, and they found out, they would say "why did not you report her?" But as a fact the women generally come of themselves.

There have been no more numbers since the tickets were taken back. We pay rent the rate of Re. 1 to Rs. 3, according to the house. If we want to change our residence, we petition the Cantonment Magistrate; but there is no difficulty about it whatever. 1560

We are paid on the same scale as elsewhere. This has been beyond the memory of man; ever since the British Rule has existed. Some of the men pay us more. If men will not pay, we sometimes send in a complaint to the Magistrate, sometimes to the Colonel; but more often we send no complaint. [There was only one woman present who said she had been so treated within a year; her case occurred within the last 18 days; but she made no complaint. They say the Magistrate will not listen now that the tickets are gone.] We used to pay the mahaldarni one-eighth. Now we pay nothing, since the chaklas have been broken up. Natives go to the city for prostitutes. They will not come to us because of the inspection. Also because they are afraid of the soldiers, who quarrel with them; and of the regimental guards who come round every night to look for their men, and abuse any natives they find with us. When the inspection was stopped, natives used to come to us. In the Sadr Bazar we are free to entertain natives or English. It is only in the Regimental bazars that the English object. Natives still come to us freely in the Sadr notwithstanding the inspection. They also come to the Lal Kurti women. We all receive both now that we are out of the Regimental chaklas. 1570

The soldiers do occasionally beat us when drunk; but when sober they are very good to us. One woman here was struck and hurt not long ago. The Lancer women say that the Lancers' men are no worse than the rest, and do not wish to have them in Y 24265. S S



## Statements and Notes.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—THE WOMEN OF THE CHAKLAS.

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.—THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.

1580 common. They never told the ladies so. If the ladies say so, it is untrue. [Upon which the others raise a chorus of indignation, and say every one had four annas from the ladies, who were kind to them, and told them it was disgraceful to them to be inspected.] There were no complaints against the police; but a strong feeling against the hospital staff. They say, "We dare not say how much money they take from us. They would put "medicine into us to give us ulcers. One of the women gave the Hospital Assistant Re. 1, "and he handed her up to the doctor; and on the strength of that he has collected "hundreds of rupees, because he knows now that we will not be believed. [Many "women are pointed out who have paid.] We all have leucorrhœa from the age of "12 years, and he calls it gonorrhœa. Till we give him a fee we cannot be discharged "as cured. He does not let us get cured. He applies bad medicine to us. That is our "ONE trouble."

1590 Among the women there was one of 15 years, but no others particularly young. All fairly well off and contented. Some downright valuable jewels on them. Asked them their caste, but all began to say "Shekh," and laugh! So the attempt failed. None of us owe any mahaldarni anything, but most of us owe the banya something; some owe more, some owe less.

Only one woman here came to Meerut with troops. All the others who did so are in the hills. This one came four years ago in carts found by the Quartermaster and Kotwal, for which she paid; and they brought their own tents.

1600 Mina, Artillery mahaldarni for ten years, has not got any pay, but takes one-eighth from the women. She was turned out by Colonel West in favour of Gujratan (*see above*). She has certificates; but only one later than 1884, dated Gurgon, 22nd January 1891, from an Assistant Apothecary—"Painstaking, and careful in carrying out the inspection "of prostitutes." She says, "I looked after the women, took them to hospital, and kept "them clean. I took no entrance fees from a new woman. There was no difference in "the duties after the tickets were taken back. I never got any advance to get new "women. I could always get as many as I wanted, as they liked me."

We do not like going to inspection, because the hospital staff trouble us. Otherwise we have no objection at all. But we do not like having things put into us. [This from all the women, and apparently genuine. The doctor afterwards explained that they constantly ask not to be examined with the speculum, as they believe that it injures them.]  
1610 He, as a rule, dispenses with its use in consequence.]

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited the Cantonment General Hospital.—It consists of three departments, the General Hospital, the infectious branch, and the contagious branch. The first is a large building with a separate building for women. The second is situated some two miles from the main hospital, and was not inspected; but it has a small branch which will be mentioned presently.

The contagious branch is situated some 200 yards from the main branch, in the corner of a large garden. It is an enclosure in the ordinary form, with a wall and gate; and contains a large open barrack, with room for 24 beds, and with quarters for the Hospital Assistant and servants' out-houses. The windows of the barrack open upon the public  
1620 road, and have old wooden bars on them. On the gate is a signboard with the inscription "Cantonment General Hospital, Female Ward," and in vernacular "The General Women's Cantonment Hospital." Outside the enclosure, but within the garden, is an isolated building of one room which is used for inspections. There is a chaukidar on the hospital, who had in his house a badge, marked "Cantonment Hospital, Lucknow." There was a chaprassi on the main branch with the same badge.

There were four in-patients with venereal disease. One of them is kept by a woman who takes all her earnings and gives her food and clothes. She lives in the Sadr chakla.

The dhai has been attached to the hospital for ten years. Before that she was the British Infantry mahaldarni. It is to be noted that the Cantonment Magistrate called her dhai and mahaldarni indiscriminately, and says that in old days the mahaldarnis used  
1630 to be entered on the establishment rolls as dhais.

Outside the garden wall, but opening into it is a small enclosure with a ward in its midst, which forms a branch of the infectious department. There was a cholera patient (male) in it when the Commission visited it. It is surrounded by a 7-foot wall, with a strong barred gate to the doorway. It used to be the only infectious ward, and is still maintained, though a separate infectious hospital has been built, in order to receive patients from this part of cantonments. The chaukidar is attached to this, as much as to the



LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.—THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.—DR. CLEG-  
HORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

LUCKNOW, 13TH JUNE 1893.—THE SADR CHAKLA.

venereal branch. **The Books** are kept at the main hospital, and have been examined by **Dr. Cleghorn**, who records the following note :—

The Cantonment General Hospital consists of three divisions, *viz.* :—

1640

- (a) General Hospital for followers of the civil population, with a separate building, surrounded by a wall, for female patients;
- (b) a detached building, surrounded by a wall, situated about 200 yards from the main block, for the treatment of females suffering from venereal diseases (this was the old Lock Hospital);
- (c) a separate building for the treatment of cholera and small-pox cases. It is situated in the compound of the building for venereal cases, but separated from it by a high wall.

At the time of our visit there were 29 male in-patients in the main block, three in the ward for females, four in the venereal one, and one in the cholera and small-pox ward.

1650

During 1891, 170 in-patients were treated, and 923 out-patients, or a total of 1,097; of venereal cases, 107 were treated; but it is impossible to discover from the returns how many were males, and how many females, as there is no distinction of the sexes. Of surgical operations, 23 were performed.

During the year 1892, 743 in-patients were treated in all the divisions, and 6,749 out-patients. Total treated, 7,492. It is impossible to tell, from a mere inspection of the books, how many of these patients were distributed in the different divisions; but perhaps the information will subsequently be obtained from the Medical Officer. Among the total out-patients treated, 196 were for primary syphilis; 100 for secondary syphilis; and 260 for gonorrhoea; or a total of 556 venereal cases. There were performed 295 surgical operations, so that the working of the hospital has been a success.

1660

In the report for 1892, which accompanied the returns from which the above figures are taken, Surgeon-Major Hamilton, the Medical Officer in charge, states:—That the "lock ward has also been fairly successful in its working. The Medical Officer attends "on one afternoon of the week, and inspects any prostitutes who care to come. A very "fair number have availed themselves of this opportunity, and most of them found suffering from disease have been only too willing to come into hospital. A small number "have declined treatment in hospital, and a certain number have insisted on leaving "hospital before a cure was completed."

The admission and discharge book of in-patients commenced from 1st January 1891. The admissions for that year were, as stated above, 170; of whom 28 were treated for ordinary diseases. Among the others were 86 cases of leucorrhoea. There were no admissions for menstruation, either in 1891 or 1892. In the latter year there were only eight admissions for leucorrhoea. The cause of the extraordinary difference in the admission for this complaint in the two years will require explanation from the Medical Officer.

1670

The correspondence submitted commences with Letter No. 1, dated 28th February 1891. The only reference to prostitutes are three memos. regarding a woman who was in hospital under treatment for syphilis, but who also suffered from leprosy. The Medical Officer recommends to the Cantonment Magistrate that she should be detained in hospital for such time as might be deemed necessary. Two letters, dated 8th December 1891 and 14th December 1891, respectively, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, requested that the Kandahari bazar should be placed out of bounds, as the soldiers contract venereal disease by cohabiting with the prostitutes who reside there, but are not examined. In one of the memos. he states that the *registered* women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them. In the correspondence for 1892, there is no letter regarding prostitutes.

1680

In the establishment bills for 1891 there is a dhai on Rs. 10 per mensem, who is shown as on duty in the Sadr bazar chakla. After 1891 there are only bills for Medical Officer's pay. On 15th December 1891 the Medical Officer recommends, in a memo. to the Cantonment Magistrate, that the dhai above referred to should be dismissed, and a compounder entertained in her place.

1690

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited **Sadr chakla**. It is a large brick enclosure, containing 55 rooms. It consists of two court-yards. The outer one has three entrances; one, the original one, at one end, too wide for a door; the second in the middle, without a door, made before 1888; and the third at the other end, also without a door, made because some of the women complained that those nearest the entrance of the court-yard got most of the custom. A passage leads into a second court-yard, built on askew with the first one, with a small back door. The very high wall on the side of the railway, alluded to in the evi-

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS—THIRTY-THREE WOMEN.

1700 dence, consists of the back of the quarters, except for some 9 feet, where it is continued at the same height to join them on to other quarters. The first court-yard is bounded towards the railway by a wall only some 3½ feet high, and much too low for decency, as here the line is raised. The quarters abutting on the high wall have small grated windows high up in the wall. The quarters were built by the present owner two or three years ago, and the windows were inserted by order of the Cantonment Magistrate for the sake of ventilation. The rooms are numbered very badly in very poor paint, from 1 to 57, in perpetuation of old numbers, dating from before the sale in 1888. The rooms in the first court-yard are numbered in odd numbers, 1 to 37, on one side, and in even numbers, 2 to 36, on the other. On the side, where the plan in the evidence shows 33 rooms (Answer 201), there are only 19 rooms; but there are 40 arches in the verandah. The side towards the street is also a high wall, with no openings in it but the three entrances already alluded to.

1710 This chakla was built in 1877, and sold by Government to the present owner by deed of sale (produced), dated 10th December 1888. The women pay Rs. 2 in the first yard, and Re. 1-8 in the second, as rent, per month. A Munshi in the employ of the owner (a Hindu, called Salig Ram) collects the rent. He keeps no chaukidar on the premises. There are now 41 women living there.

There is a small open bazar close by, which was used as the Sadr chakla before the present one was built in 1877. The present one was built by the Cantonment authorities of material obtained from an old palace.

1720 There is close by a row of five houses open to the street, which has been occupied by the old Cavalry mahaldarni ever since the Regimental chakla was closed, when she brought her women here. It is known, in consequence, as the Lancers' chakla. She is called Miro, and has four women living there, of whose earnings she takes a quarter or one-eighth, as they care to pay her (so she says). The women do not consort with Cavalry soldiers more than with any other.

There are several sets of rooms in the immediate neighbourhood occupied by women—one by Ram Kalli, the old Artillery mahaldarni; or rather by her two women, of whose earnings she takes a quarter. She and another old mahaldarni live in the bazar hard by.

A third mahaldarni lives close by, and takes one-eighth of her women's earnings. When asked why she does not take a quarter, she grows indignant, and says, "We are not all alike; I am an old servant, and only take one-eighth." Her name is Amiran, and she is the old Sadr mahaldarni.

1730 There are a few scattered houses close by. None of all these, except the main chakla, have the rooms numbered.

The women say they do not receive natives, because the old custom is strong, and they think the authorities would not like it; and because white men are less often diseased than natives.

**Thirty-three women** present at the Sadr chakla: collected from the neighbourhood.

1740 There is no division by regiments among them. Some of the Cavalry Regimental women still live with the old mahaldarni of the Cavalry, Miro, outside the chakla. When the chaklas were broken up, the Cavalry women came, as already mentioned, to what is now known as the Lancer chakla; the Artillery women went similarly to the opposite house, with their mahaldarni, Ram Kalli; and some of the Infantry women went away; while others came to this chakla. None of the women have ever returned to the Regimental bazars.

The women say (notwithstanding all cross-examination and questions, and the Cantonment Magistrate begging them to speak the truth and hide nothing, and Mr. Ibbetson explaining that the Cantonment Magistrate asserts that there have been periodical examinations) that there has been *no* examination whatever of women since the tickets were taken back, except when the women felt ill and presented themselves at the hospital for advice. There is no day fixed. We go when we want to go.

1750 We remember the two ladies coming some 15 months ago, and talking with us in the chakla. We *never* told them that we had to go, or did go, to examination. A woman called Mahamdi, who had just come into the chakla, but who did not stay, and went to Sitapur at once, told us that she had told the ladies that we all had to go to examination. She did not tell them before us, or we should have contradicted her. She knew nothing about it, as she had never lived in our bazar. We have to go if reported by British soldiers as having diseased them. [The women carefully use and emphasize the word *khairati* (or charitable) in speaking of the hospital.] The soldiers come with a Regimental policeman, and identify the women, and take her to hospital. We now neither have nor receive tickets of any sort, or certificates of soundness. New women coming here report themselves to the Kotwal, but do not go to the Doctor; nor do they give any application of any sort. There have been very few new women for several years. [One who was present, and came here this year, says as above.] When we go to hospital we are free to leave at pleasure: in fact, many have left before cure; but in that case they have been turned out of cantonments.



LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—THIRTY-THREE WOMEN AT THE SADAR CHAKLA  
—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

We are never sent or go to hospital for menses only ; but if we get them when we are in hospital, we stay there till they are over. While they are on we are not examined in hospital, even by the dhai.

We have no numbers or tickets of any sort, not since the tickets were taken back and examinations given up. The houses in this chakla are numbered; they were numbered in old days, when the place belonged to Government ; but we are not numbered.

There is no chaukidar or police on the chakla. It is in the beat of a bazar chaukidar. If the soldiers should ill-treat us we send to the Military Police barrack, which is close by. We are free to leave the chakla and the cantonments as we like. We go without permission, as we come without it. The scale of charges is [as mentioned before]. If the soldiers do not pay we cannot do much; but the Military Police sometimes make them pay. The men sometimes pay, and then take the money away again. The men do sometimes beat us when drunk, but very seldom. The guard takes them away.

We do not receive natives. If they come to us we turn them out. The guards and soldiers also turn them out when they see them. The only natives admitted here are our cooks and servants. There is no mahaldarni of this chakla since the chaklas were closed. She used to be Amiran, and she now lives in the bazar. The natives look upon us as disgraced, and having lost caste by consorting with British soldiers ; so that we could not go and practise with them—not, at least, if it was known. They call us mahtarani (female sweeper). We are all in debt more or less to the banya, but not to anyone else. We have no complaints against the police or the hospital staff.

[No one of them admits being a hereditary prostitute. The youngest girl present is 14 or 15 years old ; her mother was a prostitute before her. No other young one among the women. These women are the most well-to-do lot we have seen yet. All seem to be well off, and some very well to do. There is no woman here who has come to Lucknow with any regiment. Most of them are old residents ; some of them from long before 1888.]

We have never known any women transferred from one mahaldarni to another for debt. [Miro, the mahaldarni of the Lancers' chakla, says that if a girl who is in debt wants to change her mahaldarni, and can get the new one to advance the debt, it is sometimes done. She positively denies paying Rs. 7 and taking a girl from another mahaldarni before the ladies. She says, "One of my girls, Bhagwan Devi, who owed me Rs. 12, asked me to transfer her, but I let her go without paying. It was about that that we were discussing when the ladies were here. I never paid any money or received any girl in their presence ; nor did I ever tell them anything of the sort. The ladies never came to my chakla, nor did I ever talk to them. I may have given them tea, but, if so, "I do not remember it. I remember their coming."]

**Major Campbell, Cantonment Magistrate**, since 1886, in Lucknow, except for 21 months, from June 1889 to March 1891. As executive officer of the Officer Commanding, and of the Cantonment Committee, I have large powers. No building can be erected or altered without sanction of the Cantonment authorities. I regulate the residence of all residents in the Sadr bazar. I exercise the power of expelling persons from cantonments, without cause given ; but, as a fact, the cause would always be alleged. No rules have been framed under clause 20, section 26, of the Cantonment Act. I regulate residence under Military Regulations, paragraphs 2049-56, Army Regulations, India, Volume II., Part II. Nor have rules been framed under clause 23. We expel people under a customary power, which has always been exercised, on the ground that, if not wanted there by the military authorities, they are trespassers there. I consider the old regulations in force under the Act till suspended by new ones. But I cannot quote old rules conferring these powers. Since no one can reside inside cantonments without permission, he clearly can be moved or expelled from them. At any rate, I receive orders to that effect, and carry them out.

I maintain vernacular registers of all house property in the Sadr bazar. Registers are also maintained for regimental bazars, and are in the hands of the bazar Kotwals. I believe they should be maintained in my office, but they are not.

I produce the registers ; the columns are headed—

i, Serial No. ; ii, kind of house ; iii, name of owner, with address ; iv, whether he occupies the house himself ; v, name of occupier on rent ; vi, remarks.

This was prepared in 1885, since when no new register has been prepared, nor have the entries in column v been altered. Column v does not give the occupation of the occupier. We have no house-tax here ; but we have a latrine-tax, which is paid by everybody. I produce the register. It is a register showing all the cantonment cesses, with demands and payments ; and the entries are made according to date of payment. It is practically a cash book of these cesses. One column does show the name of the occupier, sometimes with, sometimes without specifying the occupation. We have no other register in which the names of the prostitutes are entered, nor any separate record of them whatsoever.



## Statements and Notes.

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

I will now give a history of the action regarding prostitution in this Cantonment since 1888. In the beginning of 1888 the old regulations for compulsory registration and examination of prostitutes were in force. In July 1888 I received a demi-official order (produced) from General Sir Charles Gough, through the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, to the effect that women ejected from the regimental bazars should reside in the Sadr bazar, *vide* paragraph 2 of the exposition of the Lock Hospital rules, and that the houses they occupied should not be the property of the Cantonment fund. At the same time the women were being expelled from regimental bazars by the regimental authorities. They came to me and asked for leave to settle in certain houses in the Sadr. I made it the rule that they must only reside in the immediate neighbourhood of the old chakla. I inspected the houses and gave permission. The regimental chaklas thus closed were presently sold. Here is my order selling the Cavalry chakla on 27th September 1888, the Infantry chakla on 28th September 1888, the Artillery chakla on 4th August 1888, reported on 27th September 1888; all to private individuals. The Sadr bazar chakla was sold by deed dated 10th December 1888; also to a private individual.

In May 1888 registered prostitutes had been prohibited from living in British regimental bazars, and from accompanying regiments on the march or to standing camps. On 20th August 1888 the Quartermaster General's Circular No. 12, of 6th August 1888 (produced), reached me from the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, with orders to carry out paragraph 2. Paragraph 2 reads thus :—" Pending the issue of revised rules "on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women be held. "The Cantonment Lock Hospital, in fact, is to be worked as a purely voluntary institution." I sent this on to the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital for information, and issued orders to close the registers and recall the tickets; and these orders were carried out. Since then there has been no registration, and no tickets. As far as I recollect, the women continued to attend examinations at the Lock Hospital as previously, but no penalty could any longer be inflicted, as the Lock Hospital rules had been abolished. I believe the women used to go to examination just as before, and the hospital was still called the Lock Hospital. No further instructions were received, and this state of affairs continued till I went home in 1889. On my return, in March 1891, I found that during my absence Government General Order, No. 617, of 4th July 1890, had been published. Also letter No. 5276-B, Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, from the Quartermaster General in India, dated 5th December 1890 (produced). This letter contained instructions for the establishment and maintenance of Cantonment hospitals. It conveyed a scale of establishment, including a matron on Rs. 12 per mensem, another on Rs. 10 per mensem, a chaukidar on Rs. 5, a chaprassi on Rs. 5, and a male and female sweeper on Rs. 4 each. I should have said that sanction had been received in July 1889 to the dismissal of three regimental dhais at Rs. 6 each, with effect from 15th July 1888. They were the women in charge of the Artillery, British Infantry, and British Cavalry chaklas. These women are always called dhais on all establishment lists. We used to have four of these women. One was continued as dhai to the Sadr Bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be second matron to the Lock Hospital, as above. I cannot say what change this made in her duties. The Medical Officer will know. The other three were dismissed in 1888, on the closing of the chaklas.

When I returned from leave I found examinations going on, under the Voluntary Lock Hospital system. In March 1892 General Perkins showed me a confidential demi-official letter to his address, from the Quartermaster General in India, giving cover to a letter from the Military Department, stating that if in any Cantonment in India a list of prostitutes was kept up, or their attendance at examinations was secured on pain of exclusion from cantonments, that it would be a breach of the orders of Government, which orders were to be carried out in the spirit as well as the letter. This I give from memory, but I am confident that that is the gist of the instructions. I communicated the substance of this to Dr. Ranking, then in charge of the Cantonment Hospital. That was the first information we received of what was to be understood by the term "Voluntary Lock Hospital system." I then had notice given to the women that they were free to attend examination or not, as they pleased; and the attendance, I believe, gradually decreased till it almost ceased. In the summer of 1892 the Medical Officers complained that venereal disease was rife; and I fixed a day and hour, and about 12 soldiers were sent from the hospital to the Sadr bazar, who pointed out some 10 women who had diseased them. I then and there ordered these women to leave Cantonments; they came to me and begged off. I said: "Well, you know you can go to hospital if you choose." Upon which they all went to hospital, and most of them were found to be diseased.

Dr. H. Hamilton was then in charge of the hospital. I understood from him that, while he was in charge, women used to attend rather largely at the voluntary examinations. Between the notice of March 1892 and this date I have issued no other notices, and taken no other action in the matter save that noted above. In May 1893 I received orders from Army Head-Quarters that in future no special examination of prostitutes was

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

to be permitted other than what would take place in the case of other contagious diseases. These orders I communicated to the Medical Officers. From the closing of the chaklas in 1888 till now, under the voluntary system, I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the Sadr Bazar as a prostitute whether she agreed to be examined by the Doctor. I never knew any woman refuse. They used to go straight off to the Doctor to be examined. I did not explain whether I meant periodical examination or examination preliminary to permission. The Doctor sent back a report sometimes that the woman was diseased; in which case I refused her leave to reside in Cantonments. Of late I have not always insisted on this examination. In some cases the women themselves state in their petitions that they are ready to be examined. I take it that "voluntary" excludes compulsion; but does not, like "spontaneous," exclude suggestion. And I was anxious to do all I could lawfully do to prevent diseased women from living where soldiers had access to them.

All the chaklas were sold in 1888. The Sadr chakla has been used as a chakla ever since. But I have every reason to believe, and do believe as a fact, that, since the women were ejected from Regimental bazars, about July 1888, no public prostitutes have resided in any part of the Regimental bazars during the time that I have been in the station.

In March 1892 I gave the notice alluded to above, that women were free to attend examination or not, as they chose. I suppose I must then have been under the impression that they did not at that time feel themselves free in the matter. My system has been to encourage examination as much as I could, but to use no pressure or compulsion.

The applications for permission to reside in Cantonments are given by everybody wishing to do so; not by prostitutes only. In the case of other than prostitutes, I direct the police to inquire and report upon the character of the applicant; or give permission pending such report. These applications are received almost daily. I have repeatedly refused permission on the police reporting unfavourably. The applications are on the Oudh Judicial form for miscellaneous petitions, which costs three pies, and bears a one-anna stamp. The petition writer would be paid as well. Not even an officer of Government, whether civil or military, if in civil employ, can occupy a bungalow in Cantonments without first obtaining permission from me in a form which I produce. (See Appendix for this form.) I constantly receive applications for permission to move from one house to another. I give sanction unless there is some apparent objection; in which case the police report. I should not allow a butcher to open a shop without a report. The other day I refused a baker leave to open an oven, and a wood and charcoal seller to open a shop, out of the proper quarters, as I keep them altogether for fear of fire. So I should refuse to prostitutes leave to live at a distance from the chakla, on the ground that it would interfere with the convenience of the respectable inhabitants of the bazar. Under the old rules a prostitute, on presenting an application for registration, was taken to the hospital and brought back by the police. But since 1888 she goes herself, and brings back the report herself. In no case is she made over to the police for this purpose (Answers 863-67).

I don't remember since 1888, any woman being reported to me for practising as a prostitute without permission to settle. I have certainly never taken action in such a case. But if she lived away from the chakla, I should make her move. I did so to a European woman not long ago, who settled in the bazar without leave. I told her she could not be allowed to live in the house she then occupied; and she left Cantonments. I do not allow prostitutes to live elsewhere than in the neighbourhood of the chakla; but I do not insist on their living in the chakla itself. As a fact, as you yourselves saw this morning, there are women living outside the chakla, while houses inside it are empty. The fact that we were ordered to turn the women out of Regimental bazars shows clearly that we have control over their place of residence.

All this applies only to the Sadr Bazar; I am not in charge of Regimental Bazars. But if it came to my notice that a prostitute was living in a Regimental bazar, I should bring it to the notice of the Regimental authorities; and, if necessary, report the matter, as being contrary to orders which I have to enforce. All that I have said refers to *all* prostitutes, whether consorting with natives or with British soldiers. I know of no distinction between these two classes in my work.

Since 1888, women wishing to leave Cantonments need not apply for permission to do so. But, in fact, they commonly do; though they also leave without permission, and no action is taken. The usual course on such a petition is to give permission, on condition that all Cantonment dues have been paid. I have never yet refused permission, even under the old rules; though, under them, if application was made the day before inspection, I generally postponed permission till after inspection. The fact of a woman having left Cantonments with or without leave is no bar to her return.

[There is a petition on the file in which a woman, Munna, prays for leave to settle, saying that she had left Cantonments without permission. She was permitted to return without hesitation, after examination by the Doctor, by order of 18th February 1892.]



## Statements and Notes.

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

More than a year ago, I recollect two ladies coming to me at office, and stating they were missionaries, and wished to take away a prostitute whom they brought with them, as they wished to rescue her. The girl is called Massamat Itwari; and is, I am told, 1960 now living with a sweeper in the Bazar. I remember the girl and her name perfectly. I told the ladies that there was no objection to their taking her away. They said that they had been informed that my written permission was necessary. I said it was not so; it had once been so, but those rules had been done away with, and the woman was free to go away when she liked. I do not remember who they said had informed them. They asked me whether I would mind giving them a written permit. I said I had no objection; so I gave them a paper to the effect that the girl might leave Cantonments. They gave me to understand that the girl had told them there was something hanging over her, which would prevent her from leaving Cantonments. I inquired, and found that during my absence in England she had been punished for selling liquor to a soldier. I called for the file (now produced), and found that she had been imprisoned; and also, 1970 that her personal recognizance to appear on a certain day in the sum of Rs. 50 had been confiscated. I then explained to the ladies that the recognizance had been paid up, and was no bar to the girl's going. They asked me if I would undertake that nobody would interfere with her if they took her away. I said that I could not guarantee that; and that, if she came into Cantonments, she might not improbably be accosted by some soldiers who knew her. I therefore thought it advisable, if she left Cantonments, that she should not return. I then turned to the woman herself, and told her she could leave the Cantonment, but must not return to it. She said something about wishing to see her mother and sister, who were both living in the chakla. I told her that they could easily go to her and visit her. I thought that the ladies did not know much about the matter, and would not realise the complications that might arise if the girl returned to Cantonments. My object was to assist in rescuing her. In speaking to the girl I may have put it more as an order than as advice, and have said "You must not come back." The only record referred to in the matter was the record of the criminal case. There was no other record for her name to be taken off, as her name was on no other record; nor was any other record referred to. [Massamat Itwari produced. Says she has been living for two months with the mother and sister of Banarsi, a converted sweeper, now a Christian, who is going to marry her. This is in the Sadr Bazar, and not in the chakla. She says she has been a Christian for five years. She has been in the bazar for the past six years, during which time she has not left Lucknow. Record examined. Case No. 252, 1980 decided 15th August 1890, by Captain Plowden. Charges—supplying liquor to a European soldier under section 313, Act XIII., 1889. Sentence—one month's rigorous imprisonment. Personal recognizance to appear in the amount of Rs. 50 estreated; attachment to issue; in default of recovery, six months' simple imprisonment in civil jail. Was released from the criminal jail on 15th September 1890, and from the civil jail on 15th March 1891.

There used to be four chaklas, the property of Government. Only one of them is now occupied by prostitutes; and all of them have been sold. I have now no concern whatever with the provision of accommodation for prostitutes. The houses in the chakla were numbered in old days, in accordance with standing orders (circular memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, paragraph 5), so that a soldier might be able to identify 2000 the woman by the number of her house. These numbers do not correspond with the numbers in any register of which I have any knowledge.

The chaklas used to be in charge of women called dhais, who were borne on the Lock Hospital establishment, and paid from Cantonment funds (see circular memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, paragraphs 2 and 3). I have already stated what happened to these women down to 1890. The matron, receiving Rs. 12 per month is still employed in the hospital. The place of the one receiving Rs. 10 per month has been taken by a compounder. This change was proposed in a letter (produced), No 836, of 23rd December 1891, from the General Officer Commanding the District to the Quartermaster General in India. Sanction was accorded in January 1892, and the 2010 change was made with effect from 1st February 1892. No other dhai or mahaldarni was discharged about that time. After this change there was only one in Government pay, and she is so still as matron of the Lock Hospital. The dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers' chakla, close to the Sadr chakla, with five women she had, and I gave it to her in ordinary course. I never held out to her any hope whatever of future employment; indeed, I did not for a moment contemplate the possibility of the chakla being re-opened; nor did I ever suggest to her to take her women and live by their means. The dhais are under the Medical Officer, and they are chosen by him, though, as they are on the Cantonment establishment, I have to pay them. There has been no dhai borne on our books since 1890; only matrons.

Many of our occupations are segregated. There are separate quarters for the 2020 wood sellers, the leathers-workers, the cloth merchants (not so strictly segregated as the others), the butchers, the sweepers, and so forth. If a man applied to be allowed to live out of his quarter, I should first inquire whether the people among whom he proposed to live had any reasonable objection. I have several times refused leave on



LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—MR. HART, QUARTERMASTER, 16TH LANCERS—MAJOR HAMILTON, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ROYAL IRISH.

this ground. My object in confining the women to one neighbourhood is to preserve the respectable inhabitants of the rest of the bazar from their presence. There are Panches or Chaudhris to represent some of the different trades. We go for our carriage to the city which is close by. I give my orders to the Kotwal and cannot say to whom he passes them on. I know very little about these arrangements.

There are about 50 Cantonment Police, and about 10 or 12 Cantonment chaukidars, both being part of the Provincial police force. The chaukidars are told off to keep order in certain portions of the Sadr Bazar, which are permanently allotted to them. The police have beats, but change about from one to another. There is no policeman or chaukidar in charge of or placed over the chakla; though the chakla is in a chaukidar's quarter, and in a policeman's beat. I think the Military Police visit it in their rounds. I think if a chaukidar saw two English ladies going into a chakla, he would very probably follow them; and would do very rightly to attend them for their protection; but it is not his special charge.

None of my chaukidars or police are put over the Lock Hospital. I do not recollect that I have any non-police chaukidars on any buildings in Cantonments; but there are chaukidars so employed all over the Cantonments. It is not the case that any guard of any sort is posted inside the chakla. Neither do I, nor my subordinates, exercise any special supervision over the chakla, nor make any special inspection of the chakla, save such as is exercised over or made of all Cantonment premises. (*Continued on 15th June.*)

**Mr. Hart, Quartermaster, 16th Lancers**, since November 1892, and Quartermaster Sergeant before that since the Regiment came to India. Has been in the Regiment since 1878.

The Regiment came to India in October 1890, and came straight here by rail. I was in India formerly in 1876, with the 14th Hussars. I am in charge of the Regimental bazar. Some of the followers have separate lines (grass-cutters and grooms); the others live in the bazar. The bazar contains under 200 families, and I am constantly going through it. I am quite sure that no prostitutes live in the bazar. There is a place which used to be a Regimental chakla. I can say positively, of my personal knowledge, that since we have been at Lucknow there have been no prostitutes in the bazar or in the chakla. I know of no place now known as the Lancers' chakla.

As far as I know, we take no steps whatever to confine the women at the Sadr chakla to the use of British soldiers. We have Regimental Military Police; and there are also Garrison Military Police, who are under the Station Staff Officer. One of our men is in temporary charge of them. The duties of our Regimental Police do not extend as far as the Sadr chakla. That is the business of the Garrison Police. We take no steps to prevent our men going to women who consort with natives; nor to prevent women, with whom our men go, from consorting with natives. The city is out of bounds for our men.

I pay the Regimental followers. There is no money paid to any person for any duties connected with prostitutes; if there was, I must know of it, as I keep the accounts.

I know nothing of any scale of charges paid by the men to the women. Petty complaints come to us from the Regimental bazar. I think that complaints from the Sadr Bazar would go to the Adjutant. I have never heard of any complaint, either to myself or to others, against our men, for non-payment, or for any ill-treatment of the women.

The Regiment went to Aligarh in the winter of 1891 in November; and returned at the end of January 1892. That is the only march we have made in India. I was left behind in charge of barracks: I arranged for transport on that occasion. The Kotwal told me how many carts were wanted for the bazar, and I got them, and the people paid for them themselves. I am not quite sure whether he got them himself, or whether I got them for him. If he asked me for carts, I should make him account for them all, stating what they were for. I got no transport for women on that occasion. I do not know of my own personal knowledge; but I made enquiries, and I do not believe that any women went with the Regiment to Aligarh.

I do not know of any steps taken to identify a woman when a man has been diseased. There is very little disease in the Regiment. I have never known women march with the Regiment, even in old days; for, as a fact I have *never* marched with any Regiment by road.

**Major Hamilton, Quartermaster of the Royal Irish**, for over 24 years.

We came out to India in 1885 in January. We went for the winter to Ambala by rail, and then for the hot weather to Sabathu, by road; and so every year till 1887, when we marched to Naushahra. In 1889 we marched on to Peshawar, which we left in November 1890, and marched all the way here, arriving in March 1891.

The Regimental bazar is in my charge. It is a very small one: not more than 250 souls, including followers, live there. I am there often. I am certain there is no recognized prostitute living there. I *must* know if there was. I do not know where the old

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LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR HAMILTON, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ROYAL IRISH—MR. HORNSBY, QUARTERMASTER OF EAST LANCASHIRE REGIMENT—THE OLD INFANTRY CHAKLA—THE OLD ARTILLERY CHAKLA—THE OLD CAVALRY CHAKLA.

chakla is. We take no steps to keep Natives away from the women with whom our men consort. Our Regimental Police have no duties outside our lines. The Garrison Police search for our absentees. We take no complaints except from the Regimental bazar. I have heard of no complaints against our men since the old system was done away with.

About a dozen women accompanied us on our march from Peshawar to Ambala. The same women did not come all the way. The Kotwal changed them on two or three occasions on the road. The women always paid their own cart hire; but on several occasions I got the carriage from the bazar, as the people could not. On those occasions I knew that a certain number of carts were for women; as the Kotwal always furnished, with his indent, a detail of what the carriage was wanted for. They provided their own tents. They generally pitched about 200 yards from our bazar, outside our lines. They generally started about 11 P.M. at night, as does almost all the bazar; and went on in front of the Regiment. There was no guard of any sort put over them, or accompanying them, even in the Peshawar District. We have guards on our light baggage carts; but they follow the regiment. I can safely say that, in my battalion, the women did not accompany any carts travelling under guard for safety. There was a head woman over the women, called a mahaldarni. I can say positively that she got nothing from the Regiment. Her business was to keep the thing going, and to provide women. We had nothing to do with that. She was under the orders of the Kotwal, who was the man the Officer Commanding sent for if anything was wrong. I believe she levied dues on the women's earnings. The Kotwal changed her when the women were changed. The Kotwal's official pay is Rs. 11 per month; and he often gets something extra from Regimental funds. The mahaldarni and her women were discharged and turned out of my bazar the very day we reached Lucknow. I know nothing of them since. Up to 1887, when we went up-country, this had always been a recognised thing. Coming down (after 1888), it was not quite so recognised; but we did it for the safety of the men, and to keep them under observation. If we had had no women, they would have been all over the place, and we do not know what offences might not have been committed. The women were regularly inspected by an Apothecary on both occasions: and there was really no difference, except that we had fewer women after 1888. We never had paid the mahaldarni, even before 1888. When the camp was pitched, it was the duty of the Regimental Police Sergeant to keep order in the women's tents. There would be no sentry over them; but his men would patrol, and frequently visit their tents.

There are a good many servants with their families, banyas, cookshop men, barbers, dhobis, cooks, &c., who travel with the Regiment from one station to another. I think about 200 people would follow us, inclusive of paid followers. These are only sweepers and bhistics. Say 100 exclusive of them. We gave the Kotwal the order, and he arranged for the women.

**Mr. Hornsby, Quartermaster of East Lancashire Regiment**, for past fifteen months, before which was away from it for nine years. The Regiment was at Lucknow when he rejoined it.

There are about 150 houses in our Regimental bazar. They are not all full. There are no prostitutes in our bazar. I am sure of it. Our bazar is so near the Sadr, that we never had a chakla. Any complaint from the Sadr Bazar would go through the Garrison police. I have heard of no such complaints against our men, by women, for ill-treatment or for non-payment.

The Commission visited the old Regimental chaklas.

**The old Infantry chakla** is a double row of eleven mud quarters for eleven women. About five years ago Mallu, cook, bought it at auction; since when it has been occupied by cooks only. Since then there have been no women living in the bazar. For a short time, about 1885, the building was used for other purposes, and the women were moved into similar quarters close by.

**The old Artillery chakla** was bought by Ram Lal, five years ago. No women since then have lived either in it or in the bazar. It consists of two rows of mud quarters, eight in all. The wall which used to be at each end has been pulled down, so as to open it out to the bazar. The women used to pay eight annas for rent, and the present tenants pay ten annas.

**The old Cavalry chakla** contains twelve mud quarters, open at the back and walled in towards the street, as it always was. No women have lived in it, or in the bazar, since its purchase by Baij Nath some five years ago. The tenants pay five annas and six annas as rent.



LUCKNOW, 14TH JUNE 1893—SURGEON-MAJOR RANKING, IN CHARGE OF THE  
CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—MAULA BAKSH, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

LUCKNOW, 14TH JUNE 1893.

**Surgeon-Major Ranking, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital**  
from 25th February 1891 to 6th May 1892, when he was succeeded by Dr. Hamilton.  
Attended by **Maula Baksh, Hospital Assistant**, attached to General Hospital since  
July 1891.

The venereal branch is commonly called by the people the Lock Hospital. The  
buildings include what was the old Lock Hospital. When I took over charge of the  
hospital, I found that the great majority of the cases that came were venereal cases.  
There was then no other branch or department of the General Hospital. In order to  
extend the utility of the hospital, I let it be known in the bazars that I was willing to  
see all patients who might come. In a very short time numbers of general cases began  
to come, both as in-door and out-door patients; so much so, that I asked the Cantonment  
Committee for funds to put up a grass hut, in order to provide increased accommodation  
for in-patients. That state of things continued for some eight months. Towards the  
end of 1891, I learnt that the intention of Government was to 'provide hospitals some-  
what on my lines. About November 1891 I learnt by a demi-official letter, that a  
barrack was to be converted into such a hospital. The idea was to found a general  
hospital, the treatment of women generally being carried on, as elsewhere, as part of the  
general scheme. The barrack was obtained, and the main branch of the General Hospital  
opened as it now stands, on the 1st January 1892. The hut for which I applied was to  
receive male in-door patients; as I had no separate ward, and could not put men into  
the female wards of the old building. The hospital was open to all cases; but it takes a  
long time for a change of this sort to reach the mass of the people. But contagious  
diseases, being dangerous to public health, had the first claim to admission; the in-door  
accommodation was limited; and thus the proportion of general cases was much smaller  
among in-door, than among out-door cases. I had several respectable women and girls in  
the hospital, separated from the venereal cases by mat-screens. The grass hut was  
built, and occupied by male in-door patients. It had room for fifteen beds. Was in the  
garden close to the present inspecting room. I used to see 30 or 40 patients every  
morning. There was also the cholera and small-pox hospital, some 2 miles off on the  
Bareilly Road. The hut now adjoining the Lock Hospital compound was projected, but  
not built. I think I did not have a single case of infectious disease while I was here; but  
my impression is that the Bareilly Road Hospital was a Military one, and that there was  
then no provision for infectious cases among the civil population in Cantonments. I  
treated cases of secondary syphilis in the hospital, together with cases of primary syphilis.  
Thus, from my arrival in February 1891 up till the opening of the new barracks in  
November 1892, the so-called Lock Hospital was a general hospital, open to all cases  
whatever.

I know nothing of any distinction between women for the use of British troops and  
those for Natives' use. All women were admitted who came; and I cannot say which of  
the two classes did come, because I know nothing of their separate existence. The hos-  
pital is maintained from Cantonment funds. We used to diet the patients, giving no  
subsistence allowance; but they were allowed to supplement the diet from outside.

As for examination of prostitutes, when I took over charge I found that the women  
were only being examined once a week. There was a list of names of women—83 I  
think—who used to attend once a week—on Monday, I think. I cannot say whether that  
included all the prostitutes in the bazar. I thought this was insufficient, and started a  
bi-weekly examination—on Tuesdays and Fridays, I think. Any woman who was found  
to be diseased was admitted into hospital; as also if suffering from any other disease, not  
contagious, requiring in-door treatment. Any woman who came and presented herself  
for examination was examined, and her name added to the list. There was certainly no  
compulsion as to examination or detention in hospital; but I did all I possibly could, by  
way of precept and persuasion, to persuade women not to neglect submitting themselves  
for examination; pointing out to them that in this way only could they protect themselves  
against incurable disease. They were fully aware of the advantages of skilled medical  
examination, and of the danger to themselves arising from its neglect. Moreover, I  
advised them to use all possible precautions in the way of personal cleanliness, recom-  
mending especially the use of alum lotions; and I am certain that they followed my  
instructions in their own homes. I gained their confidence, and they did what I recom-  
mended. Some time during the first week in March 1892, owing to instructions received  
on inspection of the hospital by the head of the department, the use of a separate list of  
the names of women presenting themselves for examination was discontinued. After  
that no record of any sort was kept of the women presenting themselves for examination;  
nor of the results of that examination, unless they were admitted into hospital, when they  
naturally came on the general register of admissions. With that exception, the system I  
have described continued unaltered till I left the station.

Before this change, my record consisted of monthly sheets (manuscript) containing  
serial number and name and date headings, under which the result of examination was  
noted if the woman was menstruating or disease was detected. In other cases the column



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LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR RANKING, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—MAULA BAKSH, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

was left blank. I initialled each date column at the bottom. All the women were brought on to one list, and there was no classification based on, or entry of, the names of bazars or regiments. The serial numbers were purely haphazard; they agreed with no other series of numbers; and, as a fact, varied from month to month, as one woman left and the others moved up the list. The record was purely for my own information, and the new sheet for each month was pasted over the last. The record has been destroyed. I received no lists of prostitutes from any of the Cantonment or Regimental authorities. I have no recollection of communicating the results of any examination of the women to any such authority.

2220 When a new prostitute came to the place, she brought a petition with an endorsement from the Cantonment Magistrate, asking for a report on her condition. On this I examined her. If she was free from disease, I certified accordingly, and returned the certificate by the hand of the woman. If diseased, I admitted her into hospital, and certified similarly when I discharged her as cured. She used to come of herself; the police never brought her. At the same time I added her name to my list. I remember perfectly a case in which I reported, without examination, on such an application, that the girl was too young to practise as a prostitute. She never returned for examination. I received no report of a woman's leaving Cantonments, nor did I ever examine a woman with a view to her leaving. When I found a woman absent from examination, and 2230 the other women told me she had left, I cut her name out of the list.

I look at Government General Order No. 617 of 4th July 1890. I have never reported a woman as supposed to be diseased, and asked that she should be sent to me for examination. In *this* station I have never had a report made to me that a soldier had indicated a certain woman as having diseased him. I never reported a woman for leaving hospital before cure. In fact, there never was any occasion to do so, as the women were only too glad to stay until cured. I have never had a woman reported to me as spreading disease, though not a recognised prostitute. In short, I have never taken any action whatever under these orders, since no occasion has ever arisen for such action.

I have never had to take action as regards other diseases; for there was no case of 2240 infectious or contagious (non-venereal) disease among the civil population during my time.

When a woman did not turn up for examination, I used to write her name on a slip of paper and send it to the Cantonment Magistrate, though I never made any official report. I do not think the Cantonment Magistrate took any action on it. It very rarely happened that a woman did absent herself. I do not suppose it happened more than three times during the eighteen months I was here. The women are quite willing to be examined, if properly treated. I used to ask the other women to tell the absentee to come next time; which she did. I have never taken any action by way of reporting a woman for absence from examination, or in order to have her sent to me; as a fact, the necessity never arose. I never found that women who were diseased absented themselves 2250 in order to avoid being sent to hospital—very much the reverse.

The women were perfectly free to leave hospital, if they chose, before cure. I should try all I could to dissuade them from doing so, just as I should a person suffering from any other disease. Beyond that there was no restraint. I never even threatened to report a woman and have her turned out of Cantonments; as the necessity never arose.

If, on examination, I found a woman with her menses on, I took her into hospital; I should rather say, she was allowed to remain in hospital; in view of the undesirability of sexual intercourse during that period. Some of the women will consort with men during those periods. Sexual intercourse is undesirable, because it may lead to serious disease in the woman. My object was to protect the woman, not the man, whose risk is slight, if 2260 any. The women so admitted were not entered on the in-patient registers, as there was no disease, and as they were not dieted by the hospital.

The fact that 86 cases of leucorrhœa were admitted in 1891, and only 8 in 1892, is probably due to difference in diagnosis. As a fact, I do consider symptoms to constitute leucorrhœa which many doctors would not. These were not menses cases, as those were not entered at all. I put no pressure on the women to stay in hospital, and have no reason to think they were unwilling to do so. It was part of the general scheme for their health. I don't ever remember a woman objecting to remain on that account.

Ever since I first held charge of a hospital of this kind (some 17 years ago), I have always felt that it is one of the most important charges a man can hold; and that the health of the troops depends so largely upon the way in which the work is done, that the Medical Officer is bound to take every means to assure the attainment of his object. To 2270 this end it is most important that he should gain the confidence of the women, and let them see that he is really protecting their health as much as that of the soldiers. I have always endeavoured to treat these women with as much consideration as I should my own private patients. I am clear that the mere fact of being prostitutes by no means implies

LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR RANKING, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—MAULA BAKSH, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

the loss of modesty ; at any rate, among these women. Any approach to roughness of treatment, or want of consideration of their feelings, militates against the success of the medical officer. When they find that he treats them properly, they gain confidence in him, and are as ready to follow his advice as any other class of patients. The personal element is everything.

They look upon examination on the ground of health, by a medical man, as any other woman would do; and their not objecting to it implies no loss of the sense of modesty. The examination was made by me, in the presence of the Hospital Assistant and the dhai, the last inserting the speculum. No other person was admitted. The speculum was *always* used. I never heard any of them object to its use on the ground that it injured them. The examinations were held in the small separate inspecting room, outside the Lock Hospital.

Throughout the whole business I have no knowledge, either official or private, of any distinction between women kept for the use of, or commonly used by British soldiers, and others.

I simply worked on the list made over to me by my predecessor, altered by (i) cutting out names of those I heard had left cantonments, (ii) adding names of those sent to me by the Cantonment Magistrate. I had no other register or record of prostitutes whatever.

It is true in one sense (Answer No. 1636) that the hospital was worked on Civil lines from the beginning of 1892, because the new basis was then for the first time officially recognized; but I had privately been working on the same lines ever since I came, so far as the accommodation at my disposal allowed.

I find the Hospital Assistant states that the lists of attendance for examination were discontinued in April 1892, and I have no doubt he is right. That was just before I went. I cannot remember how many examinations I held after the discontinuance; but I have no recollection of any falling off in attendance after that.

The women used to come up alone, not always very punctually; so that I took to calling them up out of the order of the list, so as to make them all come in time: but no mahaldarni, or anybody of the kind, brought them, as far as I know. We had two dhais borne on the establishment of the Lock Hospital; and no other women except a female sweeper. I had no other women of the sort under my orders. The two dhais were Amirjan on Rs. 12, and Amiran on Rs. 10, per mensem. Amirjan was merely a hospital matron, and had no duties outside the hospital. She is still with us in that capacity, and has never been dismissed. Amiran was under my orders. I find from the Hospital Assistant that she lived with the women in the chakla. I do not exactly know what her duties were. [The Hospital Assistant says they were to attend to cases down there, such as diarrhoea and the like.] She may have occasionally come with the women to examination, but I am quite certain she did not come always. I know they used not to come all in one body, as if brought by anybody. In December 1891, I recommended that a compounder should be appointed in her place, reporting that "under the present system of Cantonment Hospitals, the services of the dhais are, in my opinion, not at all necessary." This was sanctioned and carried out. I hardly remember the woman; I did not give her orders, or have any concern with her. I held out no hopes whatever of re-employment to her. [Hospital Assistant says she has not been employed since.]

There is a chaukidar on the Lock Hospital: a hospital chaukidar. There is none on the main hospital. His duties were to keep people out of the hospital who had no business there; and to look after the property and keep order. There was only one man. It is ridiculous to suppose he had any concern with the ingress or egress of patients. I have known a drunken Englishman try to get into the hospital.

I had no concern whatever with the chaklas. I did not even know where they were.

I have never heard any sort of complaint by the women against either the police or the hospital staff, for extortion or oppression of any sort.

I can say positively that in no single case have I had a woman come, or be sent to me in Lucknow, for examination with a view to leaving Cantonments. I can remember no such case since 1888. It certainly was not the rule anywhere where I have been.

I have never had any concern of any sort with the proportion of women to British troops in cantonments.

The main difference I see between the system, as I worked it before and after 1888, is that in the latter case no penalty attached to absence from examination, except perhaps indirectly, in the shape of exclusion from cantonments; whereas in the former years, the woman could be fined and imprisoned for absence.

I remember that in March 1892 (I think in the second week) the Cantonment Magistrate came to my house and had a conversation with me, the gist of which was that the examination of women must be given up entirely. I suppose we discontinued it then; for I am sure after such a conversation I should not have carried it on. I remember now



## Statements and Notes.

LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893.—MAULA BAKHSH, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—PRIVATE  
MACNALLY, GARRISON PROVOST SERGEANT—CAPTAIN DONNELLY, ACTING AS  
ADJUTANT OF ARTILLERY.

perfectly what happened. We had to send word to the bazaar actually forbidding the women to come, and telling them that examinations would no longer be held. I had no  
2340 official instructions. I am sure I discontinued the examination after that. The discontinuance of the examination and of the separate lists took place about the same time.

I was seeing all the women twice a week, and I should say no one of them could speak a word of English. Certainly I never heard a word from them.

I have never had more than 83 women present for examination—*certainly* never 100. I have seen a record of the result of examination of women (similar to what I kept up here) kept up at Sitapur and Mian Mir. I had no orders to maintain it; but examination is impossible without some record.

My impression of the women as a class is that they are a contented, well-to-do class, well nourished, and well clad in winter. They used always to bring their own bedding  
2350 into hospital, and send for their little luxuries at their own expense.

Soldiers' wives, if English, go to the Station Hospital, and if natives, are attended by the regimental doctor and have no need to go to hospital. [Hospital Assistant states that none are received in the present main hospital.] It is simply impossible that they should go to the Cantonment Hospital.

[The Hospital Assistant, examined by Maulvi Samiullah, states:—I remember the ladies coming here. I think it was before the main branch was opened. I do not remember any gentleman coming and talking to me about the hospital.]

**Private Macnally, Garrison Provost Sergeant** for two years, from May 1891 to May 1893:—

I had eighteen men and a Corporal under me. I was under the Station Staff Officer  
2360 Our duties were to look after soldiers everywhere, in cantonments and outside regimental limits. The city is out of bounds; and if our men went there, we went after them, or to look for them. We patrol in cantonments and the civil lines and bazaars. We visited the chakla in the sadr every night. There is a post of ours, with six men and a Corporal, close to it. We used to go at 10 P.M. to clear it of men without a pass, and at 12 P.M. to turn out *all* British soldiers. Natives are not allowed in the chakla. If we found any male natives there by day or night, we turned them out; and if they offered any opposition, we reported them to the Cantonment Police. There is no order to that effect; but it is not right for natives to go where British soldiers go for their women. The written  
2370 order is simply to clear the bazaar; but this is an understood thing. We did not often find natives there; they knew the orders, and were afraid to go. Up to 10 P.M. we never interfered with natives who had any sort of business there—only with loafers. After 10 P.M. all male natives had to go. I often had complaints of the men beating the women and otherwise ill-treating them, and destroying their clothes, and for non-payment. Very often the women would deny their story when brought by me before the Officer Commanding. I do not believe half what they say; but I and my men know that they do get ill-treated. After pay-day there is a good deal of it. At other times there is not. The men go out then and get drunk in the day time, when we are not there.

I often had complaints of non-payment. The man would generally admit it; in  
2380 which case I either made him pay, or put him in the guard room. The rule of the women is to charge [scale as before]. I used to make them pay up to that scale—not more. But men do often pay more.

We visited houses of prostitutes outside the chakla, to turn our men out at night. I never remember finding a native in any one of them; though I used often to see them sitting outside, when the women would make up a story that they were their relations. I gave my men orders that they were to keep natives out of the chakla; but I gave no such orders about the outlying houses; so I do not think my men ever turned out natives from them. We consider these houses to be under the Cantonment Police, except as far as our own men are concerned; whereas the chakla is more immediately under us. I only  
2390 remember one European prostitute in the bazaar. The women of the chakla often go to the city bazaars and drink there. Whether they prostitute themselves there I cannot say; but my belief is that they do so constantly.

**Captain Donnelly, acting as Adjutant of Artillery** at Lucknow from November 1891 to the end of December 1892:—

I have to perform the duties which a Quartermaster would perform in a regiment. Before 1891 I was not in Lucknow, and have only been in India 2½ years. The



LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893 —CAPTAIN DONNELLY, ACTING AS ADJUTANT OF ARTILLERY—AHMAD HUSEN, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE CAVALRY BAZAAR—MIRO, OLD MAHALDARNI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAAR—BISHARAT HUSEN, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE ARTILLERY BAZAAR.

Artillery bazaar is under my control, and contains about 250 people only. I can say positively that no prostitute has ever lived there since I have had charge. I know the old Artillery chakla. No women lived there. I know of no women who are known as being, or who are, in fact, in any way set apart for our men; nor of any arrangements to prevent natives going to women frequented by British troops. We have a regimental police, whose duties are entirely confined to regimental limits. But they go to look for any men absent at night, and then would go to the Sadr bazaar. They only go there when men are absent. Sometimes that does not happen for months. They have no orders, except to find the men and bring them back. 2400

The accounts of the regimental bazaar, which include the pay of all who are not actual soldiers, pass through my hands. No woman is paid anything for looking after any prostitutes. If she was it would be paid through me. Complaints against our men come to me; but only from the regimental bazaar. Those from the Sadr bazaar would go to the Officer Commanding through the Cantonment Magistrate, but I should be informed of them. I have known of no such complaints against our men for ill-treating 2410 or not paying women. I have never marched with a battery in India.

**Ahmad Husen, Chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Cavalry bazaar** for the past 13 years:—Came with the 10th Hussars. At that time there was a chakla and a mahaldarni. The chakla was closed on the 1st August 1888, the women being given a fortnight to move. I have a record of all these matters. Miro, a Panjabin, was then mahaldarni. She went to the Sadr bazaar with her women—ten or eleven of them. At that time she got pay (I believe Rs. 6) on the Lock Hospital establishment. She got nothing from the regiment. She used to take one quarter from the women whom she fed and clothed, and one-eighth from the others. Her predecessor was Lakhi, who died. Miro was mahaldarni for two years. She was appointed by the Colonel of the 17th Lancers. Since 1888 there have been no prostitutes or mahaldarni in the bazaar. Her duties were to look after the women generally, and take them to the Lock Hospital for inspection, and report if there were any quarrels or ill-conduct in the chakla, whether by the men or the women. When more women were wanted, she used to get them. I do not think she got any advance for it. 2420

**Miro, old mahaldarni of the Cavalry bazaar**:—I have been mahaldarni for many years—formerly in the infantry. When the regiment with which I was came here, I was thrown out of employ, as there was no British Infantry chakla, and my women went and lived in the Sadr bazaar. I got the appointment in the Cavalry ten years ago. I was appointed by a doctor whose name I forget. Then a year later, the chakla was closed for four months on account of an affray there. When it was re-opened, I was re-appointed by Dr. Kaye [then Staff Surgeon in charge of the Lock Hospital, *teste* the Cantonment Magistrate] and stayed there till the chaklas were closed five years ago. On this, four of my women married, and one died, and four or five came with me to my new chakla, and two or three went to the Sadr chakla. I am still known as the Lancers' mahaldarni; but the chakla is not known as the Lancers' chakla. We have lived there ever since. I now keep five women in my chakla, and three in the Sadr chakla. They pay me one-fourth of their earnings, and I find lodgings and servants and furniture. The three in the Sadr were my women in the Cavalry bazaar; but they no longer pay me anything. I used to get Rs. 6 in my regiment, and used to keep the women, and used to take fees from the women at no fixed rate. Since the chakla was broken up, I have received nothing from Government. I have had no place in the hospital since then. I have certificates, but have not brought them. When I was mahaldarni, I had to examine the women daily, and look after them, and keep them clean, and report them when ill, and take them to the inspection, and then to the Quartermaster for him to look at the doctor's report. 2440

My women have never gone to examination since the chakla was closed. [This, notwithstanding much cross-examination.] I used to get new women, when wanted, from the bazaar. They paid nothing to me—in fact, I often had to take over their debts if they were in debt. I paid them from my own pocket. I am well off. I never got advances from the regiment. When a new woman comes, she gives a petition to the Cantonment Magistrate, who sends her to the doctor, and on his report allows her to settle. When I was in the Cavalry, before 1888, the police used to go with her to the doctor; but now I, or whoever the mahaldarni may be, go with her, and no police. 2450

**Bisharat Husen, chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Artillery bazaar** for two years only; before that, was not in Lucknow:—Since I have been in the bazaar there have been no women living either in the chakla or the bazaar.

## Statements and Notes.

LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893.—KHUDAH BAKSH, MAHALDAR OF THE ARTILLERY CHAKLA.—SHEKH MANNU, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE LEFT INFANTRY BAZAAR.—DURGA PARSHAD, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE SADR BAZAAR.—AMIRAN, MAHALDARNI OF THE SADR CHAKLA.

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

**Khudah Bakhsh, mahaldar of the Artillery chakla** for ten years:—My wife, Ram Kalli, was mahaldarni for a few months before the chakla was closed. She was appointed by the Major. I was mahaldar of the Artillery here for ten years. I was appointed by the Colonel. I got nothing from the regiment, but took one-fourth from the women. About two years before the chakla was closed, my wife, Ram Kalli, was appointed, as I could not get about. She got Rs. 6 from the hospital. She had to report women who were ill, and take them to hospital, and used to take them to inspection and look after them. When the chakla was closed, some five or six years ago, we came and took a house opposite the Sadr chakla, where we have lived ever since. I used to have eight women, and they came with us. Now we have four. I feed and clothe two, who pay me one-fourth. The other two feed and clothe themselves, and pay no fixed rate.

I have certificates, but have not brought them. I used to get new women in the bazaar, but they paid me nothing. It is not the custom to do so. We never have had to pay debts for them either. No natives ever go with my women [very decidedly.] The order is that they should not—the order of some officer. I do not know whom.

**Shekh Mannu, chaudhri (Kotwal) of the left Infantry bazaar** for past two years; before that not in Lucknow :—[Here there are two Infantry bazaars. The right Infantry never had a chakla, as the bazaar is close to the sadr]. No women have lived in my bazaar or in the old chakla since I came to the place. I came to Lucknow with the Royal Irish. Our women were changed twice on the way from Peshawar; once at Pindi, and I forget the other place. They used to march directly after gun fire (9.30 P.M.) Our regimental police used to patrol near their tents from about 4 P.M., to prevent rows; but nobody of any sort accompanied them on the march. They paid for their own carts, got through the Quartermaster. They came entirely of their own free will. There was no sort of pressure on them. The mahaldarni of the old chakla in my bazaar died some three years ago. She was called Begum.

**Durga Parshad, Chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Sadr bazaar** for 17 years. Before that ten years as Sheriff of the District Court :—Amirjan used to be the mahaldarni at the sadr some eight or nine years ago, for two or three years. Then she was turned off before the chakla was sold, and Amiran got her place. She was appointed by the Doctor and Cantonment Magistrate. Amirjan afterwards was made matron to the Lock Hospital, some six years ago. Up to the time the chakla was sold, she used to come to the sadr chakla once a day to see that all was right. She did not come after the chakla was sold. But Amiran stayed on till she was turned off, some two years and a few months ago, since when there has been no dhai there. I think she was turned off because inspection was stopped. She used to take the women to inspection, and report disturbances to the police, and look after the women. Natives are not allowed to go to the women of the sadr chakla. I do not know whose order it is; but that has always been the order. The women have not gone in a body to be inspected for more than two years. Now only those that are ill go. Natives may go secretly with the women; but they are not supposed to do so. *Swell* natives would not go to them, because they have been with British troops; other natives would not mind.

**Amiran, mahaldarni of the Sadr chakla :—**

I used to get Rs. 10 from the hospital and live close to the sadr chakla, and look after the women. Inspection has been stopped for years past. I lost the appointment a little more than two years ago. I do not know why I was turned off, and nobody took my place. I had the place some four years.

I had never been mahaldarni before. I now live by keeping two women. They give me from two-sixteenths to three-sixteenths of their earnings, and I find house and furniture and servants.

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.

**Major Campbell, Cantonment Magistrate, —(continued from page XXXIII):—**

I know nothing whatever of any segregation of women for the use of British soldiers, or of any attempt to confine any set of women to them. Under the old rules, it was distinctly understood that the registered prostitutes were reserved for the use of British soldiers. Since 1888, I know nothing of any attempt to so reserve them. I have received no orders, nor taken any action with that view. I heard the Provost Sergeant's evidence yesterday. I did not know till then that such action was taken. I know British soldiers consort with native women outside the Cantonment bazars. I have had criminal cases arising from it; and the Garrison Police patrol to clear men out



LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

of these places. My belief is that natives do visit these women. Before 1888 we received orders not to interfere with the women having their "fancy men." I believe many of them are kept by such men—natives, of course. In no portion of my official action do I take *any* cognizance of any distinction between women reserved for, or used by, British soldiers and others. I know of no such distinction. As a fact, many natives will not consort with women who receive British soldiers. The phrase "gora kamana" (to earn one's living from British soldiers) is used as a term of reproach to express this. I believe the native soldiers keep their women at a village outside cantonments. Neither my police nor my chaukidars patrol or visit the chakla more than any other cantonment premises, and they have no special orders regarding it. I would not turn, and never have turned, a woman out of the chakla for consorting with natives. I have never had such cases reported. Nor would I, if I found a woman living outside the chakla proper and receiving British soldiers, try to move her into the chakla. I have never had such cases reported. When the ten or twelve men I mentioned the day before yesterday came to identify the women who had diseased them, several of the women were living outside the chakla.

I have already said that I should not allow a butcher to open a shop outside the proper quarters. We have no copper-smiths here. But I would not allow any man to prosecute an occupation which could in any way annoy the neighbours, outside the quarters allotted to that occupation.

I have no sort of concern with the supply of women, or their proportion to the number of troops, British or Native. I have never been asked to help in keeping up the supply. I have never been applied to for money for such purposes. I have no funds from which such money could be advanced. I draw money only by cheques signed by the Officer Commanding. The idea is perfectly unheard of.

My authority extends over regimental bazaars; but I do not as a fact interfere in their management. I should interfere if I found that general orders were transgressed. If I had found, for instance, that, after their expulsion from regimental bazaars by order from head-quarters, women had been allowed to return to the regimental bazaars, I should have felt it my duty to report it to the Officer Commanding.

I know that a considerable number of people resident in the regimental bazaars (not being paid followers) follow the regiment from Cantonment to Cantonment—banyas, cooks, barbers, &c., &c. Under the Regulations, a man building a house in a regimental bazaar ceases to have any right in his house as soon as the regiment leaves the station (Article 2094, Vol. II., Part II., Army Regulations, India).

The first I ever heard of any scale of charges in the chaklas, was when I read the evidence given before the Departmental Committee. I have no sort of concern with, or knowledge of it. I have known British soldiers reported to their Commanding Officer for ill-treating women; but never remember to have had such a report myself. I have not had any reports for non-payment since I went home in 1889. I may have had before, but cannot recollect clearly. I had a complaint by a man that a woman had taken Re. 1, and had not given him change. I regulate charges made for yekkas and carts, but not any others.

I have never had reason to believe that the police exercise any sort of oppression over prostitutes as such. No doubt, under the old system, they had opportunities which do not now exist.

I have no Cantonment chaukidar or guard of any sort on the Lock Hospital. Not many months ago a European in-patient complained of being robbed there, and I was asked to put one on. As far as I can remember, I could not spare one. The fruit of the garden in which the hospital stands is sold for over Rs. 200 a year.

The rent of chaklas is assessable to income-tax like all other income. To exempt it would be to offer bounty upon prostitution.

I get returns from each hospital showing the admission of men suffering from venereal disease, whether British or Native troops. The return has a column headed "Where contracted." Sometimes there is a note to the effect that the woman can be identified; sometimes that she cannot; sometimes there is no mention of the point. Ordinarily no sort of action is taken on these returns. I knew that the women were as a fact being regularly inspected, and nothing more was needed. But on two occasions, and I think two only, after attendance at inspection had fallen off—after March 1892 in fact—of which occasions I have already mentioned one, disease seemed unusually rife, and the men were sent in charge of a non-commissioned officer to the chakla, to identify the women who had diseased them in my presence. I then and there offered these women the option of leaving Cantonments, or of going to hospital for examination, and treatment if necessary. I acted under notification No. 617. The formality of a written report from the medical officer was omitted, but the spirit of the rule was followed. I recollect no other



## Statements and Notes.

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—RUSTUMJI, INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

KARACHI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

occasion but these two. The latter was about three months ago. There were only two men on that occasion. On the former occasion nine or ten women went to hospital, of whom no fewer than seven were found to be diseased. These are the only two occasions on which I have ever taken action under notification No. 617. I am certain that no woman has ever been reported to me by any medical officer as supposed to be diseased, with a view to action under notification No. 617. I have had a leprous woman reported to me for refusing to stay in hospital. She eventually left Cantonments. But I have never had a woman affected with venereal disease, reported on similar grounds, nor have I ever taken any action on such grounds. As for women reported for non-attendance at examination, they used to be common before 1888, and I cannot say that there has been none since. My impression is that there have been some cases under the voluntary system, though there has been none recently. I cannot say whether the reports will have been in writing or not. I have been so often asked whether I could not help in the matter, and have had to explain that I could not, that it is difficult to remember what were mere conversations and what formal reports. If I have had such reports, I have certainly never taken any action upon them in order to present the woman for examination. I have always understood since 1888 that examination was purely voluntary.

With the exception of the leprous woman above referred to, I remember no reports of persons affected by other infectious or contagious diseases. Such cases are taken straight to hospital without any intervention. The fact is then reported to me by the police; and these reports have been very frequent. We have cholera or small-pox every year. I am certain that there have never been in my time as many as 100 prostitutes living in Cantonments.

*By Maulvi Samiullah:* I have never had a complaint by a soldier that he had been diseased in the city. I have no power there. But in the hospital return it is often stated that the disease was contracted outside Cantonments; though not nearly so often as within Cantonments. There is no second chakla within Cantonments. I believe the better class of natives will not go with the women whom British soldiers frequent. I know of no special place where natives go for women.

**Rustumji, Inspector of Police** in Lucknow Cantonment, since January 1875: There are about 60 women now living in the sadr bazaar. During the cold weather concentration we have more—perhaps 70. I do not think more than that. When all the chaklas were open, we may sometimes have had as many as 100, but certainly never since. My police force is 43 constables and 12 police chaukidars. The latter are a part of the Provincial police force. There is no constable or chaukidar in charge of, or posted over the chakla. The chaukidar on his beats visits the chakla occasionally; and at night my police patrol would visit it also.

There is now no prohibition against natives being in the chakla, and we do not interfere with them being there. I believe the lower class native does go with the chakla women, such as cabmen, officers' servants, &c.; but the better class will not go with British soldiers' women.

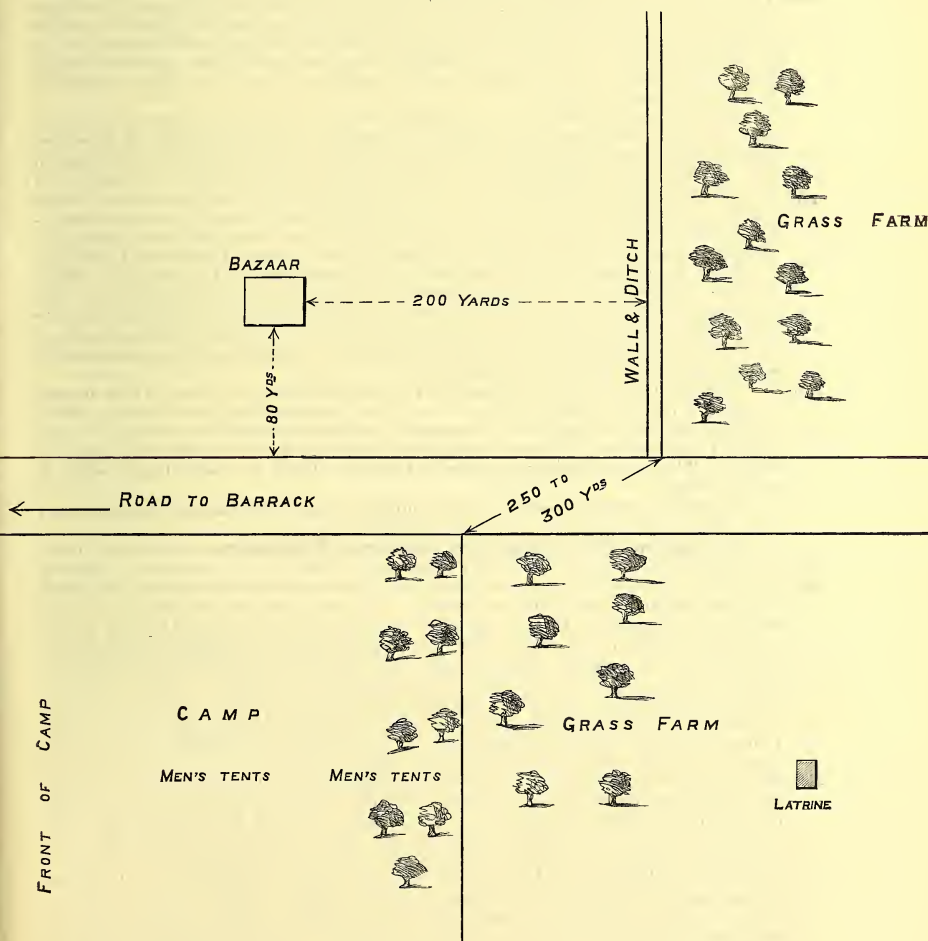
KARACHI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.

**Mr. Forbes, Quartermaster of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders** since August 1884. The regiment is now at Dagshai; but in the cold weather seven of the companies go down to Ambala. We landed in India on 15th December 1891, and went by rail to Ambala, which we reached on 1st January 1892. We went straight into camp. I came on three days ahead, to make arrangements. The tents had been supplied direct from the Firozepore Arsenal. We got our paid followers from the Commissariat Department. I believe they had been left by another regiment, but am not sure. As for the bazaar, that grew up. Banyas and shopkeepers who wished to supply our men, came to the Commanding Officer and got a pass signed by me, allowing them to come within our lines to sell things, and then pitched their tents outside our lines, about one hundred yards from our camp, on the other side of a road. They brought and pitched their own tents. The paid followers also pitched their tents (which are supplied by us) in the same bazaar. There will have been some eighteen tents altogether—say six for the paid followers, and twelve or so for the shopkeepers. We were very particular about giving permission to natives to pitch there, on sanitary grounds. It was not merely that we did not let them sell in our lines, but we did not let them live in our bazaar without a pass. When the regiment came, some men came to the Commanding Officer and proposed to bring women to live in the bazaar, but he said it was against the regulations, and he would not allow it. I know of no women who had pitched tents in the neighbourhood of our encampment. If there were any, they were there without the permission or orders of anybody in the regiment. Our camp was out in the open, about a mile from the Gordon Highlanders, with only one or two houses, and no other encampment near. [Answers 348 to 353 read to witness:] I cannot say there were no women's tents near our encampment; but I never noticed any. I had to visit the bazaar daily; but never went beyond it. They were not there to my knowledge; but they might easily have been there without my knowledge as I never made it my duty to go outside our bazaar. They certainly could not have been

KASAUJI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

within one hundred, or even two hundred, yards of the camp, as we should not have allowed tents to be pitched so close. They might perhaps have been in a small grove there was at the back of the bazaar.

In short, I have no knowledge whatever of any women having been pitched near our encampment; I am certain there were none within some two hundred yards of it; but there may have been some further off without my knowledge. [Answer 355 read to witness:] I remember no screens of matting. I give a very rough sketch of the position.



The grass farm on the bazaar side of the road was surrounded by a ditch and mud wall some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet high. No women's tents could have been near the road without my seeing them; but they might have been further back, among the trees. They could not



## Statements and Notes.

KASAUJI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS—MR. CARLEW, QUARTERMASTER OF THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

have been among the trees on the camp side of the road, as our latrines were behind the trees, and I was daily round there, and must have seen them. Our Military Police  
 2650 patrolled the road to prevent our men crossing it, except when they wanted to buy something from the bazaar, or to visit the Gordon's camp. They also patrolled by the latrines, and along the side of the camp furthest from the road. Sentries proper (as distinct from the Military Police) were posted only over the front and rear guards. The Military Police patrolled up to about 11 p.m. There was no guard of any sort specially over the bazaar. The Kotwal would keep order there; and, if a disturbance had arisen, the patrol on the road would have interfered, and I dare say it was his duty to patrol the bazaar occasionally; but I cannot say for certain, as the police are not under me. If we had been in barracks, police would, I imagine, have been detailed to look after the bazaar; at least we used to detail them in old days. No special patrol could have been  
 2660 kept over the bazaar without my seeing it. [Answer 544 read to the witness:] I am quite certain that it is absolutely impossible that there should have been any European soldier stationed in any place where the women were. Even in the Regimental bazars we do not station guards. No tent could possibly have been got for the purpose of being pitched there without my knowledge, unless it had been a private one, which would not be used by a guard or sentry.

If a native in our bazaar had to complain of one of our men, *e.g.*, for non-payment, he would go to the Kotwal, who would bring him to me, and I should, if necessary, report to the Commanding Officer. As a fact, I had no such complaint. I never heard of  
 2670 any complaint by a woman against our men. If there had been such a complaint, I should not have entertained it, as we had no business whatever with the women. Police patrols are changed every two hours or so; but I do not know exactly what the arrangements are. All the paid followers were paid by me; and everybody who was not a soldier, and was paid by the regiment, would be paid by me. I paid the Kotwal for instance. No woman of any sort received any pay through me. If a woman in charge of prostitutes had been paid by the regiment, she *must* have been paid through me. She would probably have been paid from the bazaar fund, consisting of small payments for permission to sell in the lines; and that is under my control. I know nothing about any scale or rates according to which the women are paid. I have heard of no complaints by women against our men for ill-treatment.

I did not march with the regiment to Dagshai that year. I went on in front to take  
 2680 over the barracks. As far as I know, none of our bazaar followed us to Dagshai, at any rate I provided no carriage for it. I certainly provided no carriage for women, nor heard of any being provided. I know nothing about any arrangements for the examination of women. There is no Regimental bazar at Dagshai. There is a sadr bazaar which is not under me.

*By Maulvi Samiullah.*—There was no building of any sort within our bazaar, nor any place formerly known, or then known, as a chakla.

**Mr. Carlew, Quartermaster of the Gordon Highlanders** since August 1884: The regiment landed at Karachi from Ceylon on 17th January 1892, and came straight up  
 2690 to Ambala by rail, which it reached between the 24th and 26th of that month. Our tents had been supplied direct from the Arsenal. We took over the followers of the 6th, which had relieved us at Ceylon. The followers were waiting for us at Ambala. I came on ahead to take over the camp, which was not pitched when I got there. The followers came a day or two after the regiment had got into their tents. They camped on the other side of the road, together with a few banyas, and formed our bazaar. We took over the regimental Kotwal, and the other followers; and about a fortnight or three weeks after we came in, he brought, by the direction of the Commanding Officer, eight women. The Commanding Officer at first choose a site for them within the boundary of a grove of trees. But the Forest Department (I think) objected because of the young trees; and  
 2700 then they were brought outside the ditch, and an enclosure of matting was put up, within which their tents were pitched. This was some five hundred yards from the rear guard of our camp. There was a sentry over the rear guard. The Regimental Police used also to be on duty there, at the women's enclosure, from about noon to tattoo (about 9.30 p.m.), when there is roll-call and the men turn in. There would be one of the police posted there to keep order. He would be relieved every two or three hours. There was no tent pitched for him there, as he was not there at night. The nearest tent to him was at the rear guard. There was a mahaldarni to look after the women. She used to get fees from the women (six pies out of every four annas); but she got *nothing* from the regiment. If she had, I must have known, as the only fund she could have been paid  
 2710 from was the bazaar fund, of which I keep the accounts. Her business was to look after the women generally, and to go with them to examination. They went to medical examination once a week in a body, under the charge of our bazaar peon (on Tuesdays I think) about 10 A.M. The peon was on Rs. 5 a month, and wore a belt and badge, with no other uniform, and was under the bazaar Kotwal to look after the bazaar. There was a book in which the result of the examinations was recorded—a common bazaar manuscript book, in which the word "fit" was entered with the doctor's initials. I do not remember that there was a list of names; but of course there must have been one.



KASALI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. CARLEW, QUARTERMASTER OF THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

I saw the book twice only. I think it was when the Kotwal reported that some of the women had been found diseased. They had stayed in hospital. Ordinarily the book was not shown to me, nor, I believe to any other officer. It stayed with the mahaldarni, whose property it was. The number of women varied somewhat. We at one time had as many as twelve living there; so my Kotwal tells me. Fresh women were brought by the mahaldarni, and that I had no concern with. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the mahaldarni was never told or instigated to bring more women. I believe privates used to pay four annas. The charge was in no way authoritative. There were one or two complaints about non-payment. None of them came to me. I believe they were settled by the Kotwal. I knew of none going to the Commanding Officer. We allowed no male natives inside the women's enclosure. No list of the women of any sort whatever was kept up in the regiment. The mahaldarni doubtless had one. The women were absolutely free to come and go as they liked. I never knew of any complaint of ill-treatment by the women against our men. 2720

The regiment marched to Sabathu on the 15th March 1892. I followed the regiment and passed it; and saw from the train, as I passed, women following it; and I asked the Kotwal at Sabathu by whose orders they had come. He said by nobody's orders; but that they used to follow the regiments in former years, and had done so now. The women in 1892 went up to Sabathu and settled in the Sadr Bazar, there being no houses for them in the regimental bazar. A few weeks after we reached Sabathu, somebody brought the regulations on the subject to the Colonel's notice; and he immediately instructed the Kotwal that we were to take no further cognizance, and have no further concern with them, and to discontinue at once sending them for examination. They continued to live in the Sadr Bazar, which is not under me in any way. When the regiment marched to Sabathu, I found no carriage of any sort for either bazar or women. They made their own arrangements in both cases. The tents were their property. I did not march with the regiment; but I know what the arrangements were, from the men who acted for me, and my Quartermaster-Sergeant, and the Kotwal. The women used to start about 10 P.M. at night. I think the bazar started at the same time. There was no sort of guard or sentry of any sort with the women. That I am quite positive about. The heavy baggage marched right through. The light baggage marched with the tents at daybreak. There were guards on the heavy baggage and on the tents. I do not think there could have been any heavy baggage carts marching at night which the women could have accompanied. 2730

The Colonel ordered the Kotwal to bring up the women in the first instance. I believe there was an understanding that they should be examined, though I heard no orders to that effect. I believe they were told that if they came into camp they had to be examined; at any rate they went regularly to examination. The regiment had just come from Ceylon, and was ignorant of the Indian rules. Directly we found out what they were we severed all connection with the women. 2750

*By Maulvi Samiullah.*—If one of the women had refused to go to examination, we should not have punished her, or compelled her in any way. We should simply have turned her out of camp. They were free to leave our camp whenever they chose. I cannot say how many women there were at various dates between January and March.

**Surgeon-Major H. Hamilton, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Lucknow,** from the beginning of May 1892 to the end of January 1893: To the lock ward of the hospital only prostitutes were admitted during my time, some of them suffering from other than contagious diseases. They were not admitted to the general branch, because that would have kept respectable women out. Cases of secondary syphilis were received. They were dieted, and not given an allowance. 2760

When I took over charge from Dr. Ranking examination of women had been entirely discontinued: some months before, I think I understood at the time. Probably about the end of June, the Cantonment Magistrate spoke to me about the serious increase of disease among the troops, and asked me whether the examinations could not be started again. I told him I would do whatever I rightly could; so I fixed an afternoon in the week, and let it be known (through the Hospital Assistant) that I would always be at hospital on that afternoon to examine women who chose to present themselves. A considerable number used to come up every week; the number varying greatly from one week to another, and fluctuating from about forty to seventy. I took no measures of any sort whatever to induce the women to come; nor do I know of any such measures being taken by any other person. To the best of my belief, the women came to me spontaneously. I let them clearly understand that there was no compulsion in the matter. This continued till I left Lucknow. I am almost certain that the number of women thus presenting themselves for examination increased somewhat during my time there. Certainly there was no falling off in the average attendance. At first something like half the women who attended were diseased. I admitted I think twenty-seven to hospital at one time. But even then, there were a large number who were in no need of medical aid, and came apparently as a precautionary measure. I knew of or 2770

## Statements and Notes.

KASALI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

recognized no distinction between women for the use of British troops and others, except that I understood that natives were not allowed to visit the chakla. As a fact I did take into hospital some of the city prostitutes who were diseased; but I did not encourage them very much, as I should have had my Cantonment Hospital full of them. I do not think that any of them attended my examinations.

At examination, I and the Hospital Assistant and the matron were present. The speculum was almost always used, and was introduced by the matron. I never heard of any objection by the women to its employment. My belief is that the women have not  
2790 the *slightest* objection to being examined on the score of modesty. As the women were examined, the Hospital Assistant took notes of their names in pencil on a sheet of paper. I do not remember if any entry was made against those who were clean and sound; but the disease was shown against those who were ill, and "menses" against menstruating women. The list was made week by week, and was not preserved, so far as I know, after the results had been noted in the case of diseased women in the admission register. The results were not communicated to any body, nor were any certificates given. When a woman had menses, she was admitted to hospital. I do not remember how she was shown in the return, or whether she was entered at all. I found that the existing routine was to admit such women to hospital and carried it on. I did not examine a woman who had  
2800 menses, so that I could not say whether she was diseased or not. I think the risk a man ran by connection with a woman during this period would be of the slightest; as would be that of the woman, so far as I know. The number varied largely from week to week, and I took no action whatever to compel or induce those absenting themselves to appear.

I have never reported a woman to the cantonment authorities as "supposed to be diseased," or for not presenting herself for examination. I have reported women for leaving hospital before cure—some ten or twelve, or more. They said they wanted to go, so I let them go, and reported them. None of them returned to hospital, and I believe they left cantonments. I sent formal written reports to the Cantonment Magistrate. I am not sure there was always a record kept. They were all prostitutes. There were  
2810 very few cholera or small-pox cases while I was there, and they all came to hospital without any difficulty. One cholera patient absconded in a dangerous state; but he left cantonments at once, so I did nothing. There are no other cases of infectious or contagious diseases. I received no periodical return of patients suffering from venereal disease from the Station Hospital.

My patients were absolutely free to leave hospital at pleasure. There is a chaukidar on the hospital: he was attached to the whole Cantonment Hospital, and not to the lock branch only. The patients would not be free to leave the hospital without the leave of myself or the Hospital Assistant; but that leave would be given as a matter of course. Some such rule is absolutely necessary to maintain any discipline. It is exactly the same in the general branch of the hospital.

2820 I gave no certificate of cure to discharged patients. I never gave any sort of certificate of soundness, with the following exception. The first day that the woman came to me for examination, I began to give the flimsy out-patient tickets used at the general branch, filling in "nil" into the space for disease. But it occurred to me that the women might use them as certificates of soundness; I do not think I gave them to all present that day; and I certainly never gave any after that. I have never made a report on the health of any woman to an official, save—

(i) When I reported women for leaving hospital.

(ii) In continuing the procedure that I found already existing regarding new applications for leave to reside, already described by Dr. Ranking.

2830 I have no knowledge of British soldiers having been taken down to the chakla to identify women who had diseased them. But I know of a case of a European woman who was reported by a soldier to have diseased him, and who was sent to hospital. I have never had a case of a woman admitted to hospital for menses only, and wishing to leave before they were over.

An old mahaldarni used to come up with the women who came for examination. She received no pay from Government. I believe she lived in the Sadr chakla.

I did not inspect the chakla (there was only one, I believe, in the Sadr Bazar) or exercise any sort of supervision over it.

2840 When a woman who wished to settle in cantonments came to me from the Cantonment Magistrate for examination, I kept no note of her name, unless she was admitted into hospital as diseased.

I have never had any complaints against my hospital staff of bullying the women, or of practising oppression or extortion. I have never had any reason to believe that they ever did so.



KASAUJI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

KASAUJI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—COLONEL TURNBULL, COMMANDING ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY AT AMBALA—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

I have never known a case of any woman coming or being sent to me for examination as a preliminary to her leaving cantonments or the chakla.

I have never had any sort of concern whatever with the proportion of women to troops, or with keeping up the supply. I have never been consulted on the point.

The women in hospital always brought their own bedding with them. They were free to provide themselves with any small luxuries from outside, such as tobacco or opium. My impression is that they were comfortably off—much above the average native woman. Of course, like all their class, they were extravagant. 2850

I know as a fact that many of the neighbouring bazars, outside cantonment limits, were full of prostitutes. I have seen them there constantly; and the soldiers used to resort to them. The chakla women were perfectly free to go and live there if they chose.

20TH JUNE 1893.—KASAUJI.

**Colonel Turnbull, Commanding Royal Horse Artillery at Ambala** since the end of October 1892: Shortly after I took over the command, I found that there were eight or ten prostitutes in the Royal Horse Artillery chakla. As far as I know, nothing was paid to anybody in connection with them; but I understood that they had to be periodically inspected by a medical officer. I told the Adjutant that I would have no prostitutes in my bazar, and that they must be taken off the register and turned off. By register, I mean the register which is maintained of all the inhabitants of the bazar, including every body, whether prostitutes or otherwise. A few days later I asked the Adjutant if my orders had been carried out. He said that two or three had left, but the others declined to go. He said I had no power to turn them out. I made inquiries, and, as far as I could make out, I had no such power; as now-a-days everything is done by the Cantonment Magistrate. I then said that if they did live on in the bazar, they must be treated exactly as ordinary residents; that no supervision was to be exercised; and that they were not to be sent for inspection. I inquired several times after that, and was assured that they no longer went to be examined. I believe that they have since been turned out of the bazar by the Cantonment Magistrate. I know of no special supervision that had been exercised over them, except that they went to examination. Payments could not have been made without my knowledge, during the two or three weeks before I issued my orders. I have been fifteen years in India, and served in all parts; and have never yet heard of any sort of payments being made from public or regimental funds in connection with prostitutes. I do not know how the women had come to be allowed to live in the bazar. 2860 2870

**Surgeon-Major Wardrop in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Ambala**, since its formation in February 1892. Before that in charge of the Cantonment Hospital from the beginning of November 1891.

In February 1892, we consolidated the Departmental Followers' Hospital, the Charitable Hospital, the Cantonment Hospital, and the Infectious (Cholera and Small-pox) Hospital. Before the amalgamation, the Cantonment Hospital was the Voluntary Venereal Hospital for women. At that time it was for women only; in fact, for prostitutes only: mainly for venereal and cognate diseases; but any prostitute would be admitted with any disease. A respectable woman suffering from venereal disease would have been put into the Charitable Hospital. After the amalgamation, there was practically no change in the nature of the venereal branch, now called No. II. Section; except that now, if a prostitute is very seriously ill or an operation is required, I transfer her to the female ward of the general branch. I believe the building was the old Lock Hospital. I have always admitted cases of secondary syphilis, whether associated with primary or not. I have never had respectable women in Section No. II. I think most of the patients were from the gora chakla, as the greater number were admitted under the rules of July 1890. I should have taken exactly the same action under these rules in the case of women from either chakla; but my information was derived chiefly through the medical officers in charge of British troops, who frequented the gora chakla in particular. If a woman came from the kala chakla she was received in exactly the same manner as those who came from the gora chakla; in fact, when I asked where they came from, and they said "from the Sadr Bazar," I asked no further questions. As a fact, I had a certain number of patients who came of their own accord from neighbouring villages for medical treatment. There is absolutely no foundation for the idea that the hospital was confined to the use of women who were frequented by British troops. 2880 2890 2900



## Statements and Notes.

KASAUJI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE  
CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

The hospital is maintained from cantonment funds. In the venereal branch we allowed two annas and six pies a day to each patient. In the other branches we dieted them. When the amalgamation was first carried out, I began dieting in the venereal branch also; but there was so much opposition that I had to give it up. The complaints were such as did not require special diet, and the women were accustomed to their little luxuries.

When I took over charge, women used to come up every Tuesday for voluntary examination. They were women who still spoke of themselves as attached to regiments—Artillery women, Cavalry women, and so forth. There were none, with rare exceptions, from the Sadr Bazar. I believe these women were living in the regimental bazars.

2910 I do not think there were any women living in the Infantry bazar: though I think that Infantry women came for examination, but am not quite sure. I think the mahaldarni, or some sort of head woman, used to bring each group of women up.

I had a book that I kept for my own use, in which the women were entered as they came, and in which I entered the results of my examinations. I sent no extracts from this to any body; nor did I communicate the results of the examination to any body whatever, save in so far as entry in the small books to be mentioned presently may be considered to have done so. I found the book when I came: and if a woman appeared, I marked "fit," or the nature of her disease; and if she did not appear, I drew a line. I did not strike off any names. When a new woman presented herself, I added her

2920 name; but in that case only. I had no other list of prostitutes. I never had any intimation from any source that such and such a woman was to be added to the list; and till the woman actually presented herself, I knew nothing about her. If I had ever had to change my day, I should have told my Hospital Assistant, or my matron, to let the women know: but if this ever did occur, it certainly was very rarely. If a woman was found to be diseased I told her so, and asked her if she would come into hospital. I think once or twice she refused. I then explained that I should have to report her for expulsion from cantonments. On one or two occasions they said they would rather leave cantonments. I then reported them to the Magistrate. Supposing a woman did not appear for examination, I took no step whatever, however frequently she absented herself. Many of them turned up once or twice, and then never again; but I reported

2930 to no one. With reference to the fact, noted by Dr. Cleghorn in his note on the Ambala letterbook, that in a letter of 24th November 1891 the medical officer reported to the Cantonment Magistrate the fact that the women of the 2nd Queen's bazar had not presented themselves for examination for two weeks, I can only say that I had only just taken over charge; that I suppose the letter was written in accordance with former routine; and that no such report was ever made again.

Some of the mahaldarnis who came with the women brought books I think; not all. When there were books, I entered the results of the examination in them also; in fact, the mahaldarnis made a point of my doing so. The books were common bazar books, like the one produced [see evidence of Umar Bakhsh, Ambala, 8th June], only generally

2940 much dirtier. I do not know what was done with the books afterwards. In the registers I keep for my own information, I arranged the women by regimental groups; doing so simply in accordance with the entries in the books I took over, and in accordance with the statements of new women. Women used to come from the two Highland Regiments (in camp), but none from the Derbyshire. I never had any intimation from, or communication with, any of the Commanding Officers on the subject of the examination of women.

I had no heading for the Sadr Bazar. Women so seldom came from there that it was not worth while. When they did come, it was not at regular inspection time, but any morning: as they knew I was always at hospital at a fixed hour. They generally came because some one woman had taunted another with being diseased, and the latter

2950 had come to be examined and disprove the taunt. Five or six would come together to learn the result. I did not know why the Sadr women did not come regularly for examination. I found a system under which only regimental women came regularly; and I made no enquiries about it.

This system went on as I have described it till the issue of Quartermaster-General's No. 20 of 11th July 1892, which reached me early in August. From that date the examinations were discontinued. To this day if a woman comes and asks me to examine her I do so; but I then told the women who had come regularly to examination that I would not see them any more; and they never came again as a body. Once or twice since one group has come up. I remember the Artillery women in particular, and I

2960 think no other. If I found an outbreak of disease in a regiment, and could not fix upon any particular woman, I would tell the matron (who would probably send the sweeper or bhishti) to let the women of that regiment know that the soldiers were accusing them of being diseased, and that they had better come and see me: upon which they would all

KASULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

come up, and I would ask them if they would like to be examined. They invariably said "yes;" upon which I examined them, on that occasion only. This may have happened four times since August 1892. As a rule, I found them all free of disease.

At examination, the Hospital Assistant and the two matrons, and myself would be present. The speculum was always used, either by the head matron or by myself. The women were admitted one by one. I am quite clear that the women had no objection whatever on the score of modesty. Their whole demeanour showed this. I am perfectly convinced of this. On one occasion several women from the sadar bazar, nearly a dozen, had been identified by soldiers as having diseased them, and reported by me to the Cantonment Magistrate. They came up, accompanied by a large body of women from the sadar bazar, who all asked to be examined. There must have been at least 30 or 40; as it took me an hour and a half to examine them. After I had finished the examination, I went down stairs, and found them all waiting for me. They complained that there were a great many women living about the place, casual prostitutes, who were diseased; many of them foreigners. These women diseased the soldiers, and caused them, the proper Ambala prostitutes, to be blamed for it. They asked me if I could get permission to examine, not only them, but *all* prostitutes in Cantonments, once a week, as in old days. I told them I could not do it. This was after August 1892. Some three or four months later, precisely the same thing happened again. I am not sure why the women came on that occasion, but a considerable body came; and fearing that I had not understood them the first time, brought a woman who spoke English with them to explain. They have the strongest possible objection to being identified by a soldier as having diseased him; as they say it is not fair, since other women who are much worse diseased go scot-free.

As for working the rules of 1890, sometimes I got direct information from the men themselves, as I was in charge of the Royal Artillery Hospital; at others from the medical officers in charge of the troops, who gave the information on the sick report. I did not take action in every case, as I thought it was not wise to worry the women. I would wait till two or three reports pointed to one woman, or group of women, or until there was an outbreak of disease. When I did take action, I ordinarily reported to the Cantonment Magistrate. On one or two occasions, when I knew the women, I told my Hospital Assistant to tell them they had better come to me. Ordinarily, I reported the woman, either by name, if reported, or as living in such and such a house, as supposed to be diseased. The man would describe the house, and I would get the police to give me the number. I do not ever remember a man giving the number of a house. As a rule, the women then came for examination. They came of themselves, and were not brought by the police. In two or three cases, when the women were badly diseased, they left Cantonments rather than come to me. As a rule, I found that my information was correct, and that the woman was diseased. I never had any report of the same sort from native troops. I do not know why. I had weekly returns of venereal disease from British troops but not from native troops. If I had had such a report, I should have acted exactly as above described. I have never had a report against a respectable woman. I had once a report against a soldier's wife, that she was spreading venereal disease. I told her Colonel, and took no other action. I have had several reports against European and Eurasian women. I treated them in exactly the same way; but they invariably elect to leave Cantonments. There were three Japanese women, of whom I reported one. They all three came for examination. I found the one reported had leucorrhœa; and I told her that if she would promise not to practice until she was well I would take no further action. A day or two after I found she had given a soldier gonorrhœa; so I got the Inspector of Police to tell her that if she would not come to hospital, she would have to leave Cantonments; and they all three left the station. I have never taken action under the rules against men; because, until a man is under medical treatment, I have no means of knowing that he is diseased. A soldier who is affected, is bound to report himself sick; and if he does not, and is found out, he is punished regimentally.

I have in the general branch of my hospital, several hundred male cases of venereal disease—mostly out-patients, as I do not take them in unless they are very bad. Many of them are people from villages outside Cantonments. As for the rest, I have neither room for them, nor could I afford to feed them as in-patients. But, as a fact, it is not nearly so important to keep a man affected with venereal disease in hospital as it is a woman; as the latter is infinitely more likely to spread disease than the former, whose affection would ordinarily prevent him from indulging in sexual intercourse.

In the case of cholera or small-pox, the persons affected are removed at once to the infectious section; generally by the police, who find it out and let me know. I have had reports of small-pox made, in which case I had the person removed to hospital at once, and reported to the Magistrate afterwards. My action is more harsh and peremptory than in the case of venereal disease, because the matter is more urgent. There are very recent orders which in some degree limit our power of removing cholera patients from their houses; but I know of no other order limiting it or forbidding it. I have never known



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3030 a case of either typhus or scarlet fever in the bazar. I have known a case of diphtheria; but the child could be effectively isolated in her own house, and I treated her there.

I have never reported a woman as supposed to be diseased, on the ground of not attending periodical examinations.

I have had once or twice to report a woman for leaving hospital before cure. They were women who found that treatment would probably be protracted; and sooner than stay in hospital they would leave cantonments. Patients are always free to go out two and three times a week; and I generally arranged that they should do so at a time when soldiers were on duty, so that they could do no harm. Their friends might come and see them every day. If a woman wanted to leave the hospital before cure, I warned her  
3040 that she would have to leave cantonments. If she persisted, I reported her intention to the Cantonment Magistrate; and when I learned that the intimation had reached the police, I discharged her. I believe a chaprassi or somebody was sent to see that she really did leave cantonments. That would all be done within the day. If a woman had declined to wait, I should not have restrained her; but, as a fact, no one ever did so. I have never had to similarly report cases of other diseases, such as small-pox: as they have always consented to stay in hospital till the danger of infection was over. If they had not, I should probably have put a watch over them, and kept them there until I had communicated with the Magistrate; as the danger would have been so great as to justify almost any measures, since they might have infected the whole of cantonments. In the  
3050 case of venereal disease, no sort of restraint is attempted. I give no sort of certificate of health when a woman is discharged cured.

I have *never* received a woman into hospital on account of menses. If a woman came up for examination with her menses on, I simply did not examine her, and let her go. If a woman had menses while in hospital, she would not be examined, and therefore would not be discharged as cured, till they were over. I used always to stop all medical treatment during the continuance of the menses, which were accordingly noted in the Hospital Assistant's book for his guidance. [Answer No. 696 read to witness.] The statement is absolutely incorrect; but easily explainable. Native prostitutes often think that we take them into hospital when not really diseased; especially in the case of leucorrhœa, which they look upon as the remains of the menses, however bad it may be. I never do  
3060 pay any attention to slight leucorrhœa; but bad cases I take into hospital.

I had nothing whatever to do with the mahaldarnis. I believe there was one in some cases, and not in others; that is all I know about them. The duties of my two matrons were entirely confined to the hospital, not only in the venereal section, but in the general section also. In infectious cases I entertain a special temporary staff. No payment is made to any woman whose duties lie in whole or in part beyond the hospital.

I have a chaukidar on the infectious, and another on the general section: but none on the venereal section, as it is next door to the police station, and there is little to steal. I know of no special orders to the police to look after it. [Answer No. 1315 read to the witness]. When I came to Ambala, there was a policeman posted on the hospital gate.  
3070 There had been an attempt on the part of soldiers to break in, which had led to his being posted there. He was taken off several months ago by a new District Superintendent of Police, who said that he was unnecessary, as the police station was next door. His duty was simply to keep people out who had no business there. He had no concern with the patients, who were daily passing in and out, going to look after their property and houses, and visit their friends. I never had a case of a woman absconding from hospital.

I exercise no sort of special supervision or control over, nor make any special inspection of, the chaklas, different from what I do in other parts of the bazar. I am in charge of their sanitation, in common with that of the whole cantonments.

I have never taken any sort of measure to induce or compel a woman to come to  
3080 examination, unless she had been reported to me as diseased.

I remember a French woman coming to me to be examined, prior to settling down as a prostitute. She came of her own accord. She had been acquainted with the old system, under which this was necessary. I said I would examine her, though I did not see the good of it. I gave her no sort of certificate. That is the only case I can remember. I certainly have never had women sent to me for the purpose. Nor have I ever had a woman come for examination as a preliminary to leaving cantonments.

I have never under any circumstances given a woman any certificate, in any shape, of freedom from venereal disease, whether after examination or after discharge from hospital. The women who came to me for examination had no tickets of any sort, nor any  
3090 numbers that I know of.



KASAU LI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

KASAU LI, THE 21ST JUNE 1893.—COLONEL TROTTER, COMMANDING THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

I have never had a woman brought to me for examination by the police.

I have never had any complaints against my hospital staff for attempts at extortion; nor do I think that anything of this sort occurs. The matron in particular is very popular with the women. Unless the doctor's supervision was quite nominal, it would be impossible for the Hospital Assistant or matrons to prevent or delay, by improper treatment, the discharge of a patient from hospital.

I have no concern with, and have never been consulted about, the proportion of prostitutes to British troops in cantonments.

My impression of the prostitutes is, that the older and worse-favoured ones are often miserably poor; but that the younger and better looking are very well off. Of the eighteen or twenty who came for weekly examination, *all* were well off. Taking the whole body of prostitutes with whom I had some acquaintance, probably ten per cent. would be poor; not more. The rest were well fed and well clad, and some of them possessed of very valuable jewellery. They always brought their own bedding to hospital, and they used to supplement the two annas and six pies allowed them, and feed remarkably well. This is true of the large majority. Some cases have been so poor, that we have had to supplement the allowance by giving them extra food. The women always strike me as being perfectly happy and contented. I have only known of one woman having been beaten by a soldier. I believe they generally treat them exceedingly well. I know they constantly give them presents. One woman had nine teetotal medals (real silver) given her by different men.

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*By Maulvi Samiullah.*—I know of no order forbidding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars. The point would not fall within my province. I cannot say whether Quartermaster-General's No. 20, referred to above, contained such an order.

KASAU LI, 21ST JUNE 1893.

### Colonel Trotter, Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

When our regiment was in camp at Ambala in March 1892, there were some prostitutes living in three or four tents just outside the grass farm, on the opposite side of the public road to our camp, and several hundred yards from the road, quite outside our limits. There were certainly more than three or four women; perhaps half a dozen in each tent. They probably came there, attracted by the soldiers. They did not come under any arrangements made by me, or by any authority given by me. I frequently had petitions from women to be allowed to settle near my camp, on which I passed no orders, except to explain verbally that I had no jurisdiction outside my camp, and that my orders were strictly against their coming within my jurisdiction. Their settling there was in *no* way authoritative or arranged for. No arrangements were made for them to come there, nor any conditions made with any women about attending examination. I said they might go where they liked, so long as they did not come within my jurisdiction. We chose no site for them. There was no guard over their encampment. The Military Police patrolled the whole vicinity of the camp, and very probably patrolled that spot also; and would doubtless have interfered if there had been a disturbance; but they had no special orders about that spot. I know nothing whatever about any periodical examination of them by a medical officer. I never saw any record, or received any report of the results of such examination. No payment of any sort was made in connection with them from any sort of fund under my control. I believe the grass farm, in among the trees, was also frequented by prostitutes. Whether they too had tents, I cannot say. I should say it was a month or more after my arrival (on 2nd January) that I first noticed the tents. I think they disappeared before we marched from Ambala. I fancy they went away because our men did not go to them. I let it be known that if I found any of my men diseased by these women, I would endeavour to have them removed from the vicinity of the camp; and that I hoped they would attend hospital if ill, and would avail themselves of all medical assistance which they could obtain. This was a message I sent to the head woman (see below). But I made no condition that they should attend periodical examination. I did not know that such examinations existed, or I should certainly have made attendance at them a condition of being allowed to reside near the camp. [Answer 544 read to witness.] This is absolutely false. There was no guard there, and no tent. They could not appeal to the guard, who did not exist; and they never appealed to me about non-payment. As for the mahaldarni, there was a woman who wrote petitions to be allowed to bring women to accompany us on the march. She had certificates showing that she had once been a matron in a Lock Hospital. She was a respectable looking woman, and I understood that she was the head of the women. I believe that she had a book in which the names of the women were entered, but I do not think I ever saw it. It certainly was never brought me to see; there was nothing of

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## Statements and Notes.

KASALI, THE 21ST JUNE 1893.—COLONEL TROTTER, COMMANDING THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

that sort. I think I did hear some mention, that they would keep a book if they were allowed to live there.

When we marched to Dagshai, I saw women at some of our camps in the vicinity of the encamping ground. On one occasion I saw their tents near our camp, but in native territory. I do not know whether they accompanied us to Dagshai, but probably they did so; as I saw the head woman there, the only one of them I know by sight. [Answer 634 read to witness.] No sort of assistance was given them in the matter of carriage; and certainly no guard of any sort was put over them, or accompanied them. It is very possible that the Military Police would patrol near their quarters at night, if close to our camp, to keep order. On the petition which the head woman presented to be allowed to accompany us on the march, I simply passed an order that no women would be allowed within my jurisdiction. They came with us quite independently, and by no sort of authority or permission of mine. I know nothing of any medical examination of them while on the march.

By "my jurisdiction," I mean the actual limits of my camp. On the march, outside the encamping ground was always native territory; but even in Ambala, I had no power to prevent anybody from setting up a shop, or even a brothel, so long as it was outside my camp limits.

I do not think the women came by any arrangement with our bazar Kotwal. I certainly knew of no such arrangement; and I believe that the women took the initiative themselves.

I considered that it was far better that our men should restrict themselves to women to whom medical aid was available; and my position throughout has therefore been that, although I would do nothing to authorise the presence of such women in the vicinity of my camp, yet I would do nothing to prevent it, so long as they did not infringe standing orders by camping within my camp limits.

The women had certainly not accompanied us to Ambala; as we came by rail from Karachi. I think the head woman told me that they had come from Dagshai, hearing we should be going there.

On one occasion there had been a theft at Dagshai, and I had the whole bazar searched. In the house of one of one of the prostitutes there, they found two or three thousand rupees worth of jewellery.

**Note of an Inspection of the books and documents belonging to the Cantonment General Hospitals at Ambala and Meerut, which were impounded by the Government of India, and subsequently sent to the Commission for the purposes of the inquiry.**

The books belonging to Ambala are three in number, and are named—

- (i) "Attendance of Register of women of Voluntary Venereal Hospital";
- (ii) "Journal of Cantonment Hospital"; and
- (iii) "Army Hospital Book No. 10—Letter book of Voluntary Venereal Hospital."

The *Attendance Register* begins from 22nd July 1890. The two pages facing each other are used for the purposes of the register, and are headed "Attendance Register of women who volunteered for examination." Immediately below this heading, is the name of the regiment to which the women whose names are entered in the particular page presumably belong, or in whose bazar they reside.

The pages are ruled in parallel columns, beginning with the names of the women and followed by the heading, "Date of examination." This last is divided into two sub-columns, one headed "State," and the other "Initials"; the one for entering condition on examination, and the other for initials of Medical Officer. These are continued till the full breadth of both pages is occupied. In the sub-column "State," the usual entries are "fit," *i.e.*, healthy; "M" for menses; and "hospital," meaning that the woman to whose name this is opposite was diseased, and should remain in hospital. It is frequently noted in the sub-column that certain women have absconded, or are sick, or have left the bazar.

The register commences with the examination of eight women, on 22nd July 1890, under the heading "R.H.A."; and women under this heading are examined regularly every week till August 2nd 1892, when five women were examined.

## DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

On 22nd July 1890, six women were examined under the heading "7th Dragoon Guards"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 27th October 1891, when nine women were examined, after which there are no further entries under this heading.

On 29th July 1890, five women were examined under the heading "Infantry," without any regimental designation. The examinations were continued weekly till 2nd December 1890, after which no further entries. 3210

On the 11th November 1890, thirteen women were examined under the heading "Infantry (K. O. S. B.)," i.e., King's Own Scottish Borderers; and the examination was continued weekly till the 17th March 1891, when it is entered in next column, "Left Umballa."

On the 18th November 1890, seven women were examined under the heading "West Yorkshire Regiment"; and the examinations were continued weekly till the 4th March 1891, when it is noted in next column, "Left Umballa."

On the 9th December 1890, four women were examined under the heading "Infantry—The Queen's"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 3rd November 1891, after which they no longer appear in the register. 3220

On 12th January 1892, seven women were examined under the heading "18th Hussars"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 2nd August 1892, when no further entries appear. The names of women in the list under the above heading are different from those in 7th Dragoon Guards' list.

On the 26th January 1892, seven women were examined under heading "Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders," and continued weekly till 15th March 1892.

On 4th February 1892, ten women were examined under heading "Gordon Highlanders," and continued weekly till 8th March 1892.

The original women in these nine lists frequently changed, and their names were replaced by others. 3230

The women are not numbered or distinguished in any way except by names; and these lists appear to have been kept up simply for the information of the examining officer.

I would note that there is no list of women under the heading "Sadar Bazaar."

*The Journal* is a record of daily visits paid by the Medical Officer to the hospital, the results of weekly inspection of women, admission and discharge of women to and from hospital, and purchase of necessaries for hospital use, &c.

On 22nd December 1891, it is specially noted that a few women from the Sadar Bazaar attended for examination. The attendance of women for examination during February and March 1892 are noted, and are referred to by the witnesses in the evidence given before the Committee at home. That attendance was, on 2nd February, 21 women; 10th February, 30 women; 16th February, number not given; 23rd February, 27 women; 1st March, 28 women; 8th March, 32 women; 15th March, number not given. These numbers practically correspond with those shown to have been examined by the register. There is no later record of examinations in the Journals. 3240

*The Letter-book.*—The correspondence begins with letter No. 1, dated 1st February 1889. The first letter with regard to prostitutes is dated 16th July 1890, from the Medical Officer (an Apothecary) in charge of the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, to the Cantonment Magistrate, in which he reports that a Miss McGraw, living in the Sadar Bazaar, is plying her trade as a prostitute; and that, to the best of his belief, she is suffering from syphilis; and that her detention in hospital or removal from the bazaar is necessary to prevent the spread of venereal disease among the troops. On the 1st July he sends a medical certificate to the Cantonment Magistrate, to the effect that Miss McGraw is suffering from syphilis, and reiterates his previous recommendation. On 22nd July 1890, he reports to the Officer Commanding Royal Horse Artillery that he had examined four women, whose names are noted, and that one of them was diseased. On 9th August 1890, he writes to the Senior Medical Officer that he examined a woman said to have infected a Gunner, but that she was clean. He also states that the matron of the Royal Horse Artillery bazaar had informed him that the Gunner had another woman in his keeping; and she, on being examined, was found to be diseased, and was admitted into hospital. 3250

On 10th August 1890, he suggests to the Cantonment Magistrate that all prostitutes in the Sadar Bazaar should be sent for examination; and on 14th August, in reply to a memorandum from the Cantonment Magistrate on the subject, he gives the following information:— 3260



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### DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

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(1) Number of prostitutes in the Sadar Bazaar—

Native chakla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
European chakla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
(2) Number of prostitutes examined	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(3) Number of prostitutes diseased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(4) Number of prostitutes sent to hospital	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

Several letters follow, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, reporting results of  
3270 examination of certain women who were reported by soldiers to have diseased them.

On 6th November 1890, he writes letters to the Quartermasters of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and West Yorkshire Regiment, requesting that their respective mahaldarnis may be directed to bring their women to hospital every Tuesday for examination.

On 4th December 1890, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute in hospital with gonorrhœa declines to remain any longer in hospital, and that she wishes to leave Cantonments.

On 12th December 1890, the Medical Officer reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute residing in the Sadar Bazaar chakla is reported to be suffering from venereal disease.

3280 On 20th January 1891, he writes a memorandum to the Cantonment Magistrate marked "urgent," that a prostitute refuses to remain in hospital, although suffering from disease. The woman evidently left the hospital at once; as the Medical Officer reports the next day to the Cantonment Magistrate that she had returned, and that his first memorandum should be cancelled.

On 18th March 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that four women, named, have left the Cantonment Hospital without leave; and that they should be made to return for proper treatment, or be removed from Cantonments.

On 29th September 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that four women, named, did not come for examination that morning.

3290 A memorandum to the Cantonment Magistrate, without date, that a Gunner had reported that a European woman in the Sadar Bazaar had given him venereal disease; and on 7th October 1891, that this woman had not attended for examination.

On 24th November 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that two women in the 2nd Queen's Bazaar had not presented themselves for examination for two weeks.

On 1st December 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute under treatment in hospital for gonorrhœa refuses further treatment, and wishes to leave the hospital; and requests that he would arrange for her doing so.

3300 On 21st December 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that seven women, named, living in the Sadar Bazaar are, in his opinion, diseased; and requests that they be directed to attend hospital for examination. They are evidently those referred to in the Journal (Hand-book) who appeared for examination.

Then follow\* six letters, four addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, and two to the Senior Medical Officer, requesting that certain soldiers affected with venereal should be directed to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease.

\* These are the letters referred to in Answers 702 to 705.

On 10th February 1892, he informs the Cantonment Magistrate that two women in the Cantonment General Hospital, suffering from venereal disease, wish to leave Cantonments.

3310 On 7th February 1892 (date apparently wrong), he writes to the Medical Officer, Station Hospital, asking for the name and residence of a European woman from whom a Gunner is said to have contracted venereal disease.

On 9th March 1892, he informs the Cantonment Magistrate that a patient in hospital, Section II., wishes to leave Cantonments; and asks him kindly to see that she does leave.

On 10th March 1892, he writes to the same that six women, named, who were ordered to attend inspection, did not do so; but that of five other women who attended, four were diseased.

The correspondence closes with this letter.

## DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

The books and documents received belonging to Meerut were—

- (i) "Admission and Discharge book for in and out-patients of the Cantonment Hospital." 3320
- (ii) "Diary and Visitors' book;" and
- (iii) Lists of prostitutes on loose sheets of paper.

The register of in-patients commences from 1st November 1884, and is headed "Register of public prostitutes of the Meerut Lock Hospital." The pages are divided into columns headed—

Month and date of admission—

Number of register—

Name—

Caste—

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Residence—

Disease, &c.—

This continues up to 1889; when, instead of entering the registered number of the prostitute in the column under that heading, the bazaar in which the patient resides is noted, and a registered number no longer appears. The first admission in 1889 was on 18th July; and as the last admission in 1888 was on the 28th August, the hospital appears to have been closed for eleven months.

The register for 1890 is the same as that for 1889. The column for the registered number of the prostitutes continues, but is no longer used in any way. It remains blank, though the heading continues.

The register for 1891 is headed "Register of Admissions and Discharges in the Cantonment Hospital." Columns the same as before; that for registered number being continued, but blank as regards heading and entries. These books are ruled by the Hospital Assistants, and the continuation of a column no longer required shows the persistency with which they adhere to custom.

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The columns in the registers for 1892 and 1893 are headed:—"Number" (which is serial), "Bazaar," "Name," "Disease," &c.

In the former year there were 172 admissions; all for venereal or diseases likely to produce inflammation in the male, except seven cases. The treatment of out-door patients commenced on 12th August 1892; and during the remainder of the year 263 patients were treated for general diseases, and 9 for venereal.

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In 1893, up to 23rd May, 55 in-patients were treated, all for venereal, &c.; and 286 out-patients, 26 of whom attended for venereal disease.

There was no patient admitted for menstruation in any of the registers for in-patients.

*The Diary and Visitors' book.*—This is apparently not the one referred to in Answer No. 1182, but that in Answer No. 1189. It is really not a Visitors' book; but merely a record of visits paid by the Medical Officer to the hospital; the incidents which occurred during these visits, such as examination of women; the results of these; discharges and admissions; and reports made to the Cantonment Magistrate regarding women supposed to be diseased. It commences on 20th December 1890.

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On the 19th October 1891, the Medical Officer notes that he wrote to the District Superintendent of Police concerning two European women going in a cab from the city to Cantonments for prostitution; and on the 22nd of the same month, he states that a policeman was put on to look after the European women mentioned above. These are probably the women referred to in Answer No. 1183.

On the 6th November 1891, he writes that a woman named Allah Rakhi left the hospital while suffering from a contagious disease, and was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate and Station Staff Officer under paragraph 4 of Military Department No. 167 (No. 617?) "Judicial;" and on the 11th January 1892, he writes that the Native Doctor was sent to the Cantonment Magistrate with evidence regarding Allah Rakhi. This is the woman referred to in Answer No. 1192.

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On 31st December 1891, he notes that "one woman was sent by police; no disease found." This is the case referred to in Answer No. 1195.

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### DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

On 23rd January 1892, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate a Mrs. McLeod "as being reasonably suspected of having a contagious disease."

On 9th February 1892, he notes that a European woman was admitted into hospital; and on reference to the register of the hospital, she is found to be a Mrs. Smith with secondary syphilis, who remained under treatment for 86 days.

On 22nd February 1892, he reported a Mrs. Voyle as being reasonably suspected of 3380 having a contagious disease.

On 3rd March 1892, he notes that he "recommended a medical examination of the women who accompanied the West York to Chakrata."

On the following day, he notes that several women were absent from examination, and gave orders for them to be present next day. On 10th May 1892, he allowed one woman to leave the hospital, as she wished to go to Ludhiana.

On 14th June 1892, he stopped the leave of all patients in hospital for a period of one week, as a patient who had been granted the indulgence returned in a drunken condition.

On the 20th of the same month, he notes that last week's returns—those from Military Hospitals—show 21 admissions for venereal; and he says the disease cannot 3390 have been contracted from recognised prostitutes, as they are all healthy. On the same day, he allowed a patient to leave hospital, as she wished to go to her home.

On the 9th November 1892, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to go to her home; and another on the 20th for the same reason.

On the 12th December 1892, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to live in the city.

On the 15th December 1892, he admitted a woman into hospital from the city, who was badly diseased.

On 21st March 1893, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to go to Delhi.

On 29th April 1893, a case of small-pox is reported, and removed to huts outside 3400 Cantonments.

On 15th May 1893, a woman was allowed to leave hospital, to go to Allahabad.

*Lists of prostitutes.*—These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows :

Number (these are serial) ;

Name ;

Date (being that of examination).

3410 The numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazaar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are—

Royal Artillery, five women ;

5th Lancers, three women ;

Infantry, thirty-four women ;

Sadar Bazaar, sixty-five women.

3420 The "Infantry" referred to means the "Lal Kurti" bazaar in the evidence we submit; and is situated outside the regimental bazaar. Under Answer No. 1197, the numbers in the two former bazaars are given as nine and five, respectively. The numbers examined were never more than those stated above; and on the 29th August 1892, the date of the last examination, the numbers of the two first-mentioned corps were three and two, respectively. In February 1892, the numbers examined were—

Royal Artillery, five ;

5th Lancers, two ;

Lal Kurti, thirty-two ;

Sadar Bazaar, fifty-eight.



DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND  
MEERUT—NOTE BY CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

The Medical Officer's remarks in pencil under each date of examination are—

- (1) "Healthy."
- (2) "R. H." remained in hospital; *i.e.*, patient was already in hospital at time 3430  
of examination. These letters appear continued from week to week, until  
patient is cured.
- (3) "Menses."
- (4) "Hospital;" *i.e.*, she is to remain in hospital; coming in from that date.

The notes in the dairy show that the "menses" cases were examined after the  
cessation of the menses, and that they were not detained in hospital.

On the sheets beginning with date of examination, 7th September 1892, the women  
from Royal Artillery and 5th Lancers no longer appear. The women only came from  
the Sadar Bazaar (37) and Infantry or Lal Kurti (34).

The date of the last examination is 24th April 1893, when 41 women from the Sadar 3440  
Bazaar and 35 from the Lal Kurti Bazaar were examined.

Since writing the above, three letter books have been received from Cantonment  
General Hospital, Meerut, the last letter dated 1st December 1890; but the statements  
made under Answers 718 and 1183, referring to severe measures to be taken by the  
Cantonment Magistrate, cannot be found in these books; and there is no reference what-  
ever to any such measures.

**Note by the Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala**, being facts extracted from  
his general register of houses and their owners and occupiers.

#### Queries.

- (a) Number of prostitutes occupying  
regimental chaklas just before the recent  
order was issued to turn out the prostitutes?
- (b) Total number of houses in chakla?  
Also the inhabitants of chaklas on January  
1890, December 1891, March 1893?

#### Answers.

- (a) Seven in Royal Horse Artillery  
bazaar chakla, 17 in British Cavalry bazaar, 3450  
and 5 in British Infantry bazaar.

- (b) Seven houses in Royal Horse Artil-  
lery bazaar chakla, 20 in British Cavalry  
bazaar, and 14 houses in British Infantry  
bazaar.

None of the houses in Royal Horse Artil-  
lery bazaar chakla were occupied in January  
1890 and December 1891. In March 1893,  
there were six prostitutes living inside the  
chakla. This chakla was sold by auction in  
December 1890, and remained empty till  
22nd May 1892, when six prostitutes hired  
houses in it. 3460

In the British Cavalry bazaar chakla,  
there were about 50 persons (ordinary bazaar  
people, such as gariwallas, cooks, &c.) in  
January 1890, December 1891, and March  
1893, living in 20 houses. The chakla in  
British Cavalry bazaar was cleared of prosti-  
tutes in August 1888. It remained empty up  
to 30th September 1888, when the houses  
therein were let out on hire to ordinary indi-  
viduals. From 1st October 1890 up to date, 3470  
the name of no prostitute appears in the  
Cantonment registers as inhabiting the  
chakla in this bazaar. The prostitutes who  
were turned out of this bazaar about three  
weeks ago did not live in this chakla, but  
in a house belonging to Rama Nand, which  
is near, but quite separate from the chakla.

In British Infantry bazaar chakla, there  
were living about 40 persons in 14 houses  
during January 1890, December 1891, March  
1893. None of these were prostitutes. 3480

- (c) How many prostitutes lived in the  
bazaar outside the chaklas on all above  
dates?

(c) *Royal Horse Artillery Bazaar* outside  
the chakla—

January 1890.	December 1891.	March 1893.
7	7	None.

NOTE BY THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

*Cantonment Magistrate.*

# Statements and Notes.

NOTE BY THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

## SCHEDULE B.

REFERRED TO IN RULE 14.

*Ticket of registered prostitute in Cantonment of Ambala.*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Caste \_\_\_\_\_

Registered number \_\_\_\_\_

Place of residence in cantonment \_\_\_\_\_

Date of registry \_\_\_\_\_

Personal appearance \_\_\_\_\_

Year and months.	DATE OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION AND SIGNATURE OF MEDICAL OFFICER.				*REMARKS.
	Date of inspection in first half of month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	Date of inspection in second half of month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	
January - - -					This form was abolished in 1888.
February - - -					
March - - -					
April - - -					
May - - -					
June - - -					
July - - -					
August - - -					
September - - -					
October - - -					
November - - -					
December - - -					

3510

3520

\* In this column will be recorded all cases in which disease may be detected, dates of admission into or discharge from hospital, penalties incurred, and the cause thereof, &c., &c.

(signed) T. H. BAIRNSFATHER, *Captain,*

*Cantonment Magistrate.*

The 8th June 1893



# Statements and Notes.

## FORM OF NOTICE—LUCKNOW CANTONMENTS.

**Form of notice** to all officers and gentlemen not in military employ who wish to occupy bungalows in the **Lucknow Cantonments.**

FROM

3530 THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE,

*Lucknow.*

TO

SIR,

I have the honour to forward copy of a notice specifying the condition of your residence in the Cantonment, and to request the favour of your signing and returning by bearer the receipt hereto attached.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

*Cantonment Magistrate.*

The Officer Commanding sanctions

Received copy of a notice specifying the conditions under which I am permitted to reside in the Cantonment.

3540 residing in the cantonment of Lucknow, subject to the Military Regulations regarding the tenancy of houses in Cantonments, and on condition of his compliance with all other rules and regulations in force in the Cantonment.

Under these regulations the premises must be maintained in a proper sanitary state, and must be promptly vacated, if required for the use of an officer posted to the station on duty connected with the troops.

A copy of this notice will be furnished by the Cantonment Magistrate to every resident at the Cantonment—other than officers of the garrison, in order that all such residents may thoroughly understand the conditions under which they are permitted to live in the Cantonments.

By order of the Officer Commanding at Lucknow.

*Cantonment Magistrate.*

## ROUGH NOTE ON CANTONMENT LAW.

## Rough Note on Cantonment Law.

The following rough note represents the results of a very cursory examination of the matter, but is probably correct in the main. It deals with three powers only, viz.:—

- (i) The regulation of trades and occupations.
- (ii) The expulsion of persons from Cantonments.
- (iii) The control over buildings in Cantonments.

2. Under Section 26 of the Cantonment Act of 1889, the Governor General in Council is empowered to make rules for—

- (i) The construction and maintenance of buildings to the satisfaction of the Cantonment authorities (Clause 15). 3560
- (ii) The regulation of the parts of a Cantonment in which persons practising any calling may be required to reside for the purpose of such practice, and the conditions to be observed by such persons (Clause 20).
- (iii) The prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disease within a Cantonment (Clause 21).
- (iv) The removal and exclusion from a Cantonment, of any person whom the Commanding Officer deems it expedient to remove or exclude, without assigning any reason.

3. The only clause of this Section under which rules have yet been published is Clause 21; and these rules give power to expel and exclude from Cantonments (under penalty of fine and imprisonment), any person who, being supposed by a Medical Officer to suffer from any infectious or contagious disorder, refuses to go to hospital, or who, having gone, leaves hospital before being discharged as cured. 3570

4. The Cantonment Regulations now in force (save in so far as superseded by the rules just mentioned) were framed under Act XXII. of 1864; and have been continued by perpetuating Clauses in Acts III. of 1880 and XIII. of 1889.

5. The Acts of 1864 and 1880 provide for the regulation of “dangerous and offensive trades and occupations” only; and the rules give power to regulate only certain specified occupations. But residence is regulated under the authority referred to in paragraph 7 below. 3580

6. Under the rules, permission to build or to alter buildings is required; that is to say, previous notice must be given, all sanitary rules on the subject must be observed, and the erection may be forbidden on certain grounds of public health and convenience.

7. There appears to be no general power under the Acts of 1864 and 1880, or under the rules in force under those Acts, to expel persons from Cantonments. But the power is undoubtedly exercised everywhere, though on rare occasions. And its exercise appears to be based upon paragraphs 53 to 55, Section 17 of the Bengal Army Regulations, 1880, which provide for voluntary registration of residents, and then confine them to fixed residences (Meerut). Such a register, with a column for “Whether wishing to be registered under paragraph 2066\* of the Bengal Army Regulations” existed in the office of the Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut, but had not been maintained since 1886. 3590

Moreover, paragraphs 2049—2056 of Army Regulations of India, Vol. II., Part II., give similar powers of regulation, at any rate by implication (Lucknow).

8. Rules have been drafted, though not yet published, under the enabling clauses of the Act of 1889. Under them, only specified occupations are subject to regulation; but the list is very comprehensive, and may be added to by the Commander-in-Chief with the concurrence of the Local Government. Any occupation so followed as to constitute a nuisance may be controlled at once. Power to regulate the erection and re-erection of buildings is similar in nature to that conferred by the old rules, though more comprehensive. Absolute power is given to expel any person whatever from Cantonments, without reason given. 3600

KASAUJI ;

DENZIL IBBETSON.

The 17th June 1893. }

\* NOTE.—Apparently referring to some old edition which we have not been able to trace.

## Statements and Notes.

## STATISTICAL RETURNS.

FORM A.—Showing the ordinary strength of the garrisons.

Details.	AMBALA.			MEERUT.			LUCKNOW.		
	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.
Hot weather strength -	1,224	1,133	2,357	1,680	1,448	3,128	2,400	2,000	4,400
Cold weather strength -	3,581	1,713	5,294	2,853	1,448	4,301	2,960(a) 4,820(b)	2,500(a) 3,100(b)	5,460(a) 7,920(b)

NOTES (a).—Ordinary strength if troops are not concentrated for Manœuvres.

(b).—Ordinary strength if troops are concentrated for Manœuvres, as in 1891-92 and in 1892-93.

FORM B.—Showing distribution of the population of Cantonments according to the Census of 1891.

Cantonment.	Details of Bazaars.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Europeans and Eurasians.	Natives.
AMBALA.	Royal Artillery Bazaar - - - - -	1,628	1,334	2,962	—	2,962
	British Cavalry do. - - - - -	1,683	1,391	3,074	—	3,074
	Do. Infantry do. - - - - -	1,080	815	1,895	—	1,895
	Native Cavalry do. - - - - -	347	281	628	—	628
	Do. Infantry do. - - - - -	118	54	172	—	172
	Sadar Bazaar - - - - -	12,590	10,022	22,612	203	22,409
	Total population of Cantonments - - -	31,788	19,332	51,020	5,027	45,993
MEERUT.	Royal Artillery Bazaar - - - - -	771	637	1,408	—	1,408
	British Cavalry do. - - - - -	2,387	2,191	4,578	1	4,577
	Do. Infantry do. within regimental limits - - -	722	605	1,327	—	1,327
	Do. do. do. outside do. - - - - -	4,267	3,971	8,238	41	8,197
	Native Cavalry do. - - - - -	242	172	414	—	414
	Do. Infantry do. - - - - -	84	74	158	—	158
	Sadar Bazaar - - - - -	7,577	6,257	13,834	20	13,814
	Total population of Cantonments - - -	27,569	18,184	45,753	3,988	41,765
LUCKNOW.	Royal Artillery Bazaar - - - - -	224	173	397	—	397
	British Cavalry do. - - - - -	254	205	459	—	459
	Right British Infantry Bazaar - - - - -	203	125	328	—	328
	Left do. do. do. - - - - -	178	140	318	—	318
	Native Cavalry do. - - - - -	60	29	89	—	89
	North Native Infantry do. - - - - -	100	47	147	—	147
	South do. do. do. - - - - -	215	161	376	—	376
	Sadar Bazaar - - - - -	2,674	2,364	5,038	32	5,006
	Total population of Cantonments - - -	15,891	7,532	23,423	2,692	20,831

NOTE.—The population of the bazaars only are entered, not the whole population living in regimental limits. Thus the "total population" is greater than the sum of the bazaar populations.



## STATISTICAL RETURNS.

FORM C.—*Showing the approximate number of public prostitutes living in different parts of Cantonments, during the hot and cold seasons (omitting women in standing Camps, if any).*

Parts of Cantonments.	AMBALA.		MEERUT.		LUCKNOW.	
	Cold weather.	Hot weather.	Cold weather.	Hot weather.	Cold weather.	Hot weather.
Regimental limits of Royal Artillery - - -	5	—	—	—	—	—
"    "    British Cavalry - - -	8	—	—	—	—	—
"    "    "    Infantry - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—
"    "    Native Cavalry - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—
"    "    "    Infantry - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sadar Bazar - - - - -	95	78	50	40	60 to 70	60 to 70
Other parts - - - - -	4	4	45*	34	—	—
Total Number in Cantonments -	112	82	95	74	60 to 70	60 to 70

NOTE.—In the case of the Ambala Cantonments, the cold weather figures are those for February 1892; and the hot weather figures, for May 1892.

\* In the Lal Kurti Bazar.

FORM D.—*Showing action taken by Cantonment Magistrates during the year 1892, under clauses 4 and 5, General Orders, No. 617 of 4th July 1890.*

Nature of Action taken.		AMBALA.		MEERUT.		LUCKNOW.	
		NUMBER OF PERSONS.		NUMBER OF PERSONS.		NUMBER OF PERSONS.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Persons reported by Medical Officer as supposed to be diseased, and warned to attend hospital.		4	37	—	19	—	—
Persons reported by Medical Officer and ordered to leave Cantonments.	i. For not attending hospital.	—	—	—	18*	—	—
	ii. For leaving hospital before cure.	—	1†	—	1	1	1
Persons punished under clause 5, for remaining in or re-entering Cantonments without permission.		1	1	—	—	—	—

\* NOTE.—This means that the order to attend hospital or leave Cantonments was communicated at one and the same time.

† NOTE.—This woman, when in hospital, requested and received permission to leave Cantonments.

FORM E.—*Showing number of persons reported by the Medical Officer, to the Cantonment Magistrate, during the year 1892, under clause 4, General Orders, No. 617 of 4th July 1890.*

Class of Disease.		AMBALA.				MEERUT.				LUCKNOW.			
		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Infectious Diseases.		4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (a)	—
Contagious non-infectious diseases.	Veneral -	—	37	—	1	—	18	—	1	—	—	—	1 (b)
	Others -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTE.—(a). The case was cholera, the man leaving hospital after two days.

(b). The case was that of a woman suffering from secondary syphilis.

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Statements and Notes.

STATISTICAL RETURNS.

FORM F.—*Showing the number of patients treated in Cantonment General Hospitals during the year 1892.*

Branch of Hospital.	Class of Disease.	AMBALA.						MEERUT.						LUCKNOW.					
		IN-PATIENTS.			OUT-PATIENTS.			IN-PATIENTS.			OUT-PATIENTS.			IN-PATIENTS.			OUT-PATIENTS.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Children.
Main Hospital	Infectious - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Contagious but not Venereal - - - - -	35	4	1	40	319	23	10	337	-	-	-	-	38	5	-	43	212	122
	Others - - - - -	4	1	-	6	136	11	6	153	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	5	20	4
	Menses only (if any) - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other diseases - - - - -	494	64	22	580	9,040	1,365	1,560	11,755	-	-	-	-	454	75	16	545	8,400	1,839
Infectious branch	Infectious - - - - -	9	-	3	12	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Contagious but not Venereal - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Others - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Menses only (if any) - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other diseases - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Contagious branch (Leak Hospital).	Infectious - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Contagious but not Venereal - - - - -	-	45	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	10	3	13	-	142	-	142	-	-
	Others - - - - -	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Menses only (if any) - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Other diseases - - - - -	29	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	33	4	37	74	-	-	-	-	-	-

## GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALLA.

*Note.*—The following reports by the General Officers Commanding at Amala, Meerut, and Lucknow, reached the Commission after its report had been signed. They call for no comment, and are printed for information.

## AMBALLA.

From BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. T. PRETYMAN, Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 30-C—"Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, the 27th June 1893).

*Reference*—Quartermaster-General's telegram No. 2678-B. of 1893.

As directed in your telegram No. 2678-B., dated 9th June 1893, I have the honour to report that I have carefully perused the circulars and letters specified therein, and, after consultation with the Officers Commanding Corps and Stations concerned, beg to submit the statement called for as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations relating to the Sirhind District which are contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded with your Nos. 2716-B., and 2768-B., dated 10th and 13th June 1893, respectively. 3610

2. I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulation contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram now under reply, were duly observed.

3. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the Officers Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival in Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892. 3620

4. I am unable to say how this oversight arose: it was probably due to the constant changing of Staff Officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject—being marked 'strictly confidential'—were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

5. Regiments and Corps, who were already in the command, or, indeed, in India, when the earlier orders of 1888 and 1890 (Quartermaster-General's circulars and demi-official letters addressed to General Officers Commanding by name) had been circulated for information, were of course aware of the new order of things necessitated by the Resolution of the House of Commons: but regiments since landed in the country required to be informed of all that had gone on previously. 3630

6. In the case of the two Highland Battalions, it is to be regretted that their Commanding Officers were not shown the back orders.

7. It is true that Colonel Trotter, whose battalion arrived in Umballa in December 1891, had some idea of the recent legislation, and no doubt learnt from other Commanding Officers in Umballa that the old arrangements for registered prostitutes, and their compulsory examination, had been forbidden; but Colonel Gildea, who arrived in India a month later, states that he had no information on the subject, and had no reason to believe that any change had taken place since he last served in India in the old 72nd Highlanders.

8. I beg to enclose the replies these officers have made to the various allegations of the American Missionaries. 3640

9. My attention was drawn to the subject by a demi-official letter from the Quartermaster-General, dated 21st March 1892, by which time the Highland Battalions had left Umballa for their respective hill stations.

10. I at once sent this round to the Officers Commanding at Subathu and Dagshai, as well as to all other hill stations in my command. Their attention was directed to the proper working of the Cantonment Act, and to the various orders which had emanated from head-quarters on the subject, and I have the word of the Officers Commanding the two Highland Battalions that, from the time of the receipt of the above-mentioned communication, these orders have been strictly observed, not only at their hill stations, but also during the cold weather, when their battalions were again encamped in Umballa. 3650

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea informs me that when the prostitutes who had attached themselves to his regiment were informed that they must in future shift entirely for themselves, they petitioned him repeatedly to be allowed to live under regimental protection and under arrangements such as, unfortunately, had been allowed at Umballa.

12. Colonel Trotter also informs me that women came to his battalion on its arrival at Umballa from England, and begged to be allowed to attach themselves to it.

13. No doubt Colonel Gildea, being ignorant of recent legislation and orders, acted in perfect good faith in allowing women to encamp near his bazaar, and in making it a condition that they would allow themselves to be examined periodically: and I am quite sure that, had he been aware of the orders on the subject, they would have been strictly carried out. 3660



## Statements and Notes.

## GENERALS REPORT—AMBALA.

14. I would here remark that the very secrecy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view; and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to Officers Commanding Corps, as well as to Cantonment authorities generally.

15. As regards the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded to me with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated the 10th and 13th June 1893, I have the honour to say that I have dealt with these allegations *seriatim*; and with this object, I have attached statements containing extracts of the evidence that concerns the district under my command, with remarks thereon as follows:—

Statement (A).—Allegations relating to the 2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with replies in original, by the Officer Commanding that Battalion.

Statement (B).—Allegations relating to the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, with reply attached, in letter form from the Officer Commanding the Battalion.

Statement (C).—Allegations relating to the management of the Umballa Cantonment General Hospital, with my remarks.

16. These three statements deal quite fully with the whole of the allegations made.

It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A), that although a certain amount of truth exists in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it, tends to detract from its value.

17. I return the printed Minutes of Evidence, as requested.

## STATEMENT (A).

## 2ND BATTALION, ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

*Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London, April 1893.*

348. Did you find one chakla at the Camp of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders? We did.

*Correct.* These women were told that I would not interfere with them, provided—

349. Did that consist of tents? Yes: that was the first we visited.

(a) they kept outside the limits over which I had any jurisdiction,  
(b) that I did not find the men contracting venereal from them,  
(c) that decency and order were observed,  
(d) that they availed themselves of any medical aid attainable.

350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here?

She told us to what regiment they belonged.

351-2. Did she tell you from whom she hired the tents?

I know nothing of this, nor can I say how many tents there were.

I do not remember from whom. I think it was a native merchant.

353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there?

I cannot say; I had hoped there were more.

She said that there were 11.

354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there?

This is false, and it is improbable any such statement was made. The regimental police who patrolled the bazaar to preserve order and prevent squabbles between men and bunniah had orders to prevent disturbances in the women's camp. The police are frequently visited by the Provost Sergeant, and on pay nights are increased in numbers.

3710 She and the girls corroborated each other, that there was a guard there till midnight, and that the guard was relieved every six hours.

360. How far from the military tents were these chaklas?

They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these women, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

The Provost Sergeant thinks about 300 yards from the camp and about 200 yards from the bazaar. I cannot, personally, speak with certainty; but he should know. The public road ran between my camp and the others.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March 1892, and saw some of the prostitutes?

Yes: of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said that if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said, was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla.

They started to call him, but we would not let them because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them.

The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel.

634. At Umballa at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla, the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about 15th March (1892) to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend.

They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them.

They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

1351. When we visited the tents with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us and asked if we wished to see it.

It was the registration of the girls in charge of the mahaldarni of the chakla, entries of dates of their examination, &c.

Though unaware when I came to India in 1892 of the provisions of the Cantonment Act, I do not consider that there has been anything approaching to "Licensed prostitution" as regards my regiment. Consideration of decency and, if possible, the health and the welfare of the men, prompt me always to encourage them to devote their attentions to women who can, if they wish it, obtain medical aid, instead of having promiscuous intercourse with diseased villagers and city prostitutes. Even those whose acts tend to the spread of disease and the moral and physical ruin of the soldier, can hardly compare such a system, if system it can be called, to that of the repealed C. D. Act; and the *suggestio falsi* which runs through a great part of their evidence throws discredit on the rest.

I cannot say what complaints were made to the mahaldarni: the remainder of the statement is absolutely false, as also that regarding the tent.

3730

Entirely without foundation; and it is improbable the mahaldarni made any such statement, as she would have known that any such action on her part might have led to my putting her camp out of bounds.

3740

Natives suffering from any complaint are treated in the bazaar hospital. I cannot say what "care" was bestowed on them by the soldiers, but it must have been infinitesimal. Their society was so unobtrusive on the march, that I was only once or twice made aware of their existence; but I believe they followed as far as Kalka. My orders on the march and in the station were identical, as regards their exclusion from my camp. I imagine where they must have located themselves was Native territory.

3760

This is false, if intended to convey the idea that the regiment or any regimental authority provided transport. I cannot say what "care" was bestowed on them by the soldiers, but it must have been infinitesimal. Their society was so unobtrusive on the march, that I was only once or twice made aware of their existence; but I believe they followed as far as Kalka. My orders on the march and in the station were identical, as regards their exclusion from my camp. I imagine where they must have located themselves was Native territory.

3750

I am unaware of what books the mahaldarni may have had in her possession; she was not in the habit of submitting them to me.

3770

DAGSHAI;

24th June 1893.

P. D. TROTTER, Colonel,

Commanding 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. 3780

# Statements and Notes.

GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

## STATEMENT (B).

### 1ST BATTALION GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

*Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell before a Commission in London, April 1893.*

We visited 3 "chaklas" at Umballa. There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazaar.

355. What did you see at the Camp of the Gordon Highlanders?

3790 There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were enclosed with native matting.

357. How many tents were there?

There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?

We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

360. At what part of cantonments were these chaklas; how far from the military tents?

3800 They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with the women.

361. While you were at the chakla at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?

3810 Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL S. L. GILDEA, Officer Commanding 1st Gordon Highlanders to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Sirhind District,—(dated Simla, the 24th June 1893).

With reference to the statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell regarding the battalion under my command, I have the honour to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Sirhind District.

3820 In reply to paragraph 1 of statement, there was one enclosure containing prostitutes near my camp with tents inside. I do not know any thing of any other enclosure, or of a "chakla" in the Sudder Bazaar.

No. 355.—There were tents enclosed with matting, for the sake of privacy.

No. 357.—As far as I can remember the number of tents is correct; each woman had a tent to herself.

No. 358.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

No. 360.—The enclosure was about 100 yards from the rear guard of my camp.

No. 361.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

My explanation for having this enclosure near my camp is as follows:—

3830 I arrived in Umballa from Ceylon with my battalion on 24th January 1892, and moved into a standing camp there. I was not informed that the practice of keeping women attached to regiments was done away with. So little was I aware that I was acting against any orders issued on the subject, that I placed my women's enclosure within 100 yards of my rear guard, in open ground, as forming with my regimental bazaar part of my standing camp.



## GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

My first intimation that it was against the regulations to keep women for the use of soldiers in India was in a demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, received by me on 30th March 1892. I immediately on receipt of this dismissed the women attached to my battalion, and have not since in any way recognised them.

## STATEMENT (C).

*Extracts from the printed Minutes of Evidence given by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London in April 1893.*

3840

Questions 176—178 and 181—183.

At Umballa we saw the women in different chaklas in the same cantonment.

Correct so far as the replies in statements (A) and (B) give information.

They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment.

Incorrectly stated, as the implication is that women were officially allotted to corps, which was not the case.

There seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazaar chakla.

See Statements (A) and (B).

Questions 435—439 and 701—705.

At Umballa we saw in the correspondence book certain letters from the Surgeon in charge (of the Lock Hospital). They were copies of letters to the Cantonment Magistrate, and they were dated.

This is correct, and further appears to 3850 have been quite correct procedure on the part of the medical officer, acting according to the powers given him by the Cantonment Act of 1889 and subsequent orders.

I think that the letters referred to were all included between January and February 1892, declaring that certain soldiers had reported themselves to be diseased, and certain women had been indicated in those letters.

The mere wording of the letters appears in this case to be a minor point. The difference between a request to have the women warned that they must either submit to treatment or expulsion from cantonment, and a request to have certain women, believed to be diseased, sent for treatment, is slight; and the difference in practical effect may be said to be *nil*. 3860

The English Surgeon included the names of those women, and requested the Cantonment Magistrate to send them for examination.

Questions 641 and 715—716.

Regular examination by medical officer, which was compulsory.

The statement that a regular compulsory examination took place is absolutely false.

A compiled table showing periodical examination of women by regiments,

A regular day was appointed by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, and on that day all might be examined who wished to attend.

*e.g.,*

*Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.*

Every 4th day by mahaldarni.

„ 8th „ by Surgeon.

3870

*Gordon Highlanders.*

Every Tuesday (weekly) by medical officer.

Tuesday was the day. This examination was in every way voluntary, and even this was stopped on the receipt of Quartermaster General's Circular, No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

Questions 706—711 and 714.

Paper picked up containing description of two women inhabiting certain tents, and this paper, coupled with the copies of letters from the medical officer to the Cantonment Magistrate, appears to refer to the same women as those mentioned by him in his letters.

This may be perfectly true. There is nothing to show whether it is true or not; but if true, it appears unimportant from the point of view of the witnesses, though it shows that no registration existed, as otherwise a written description would have been unnecessary; and, so far as the written description goes, there is nothing contrary to orders (but the reverse) in helping to identify any person suspected of disease. 3880

The descriptions given point to the exact place in each tent where these women live, to assist in identifying them.

So far as this evidence goes to prove the existence of regimental women, that is dealt with in statements (A) and (B) attached. 3890

# Statements and Notes.

GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

## STATEMENT (C)—continued.

Questions { 749—751.  
1346—1350.

The women of the Argyll and Sutherland chakla said that they would be turned out of cantonments unless they submitted to the examination, and fined if they left hospital before being discharged as cured, and imprisoned if the fine were not paid. The Gordon Highlanders women said the same, and said that if they were not examined they would be taken before the Cantonment Magistrate, and be compelled to be examined.

If they left hospital before being discharged they would be imprisoned.

But they stated, this had never happened because they always went to the examination.

3910 Questions 775—776.

At Umballa we saw the registration list, and it was headed.

There were six regimental lists of women who came to be examined regularly.

There were lists of prostitutes under the headings of various regiments.

Six lists. Each containing from 5 to 14 women, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words:

3920 "Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections."

Questions 1325—1350.

We saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them—of the women coming up for periodical examination.

3930 There were six lists. Each headed with the name of their regiment. There were from 5 to 14 in each list.

The daily journal recorded the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February 1892. It recorded that 28 women were examined on that date.

3940 We saw a copy of a letter from the Surgeon to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated 21st December 1891, naming six girls supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them for inspection.

Another letter, dated 18th January 1892, requesting that a woman who had been indicted by a soldier as being diseased, might be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

No cases treated in hospital except venereal.

See Statements (A) and (B), and information given above as to compulsory examination.

It appears that the book used in the days of registered prostitutes had been kept going for the convenience of the medical officer in showing work done.

This was purely for his own information as a record of diseases treated, and was never looked upon in any way as an official registration of prostitutes.

I learn on inquiry from the medical officer that prostitutes presenting themselves for voluntary examination are in the habit of grouping themselves as belonging to certain regiments.

This is easily understood, and is evidently a relic of the old system, any departure from which natives of this class would be utterly unable to understand.

See replies to Questions 775—776 and 435—439 and 701—705.

This, of course, is absolutely false, the venereal section of the hospital being very small, as compared with the other sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—MEERUT.

## MEERUT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL C. E. NAIRNE, C.B., Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

IN acknowledging receipt of your telegram No. 2677-B, 8th instant, calling on me to state positively and of my own knowledge what is, and what is not, true in the allegations contained in the printed minutes of evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons regarding the work, in Meerut, of the Cantonment Act of 1839, and whether the positive instructions issued have been disregarded, and to what extent since the orders were issued in 1888, I have the honour to report that I only took command of the Meerut District on the 30th March 1892, subsequent, that is, to the visit of the two American ladies; and that I immediately proceeded to Delhi, Roorkee, Dehra Dun, and Chakrata on inspection duty, and did not return to Meerut until August 1892. 3960

It was not until some time in June that I became aware that there had been any special legislation on the subject. Since then I have gone into the matter carefully, and am of opinion that practically all the instructions contained in the various orders issued have been carried out.

I can say positively, that no prostitutes are permitted to live in the regimental bazars in Meerut, no regimental registers of such are kept, and no separate register of them in the Sadr bazaar; though of course a general register of all inhabitants and their occupation must be maintained at Meerut, as in every city in the civilised world. The women have repeatedly been told that there is no compulsory examination except as laid down in the Cantonment Act of 1889, under which any person suspected of any disease may be sent to hospital voluntarily, or if declining to go there for treatment, may be removed from cantonments altogether. I am informed that no such case of such removal has taken place; and whatever the women may have said to the ladies or to Mr. Hyslop Bell, I attribute to the known fact that any native in conversation or evidence will invariably say what he or she thinks the questioner wishes to hear. Regarding this matter it must be remembered that no Doctor, either Native or English, can take any pleasure in such a revolting occupation as the medical examination of prostitutes; while on the other hand, whenever really diseased, all women are only too grateful to be detained and cured. 3970 3980

At Meerut there are two recognised places for residence of prostitutes, both in the Sadr Bazaar; but it must be remembered that both the British Infantry and Cavalry Bazaars join on to the Sadr, and it is easy for a stranger to miss seeing the boundaries of the regimental bazaars, which, indeed, are not well defined except on paper. The Artillery Bazaar is just outside my own quarters, I very frequently ride through it, and I can state positively that no professional prostitutes have lived there since I have been at Meerut. The keeping up by the women themselves, and occasionally by the Native Doctors, of their separation into corps is, I presume, another instance of the extreme difficulty of breaking through old associations and names so constantly met with in this country, and which will equally account for the survival of the name "Lock" Hospital long after such had ceased to exist. Another instance of this is well illustrated by the use, even to this day, of the name "Company Bagh," for the public cantonment garden, more than 30 years after the abolition of the East India Company. It must also be remembered that the one desire of all natives, whether men or women, is to be considered as specially in the service of "the Sirkar;" and as these women have always associated themselves more with one regiment than another, they probably will continue to do so to the end of the chapter, legislation to the contrary, notwithstanding. 3990

Regarding the actual facts, at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Bushnell, I cannot therefore speak of my own knowledge; but perusal of all the instructions issued from time to time, and the well known strictness of my predecessor, the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enable me to state positively, that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past. 4000

Mr Hyslop Bell's visit occurred during my tenure of command, and I can speak of my own knowledge positively regarding evidence given by him. The answers to questions 1534, 1543, are incorrect. The cantonment hospital was open to all that came to it, every disease and both sexes. But though this is the literal fact, it is equally true that hardly any but prostitutes do come, owing to the fact that the money required for the cantonment hospital buildings as sanctioned, has never yet been allotted, and the present buildings are only those of the original Lock Hospital; it is unlikely therefore that many other than those of the prostitute class would yet avail themselves of treatment. The answer to 1550, 1552, is incorrect, as no regiment had been away in camp and had recently returned to quarters. But regarding the general question of prostitutes accompanying regiments on the line of march or in camp, I am informed that no regimental arrange- 4010



## Statements and Notes.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—MEERUT.

ments are made in any instance since the prohibition came out, but that all prostitutes accompanying a regiment do so on their own private account, and I have no reason to doubt this. Commanding Officers have no power to prevent such movement, neither have I. The mere fact of removing all authority over such women from Commanding Officers, prevents them from interfering with their movements; and the well known axiom that when there is a demand, supply is sure to follow, is true of sexual intercourse between man and woman as of everything else, in a free country.

The rest of the evidence tendered to Mr. Bell, appears to me to accord with regulations except as to compulsory examination of women, concerning which I have already given my opinion: moreover Mr. Bell's answers to questions 1595, 1596, and 1597, points to the Act having been complied with.

Regarding the instructions issued from time to time, I can say of my own knowledge that all have been complied with since I have been at Meerut, except as regards prostitutes accompanying a regiment on the line of march, regarding which, the wording of last paragraph of demi-official letter from Sir James Browne, Quartermaster-General, No. 4907-B, dated 8th November 1890, to Sir John Hudson, appears to me to be so peremptory as to be impossible to carry out without infringing the law of the land regarding the liberty of the subject. I must explain that no copy of this letter existed in my office, and I only received it on 17th instant after application to Simla.

No sanction, or approval, or assistance, is given by regiments when in camp or on the march, to prostitutes accompanying them; and they do not reside in the camp bazars, but they have not been forcibly prevented. For instance in Chakrata there is one British Regiment and no doubt, whether the Officer Commanding likes it or not, the women, whose only object in living there is to ply their trade with that regiment, will manage to move somewhere in their vicinity whenever the regiment moves down to the plains; and if my knowledge of the law of the land is correct, the Commanding Officer cannot prevent them.

Reverting to Mr. Hyslop Bell's evidence and that of the two American ladies, that the cantonment hospital is only used for venereal cases, I would beg to add to Mr. Bell's answer to question 1697, that the English gentleman referred to was an officer who is now staying with me. He tells me that it was his dogcart wheel that ran over a man's foot; he had only recently gone to Meerut and did not know where to take the man to the nearest hospital, but was directed to the cantonment hospital by a by-stander, so it is obvious that the people do know that the hospital is for all cases and diseases.

I regret the delay in answering your telegram; but as above stated many of the demi-official notes were not in existence in my office, I had to refer to Simla for them, and then to send the correspondence to Meerut for the letter from Officer Commanding the station attached.

It will be in the knowledge of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief that Colonel Plowden, who had been Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut for many years, only left on 31st December last.

He is now in England and can be examined as to the extraordinary allegations in the answer to questions 484-485, should those answers be considered credible.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. J. F. REID, Officer Commanding at Meerut, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut and Landour,—(No. 153-C, dated Meerut the 23rd June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledg the receipt of your No. 20-C-R, of 20th instant, with its enclosures, all of which are herewith returned.

I have the honour to report as follows:—

I.—I took over command at Meerut on the 15th April last.

II.—Minutes of evidence question 177. I have no knowledge of what took place in camp, but there are no regimental chaklas in Meerut. When the women were ejected from the regimental bazars, on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, they migrated to the Sadar Bazaar, there to live together, and form a sort of colony, which was known by the name of the regiment wherefrom the women came, although such colony had nothing further to do with such regiment.

III.—There is no order forbidding native soldiers from visiting the two chaklas in Meerut that is, the women who live in two different parts of the Meerut Sadar bazaar. Nor is there any order of any sort on the subject.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

IV.—All cantonment hospital books and papers bearing on the subject of the foregoing, have been sent to the Secretary of the Cantonment Rules Commission.

V.—The matter of the observance of the rules seems to me to turn on the question of compulsion. In Meerut, the women are under no compulsion to attend the cantonment hospital for inspection, and they have often been told so. Those I have asked said they went there voluntarily, and remained there voluntarily. But closer inquiry shows that many have attended in order to avoid the suspicion of disease which would bring them under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890. In so far, then, the women seem to think themselves compelled to go. 4080

Endorsement by the General Officer Commanding Meerut District,—(No. 25-C-R, dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

FORWARDED to Quartermaster-General in India, in accordance with your Telegram No. 2677-B, dated 8th June 1893.

## LUCKNOW.

From Major-General R. C. Low, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. C-L.-361, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 13th June 1893).

With reference to your No. 2672-B., and your No. 2725-B., I have the honour to make the following report. 4090

The subject is here dealt with under the following heads:—

A.—The existing Cantonment Hospital and its arrangements.

B.—The action taken by the local authorities to carry out the orders received.

C.—The allegations made against the authorities.

2. As regards heading A, I attach a plan showing the hospital buildings, which\* consist of—

(a) The General Hospital for both males and females.

(b) The venereal ward for females only.

(c) The infectious disease ward for cases other than venereal.

4100

(d) There is another building not shown in the map, being on the confines of cantonments and two miles from the hospital. This is a cholera and small-pox ward.

Patients are removed to this ward (d) from the ward (c), when an epidemic of cholera or small-pox occurs, the ward (c) being used for isolated cases, which are of frequent occurrence.

3. There is a point of importance with reference to the female venereal ward (b); namely, that it was formerly, and for many years, the lock hospital, and it is still generally called so by the native inhabitants of cantonments.

4. It is necessary to show how these four blocks of buildings have been gradually merged into a Cantonment General Hospital, as the process had the effect of isolating the building (b). 4110

A General Hospital for treatment of all classes of cases had been in operation here for some years in a haphazard kind of way, and largely dependent for success on the skill and energy of the medical officer in charge; but such as it was, this General Hospital was inside the enclosure in which the building (b) stands, and the building (b) was then the Lock Hospital.

5. On the formation of the General Hospital, the nearest barrack was given for the purpose and added to an enclosure made round it, and these buildings became (a) the General Hospital.

4120

The old Lock Hospital (b) was retained as a female venereal ward.

The infectious disease ward (c) was built, and the building (d) was kept up in its original form as a cholera and small-pox ward.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

6. Thus the present General Hospital, with its different buildings (a), (b), (c), (d), was formed.
7. The existing arrangements for treatment of female venereal cases are these.
8. The admissions are absolutely voluntary, so far as the authorities can make them.
9. Any women seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined.
10. If found diseased, she would be sent to the venereal ward.
- 4130 11. Between the case of a prostitute seeking relief for venereal disease, and that of any other woman seeking relief for the same, the only difference that could occur is this. The prostitute, knowing the place, would go straight to the venereal ward, while the other might very likely go to the General Hospital; both would become inmates of the female venereal ward.
12. Any such woman could leave the hospital at any moment; but if she left before being cured she would not be permitted to reside in cantonments, as per paragraph 5, G. G. O. No. 617 of 4th July 1890.
13. No compulsion whatever is brought to bear on the women to present themselves for examination. They have been repeatedly told that if they wish they can be examined, but that they are not obliged to be examined.
- 4140 I have, however, heard of pressure being brought to bear on the women indirectly by their customers preferring to deal with those who have been examined. Also I have heard of pressure being brought on them by those to whom they are in debt; but the authorities have let the women know plainly that there is no compulsion on their part.
14. There is a dhai, who is paid Rs. 12 per mensem by the Cantonment Fund, and also has quarters in the General Hospital, and whose duty it is to attend on the sick.
- Prior to the 1st February 1892, there were two dhais for matrons sanctioned. Application was made in this office No. 836 of 23rd December 1891 (copy attached marked J), for discharge of one, and for sanction to entertain a compounder in place of the dhai discharged. Sanction was given to this in Quartermaster-General's No. 86-B. of 14th
- 4150 January 1892.
15. Hitherto the day and time on which the medical officer is prepared to examine women has been notified. This is essential not only to enable the medical officers to properly arrange their work, but it is essential in the interests of the patients.
16. As having reference to the points noted so far, I attach, marked (K), a statement of queries made by me, and replied to by the medical officer at present in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.
17. I now turn to heading B—"The action taken by the authorities to carry out the orders received."
- The orders received may be classed under four heads, namely,—
- 4160 (a) The removal of registered prostitutes from regimental bazaars, and that they were not to reside in any building owned by the Cantonment Fund.
- (b) The discontinuance of registrations and the abolition of tickets.
- (c) Substitution of voluntary for compulsory examination.
- (d) Prostitutes not to be permitted to accompany troops on the march.
- The orders issued on each of the above and action taken are as follows:—
18. *As regards (a).*—Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 directs that "residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars of British troops is to be prohibited."
- I enclose the original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough to the Cantonment Magistrate, Major Campbell, marked (L).
- 4170 Major Campbell states that all buildings out of which these women were ejected, which were Government property, were at once sold.
- That some of the ejected women occupied a building in the Sudder bazaar, which was at that time the property of the Cantonment Fund, but which was then sold. The deed of sale is registered in the Office of the Registrar of Lucknow; and others of these ejected women hired houses in the vicinity of the above building, owned by private individuals.
19. It may be mentioned here that, consequent on the removal of the women from the regimental bazaars, the three regimental dhais were discharged. Sanction was obtained for this—*vide* Quartermaster-General's letter No. 2710-B. of 16th July 1889.
20. *As regards heading (b) and the orders to "discontinue registrations and abolition of tickets."*—The action taken is noted on the reverse of original circular (Circular No. 12), and I attach this paper, marked (M).
- 4180 Major Campbell states that since that time the register of prostitutes referred to in Rule 9 of the old Lock Hospital Rules and the tickets referred to in Rule 14 have both been discontinued in his office.



## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

21. On the above three points, I attach an original paper (marked N) written by Captain Ozzard in November 1890, apparently for the information of the General Officer Commanding, which describes the state of matters at that time.

Captain Ozzard is now in England.

22. *As regards (d) that "prostitutes were not to accompany troops on the march."*—No troops have left this station or arrived during my tenure of command, which dates from the 1st April 1892. 4190

The point need not be dealt with by me beyond saying that it would be impossible for prostitutes to obtain Government transport for such a purpose, or Government hired transport, or money from Government to pay for rail fares; but there can be no doubt that prostitutes often do follow the soldiers; whether they pay their way themselves, or get help from the men, or borrow the money, is not material.

These women can easily carry out the orders, and yet follow certain men to their new stations. They simply go by rail to the new stations and establish themselves in the prostitutes' quarter, and await the arrival of their friends, and no action that we can take will prevent this. 4200

23. In concluding this portion of my report, I can only add that, having before me the different orders and circulars of the Commander-in-Chief, I can state that they have been loyally carried out, so far as I am aware, or can ascertain, by those officers whose duty it was to do so.

24. I now pass to the allegations, the first of which is—

"That there is a chakla, or quarter, or serai in which prostitutes are living, in the sudder bazaar."

This is true. In the interests of the other inhabitants of the bazaar they are only allowed to reside in one quarter of the bazaar, in which prostitutes have always resided.

25. Again, regarding the existence of mahaldarnis. 4210

This is true; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities.

26. In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges.

The tariff of charges may be true.

It is immaterial whether really true or not, because it is certain that prostitutes expect and get payment, and it may be accepted as certain that a charge is made; but where the untruth lies is, that the public are led to believe that this tariff is recognised and sanctioned by the authorities.

27. Then take the allegation that "a policeman was seen on duty at the chakla." 4220

Why should he not be there?

Would the presence of a policeman on duty in the neighbourhood of brothels in London or New York be held to be "State aid, or regulation, or provision of vice"? Yet it is in this sense that the statements are made in the queries and replies Nos. 209–215.

28. The prostitutes are as much entitled to protection of life and property as other residents of the cantonments.

If the women had been found to be debarred from protection of police, it might have reasonably been considered a fault on the part of the authorities; but it is ridiculous to try and make out that the provision of police protection is blameworthy.

29. Then there is the incident described in queries 550–559. 4230

If the description given means anything, it means that the two ladies who were making these enquiries saw a girl sold before their eyes into prostitution.

These ladies were certainly aware of the existence of Officers and the Cantonment Magistrate, and it is unreasonable to suppose they did not know of the existence of one or more of the following:—

The General Commanding.  
The English Chaplain.  
The R. C. Chaplain.  
The Presbyterian Minister.

What are we to think of two ladies who, knowing this, saw with their own eyes a girl sold into prostitution without taking a single step to get her released? 4240

One of two conclusions is obvious.

If they believed the story, they were themselves guilty of the abominable cruelty of leaving the girl to her fate; or if they did not believe the story, they have purposely represented the case in such a way as to deceive a credulous public in England.

## Statements and Notes.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

The case is typical of the general way these ladies have gathered their evidence.

The credulous public in England will believe a good deal; but they would not have believed that in this case these ladies had asked for the help of one of the above officials and had been refused. Consequently, no such help was asked for.

4250 It is no reply to say they did not know where to find any of the above officials.

They made no attempt to find any of them, and, as a matter of fact, the quarters of the General and the quarters of the Cantonment Magistrate are known to every cabman in Lucknow.

30. Then there is the endeavour to prove registration of prostitutes in the statements to queries 852-869.

As a matter of fact, *every person*, male or female, and of whatever occupation, trade, or calling, who wishes to reside in the sudder bazaar must present a written petition on a printed form laid down for miscellaneous petitions.

The price of a form is a quarter of an anna.

4260 A one-anna court-fee stamp has to be affixed to the petition.

The man who writes the petition is paid by the petitioner as may be arranged between them.

This is the ordinary process of every day life, and I am informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that there is nothing approaching registration in it, and it is absurd to try and twist it into registration of prostitutes.

I am further informed by the Cantonment Magistrate, that prostitutes have never been made over to the police or to an inspector to take to hospital since registration was abolished.

31.—Then there is the story of the dismissal of the mahaldarni, queries 884-902.

4270 It is probable that the woman who stated she had been dismissed was the woman referred to in attachment J.\* The dates correspond; but she was, when in Government service, a paid matron or dhai, while, in the evidence, an attempt is made to prove she was paid as a procuress or forewoman of prostitutes.

\*N.B.—If she was the same woman, this conclusively proves her discharge was not owing to the visit of the two ladies, as suggested in queries and replies 884-892.

32. The statements and incidents alluded to in queries 973-1146 will, no doubt, be dealt with by the Commission on its road here.

I believe the girl in question is still here, and so is the Cantonment Magistrate who received the two ladies at his court. So, also, I think, is the Native Doctor referred to.

4280 33. The allegations alluded to by me in this report are the main accusations brought against the authorities; and while, with my knowledge of the customs of the natives of the country and of the many minor native officials that have to be depended on to carry out the details of any radical changes, such as those directed, to meet the Resolutions of the House of Commons, it is, in my opinion, probable that there may have been cases of oppression, or of dilatoriness in the carrying out of the instructions in all these details, I can confidently reassert, with the orders in front of me, so far as I am aware, and as far as I can ascertain, the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been carried out loyally and in reasonable time.

4290 34. I attach one more statement marked (O) showing the dates on which the Lucknow Cantonment Fund chaklas were sold.

## J.

From MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. PERKINS, General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 836, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 23rd December 1891).

WITH reference to the accompanying letter from the Medical Officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital, I have the honour to request the sanction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the following alteration in the existing establishment of the Cantonment Hospital proposed by the Medical Officer in charge of the hospital, and recommended by the Army Medical Officer :—

1. Compounder at Rs. 10 per month in place of a dhai.

4300 2. I fully concur with the view that, under the present system, the services of two dhais are not necessary.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

## K.

*Queries—Cantonment General Hospital.*

(1) Were cases of any other kind treated in the old Lock Hospital enclosure before the new hospital was built, and did the Hospital Assistant treat cases himself?

*A.*—Yes; both male and female patients. The males were treated in a shed erected in the Lock Hospital compound. The women were treated in a detached portion of the lock ward.

(2) What has become of the huts in the Lock Hospital compound?

*A.*—They still exist, but are unoccupied.

(3) How many dhais are there and where do they live? What salary do they receive? 4310

*A.*—One dhai only. She lives in the Cantonment General Hospital quarters. Salary is Rs. 12 per mensem.

(4) On what date was the New Cantonment General Hospital opened?

*A.*—1st February 1892.

(5) Was the female ward opened at the same time, or was it built afterwards?

*A.*—Built afterwards.

(6) Pending construction of the female ward, where were female patients treated?

*A.*—In the old Lock Hospital.

(7) When was the infectious disease ward opened?

*A.*—May 1892.

4320

LUCKNOW; }  
The 12th June 1893. }

(Sd.) C. A. LANE, *Surgeon-Captain,*  
*Army Medical Staff.*

## L.

Demi-official from CAPTAIN S. J. MICHELL, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to Major-General Sir C. S. GOUGH, K.C.B., V.C.,—(dated Lucknow, the 17th July 1888).

CIRCULAR No. 5, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain to all Officers Commanding Stations in the Oudh Division that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—vide paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules.

The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

## M.

Memo. from MAJOR-GENERAL E. F. CHAPMAN, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding,—(No. 12, dated Simla, the 6th August 1888). 4330

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital Rules, framed under clause 7, section XIX of Act XXII of 1864, and continued under section 2 of Act III of 1880.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is in fact to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

No, 763, dated Lucknow, the 20th August 1888.

4340

FORWARDED for information and favour of compliance with paragraph 2.

(Sd.) S. J. MICHELL, *Captain,*  
*Offg. Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.*  
3 B 2



## Statements and Notes.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

FORWARDED for information to Officer in medical charge Lock Hospital. Please return.

LUCKNOW ; } (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, Major,  
The 20th August 1888. } Cantonment Magistrate.

Noted and returned.

LUCKNOW ; } (Sd.) R. E. KAY, Surgeon, M.S.,  
The 20th August 1888. } In medical charge Lock Hospital.

4350 REGISTRATION to be discontinued. All tickets to be recalled.

LUCKNOW ; } (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, Major.  
The 22nd August 1888. }

## N.

Memo. by CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, Cantonment Magistrate, Lucknow, on the points noted by the Quartermaster-General in "*The Sentinel*" of October 1890.

1-A.—The whole tenor of this passage is to the effect that compulsory examinations of the women are still held. This is entirely false. The attendance of the women at the hospital is perfectly voluntary, also their residence in hospital if diseased. There is no compulsion in the matter at all. If a woman does not wish to attend, or to remain in hospital, she is at perfect liberty to act up to her wishes, and nothing further is done.

4360 1-B.—No women are punished by the Cantonment Magistrate for anything connected with their calling as prostitutes. They are of course subject to the ordinary cantonment rules, the same as every other inhabitant of cantonments, European or Native; and would be fined, like any one else, for breaches of them.

1-C. and 1-D.—Prostitutes reside in the sudder bazaar in one quarter; it might be called a "serai." This is merely in accordance with customs which restrict trades and professions to certain quarters and streets. The prostitutes' quarters are not new buildings, and they are not Government property. They belong to a native house proprietor named Salig Ram. The cantonment authorities have no more control over these premises than over any other buildings in bazaars.

4370 1-E.—There is no rule or law of any sort prohibiting native men from entering the building in question. Natives probably do not resort there; but this may be because they do not care for coming into contact with soldiers.

1-F.—Statistics are necessarily kept at the hospital as to the number of patients, the number voluntarily attending, their state of health, &c. It would be impossible for a hospital of any kind to be carried on without some records of results, and the number of patients, if only to check the bills for dieting.

4380 1-G.—*Vide* reply to 1-A.—There is absolutely no compulsion in the matter, and no women are confined in hospital. They are examined and remain in hospital of their own free will. Being well treated and well fed whilst in hospital, there is no inducement whatever for them to leave; but if they should wish to do so there is nothing to hinder them.

1-H.—No tickets or licences of any kind are issued to the women, nor are any kept in the Cantonment Magistrate's office. The tickets were all called in and destroyed when the compulsory system was abolished two years ago.

1-K.—*Vide* reply to 1-C and 1-D.—The quarters where the women reside are not Government property, but belong to a private individual, who lets them on hire to the women the same as any other houses in the bazaar.

4390 14. Two matrons are paid by the Cantonment Fund to look after the women and maintain order—one at the hospital and one in the prostitute's quarters. They are not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but are employed to maintain order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order, as in other parts of the bazaar.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

In conclusion, it is evident that the writers of the articles under reference can have no idea of what the old compulsory system was like, when every public prostitute within cantonments and within a radius of five miles round was compulsorily registered and licensed, and forced under heavy penalties to attend medical examinations, and rigorously confined in hospital if found diseased. This has all been swept away; the hospital is a voluntary institution in no material way differing from the hospitals in the United Kingdom in connection with the same subject; there is no registration; there are no penalties; the women are free to attend or not as they choose.

LUCKNOW; }  
The 10th November 1890. }

II. H. OZZARD, *Captain,*

*Cantonment Magistrate.* 4400

O.

*Statement of Sales of Cantonment Fund chaklas at Lucknow.*

Name of chakla.	Date of sale.	Name and description of purchaser.	Price realised.	Remarks.
			Rs. A. P.	
Royal Artillery -	4th August 1888 -	Ram Lal Pandit of Royal Artillery Bazaar.	97 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Sudder Bazaar -	24th September 1888	Salig Ram and Choonnee Lal, Merchants, Sudder Bazaar. (Deed of sale registered in Office of Registrar, Lucknow, on 10th December 1888).	4,000 0 0	Still occupied by prostitutes.
European Cavalry -	27th September 1888	Baij Nath Banya of Sudder Bazaar.	100 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Left Europea Infantry.	3rd October 1888 -	Mooloo Jemadar, cook - -	68 0 0	Has left the station. 4410 Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.

(Sd) A. W. CAMPBELL, *Major,*

*Cantonment Magistrate.*

LIST OF ENCLOSURES.

*Plan of the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital and detached wards. (Not printed).*

J.—Oudh District Office No. 836 of 23rd December 1890.

K.—Statement of queries and replies made by the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

L.—Original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough.

M.—Original Circular No. 12 with note of action taken on reverse.

4420

N.—Original statement of how orders were given effect to by Captain Ozzard, Cantonment Magistrate, in November 1890.

O.—Statement showing dates on which the different chaklas, formerly owned by the Lucknow Cantonment Fund, were sold.

## Statements and Notes.

## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

From MAJOR-GENERAL R. C. LOW, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 363-C. L. "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

I HAVE the honor, with reference to your No. 2747-B., to submit the attached report, which deals *seriatim* and without comment with the points noted in the printed enclosure 4430 forwarded with your letter.

I may, however, here point out that the printed paper starts with an error; it states that—  
"The principal facts ascertained and verified are the following, &c., &c."

The facts are stated by two ladies on the testimony of the most vicious and degraded of the population in India, and though these statements admitted of easy proof of the reverse, at the time and on the spot, no attempt whatever was made by these ladies to verify the statements, which, as a matter of fact, are untrue.

In cases where the facts stated were true as regards custom and procedure prior to 1888, they have been accepted as existing now, and no attempt was made by these ladies to 4440 ascertain whether they really existed now, or whether the statements only referred to the past.

The question at issue is, whether the procedure and custom prior to 1888 has or has not been abolished in obedience to orders; and it is worth noticing that so anxious were these ladies to prove the former (*sic*), that they were unable to see ordinary people in the every-day circumstances of an Indian bazaar without endeavouring to twist them into evidence in their favour.

They see a policeman.

He of course cannot be there in the usual course of police duty; he is there to guard and maintain prostitutes for the British soldier by order of the authorities!

His badge is an additional proof.

4450 They see houses with numbers on them.

This is a proof of registration of prostitutes provided for the British soldiers, and so on to the end of the chapter.

So far as I am aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out.

## LUCKNOW CANTONMENT.

*Replies to Statements in annexure to Secretary of State's No. 50 of 20th April 1893.*

A.—1. The word chakla means "brothel"; it is applied to any place or quarter of a town or bazaar where public prostitutes reside.

4460 The sudder bazaar is the only place where prostitutes have been permitted to reside since 1888.

Neither houses nor rooms nor any special place of residence is assigned to them, but they necessarily congregate in one quarter, as if scattered amongst the respectable inhabitants, their presence would be resented.

2. Some of the prostitutes live in a large block of buildings, which formerly belonged to the Cantonment Fund, but which was sold in 1888.

Others live in adjacent houses.

The prostitutes are not reserved for British soldiers, but the fact that soldiers visited certain prostitutes might debar natives from doing so.

The women, like most of their class in all countries, live by prostitution.

4470 There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them, and they are at liberty to leave cantonments whenever they choose; in fact, they constantly do so, and no steps whatever are taken to bring them back.

The large block of buildings was till 1888 the property of the Cantonment Fund; it was then sold.

4. Since 1888 the prostitutes have had to house themselves.

5. No guard is put over the chakla.

Military and native police visit the chakla as well the rest of the bazaar in their rounds.



## GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

6. No register has been kept since the Lock Hospital Rules were abrogated. Where metal plates bearing numbers are placed over rooms or houses, it has been done by the owners of the houses for their own convenience. 4480

7. There is no mahaldarni or other person in charge of the chakla who is paid by the cantonment or other fund.

8. Under the registration system (in force prior to 1888), dhais were paid for making daily inspections; some of them may hold testimonials from the medical officers under whom they performed their duties.

9. No women are authorized to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now.

10. Prostitutes who elect to reside in cantonments in preference to outside of cantonments, doubtless do so in the hope of receiving visits from soldiers.

The number of such prostitutes doubtless varies with the size of a cantonment—a larger number being in a big cantonment than in a small one. 4490

11. There may be a fixed scale of charge; if so, it has been fixed by the women themselves; the statement that charges if not paid are stopped out of a man's pay is false.

12. Prostitutes, if they get into debt, are treated by the Cantonment authorities in no way different from any other class in the bazaar.

13. If a more attractive woman comes into the bazaar and takes the custom of those who are growing old, it would not be a matter in which the Cantonment authorities would interfere.

14. Women are not allowed to accompany a regiment on the march, nor is it possible for them to obtain Government transport or money from Government to pay for hired carriage or railway fares; but no doubt they often do follow a regiment to another station; there is nothing to prevent them going by rail to the new station, if they can raise the money for the fare. 4500

It follows that the statement that they are protected by European guards on the March is false.

B.—There is no register, and women are not required to attend examinations.

There is a Cantonment General Hospital in which there is a female venereal ward; the admissions are entirely voluntary; any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined, and if found diseased, would be sent to the venereal ward for treatment.

C.—No woman is compelled to attend for examination; but if they attend voluntarily and are admitted into hospital, they are dieted, and the charge is defrayed from Cantonment Funds; this is the case with all patients, whether suffering from venereal disease or other malady. 4510

D.—No compulsion is used to make a woman present herself for examination.

Pressure may be brought sometimes on the women indirectly, either by their customers or by those to whom they might be in debt; but they have been repeatedly told by the authorities that they are at liberty to do as they like in the matter.

2. If a woman voluntarily presents herself for examination and is sent to the venereal ward for treatment, she is at perfect liberty to leave the hospital whenever she likes; but if she does so before she is cured, she is not allowed to live in cantonments. 4520

3. A woman may leave the cantonments at any time, without any one's permission or any one interfering with her. Should she have permanently left and afterwards desire again to reside in cantonments, she would—like all new-comers of every class—have to obtain the permission of the Cantonment Magistrate.

No medical examination would be required.

4. Women are visited by soldiers outside as well as inside cantonment limits.

As to 2.

Small-pox and infectious diseases other than venereal have been treated for years past at the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital.

2. There are no registered prostitutes in Lucknow Cantonments. 4530

There is no Lock Hospital.



BENARES—REPORT BY COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, COMMANDING ALLAHABAD DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2959-B., “Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,” dated Simla, 23rd June 1893).

In compliance with the request contained in paragraph 3 of Military Department No. 2450-D., dated 2nd June, and with

\* (1) Allahabad District, No. 138-G.F., dated 19th June 1893, and enclosures.

(2) Oudh District, endorsement without No. and date.

(3) Oudh District, No. 362-C-L., dated 18th June 1893, and enclosure.

(4) Rohilkund District, No. 59-D., dated 15th June 1893, and enclosure.

(5) Rohilkund District, No. 60-D., dated 17th June 1893.

(6) Lahore District, No. 38-D., dated 15th June 1893, and enclosures

(7) Rawal Pindi District, No. 170 C., dated 14th June 1893, and enclosures.

(8) Peshawar District, No. 10-C.D., dated 15th June 1893.

(9) Peshawar District, No. 9-C.D., dated 14th June 1893.

reference to Military Department No. 2842 D., of 22nd June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports\* regarding the allegations made in the evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.

immediately on receipt from the local military authorities.

Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 21, dated 19th July 1892.

Quartermaster-General's demi-official letters dated 19th July 1888, 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892.

2. I am to add that the supplementary reports from Sitapur, Meean Meer, Amritsar, and Rawal Pindi will be submitted to Government

3. Copies of the papers noted in the margin 20 are herewith submitted in compliance with the request contained in paragraph 2 of Military Department No. 2842-D., of the 22nd instant.

From COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, Commanding Allahabad District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 138-G.-F., “Confidential,” dated Allahabad, 19th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 2568-B., dated 3rd June 1893, I have the honour to report that I at once forwarded the correspondence to the Officer Commanding at Benares for favour of report, and now enclose that report.

On receipt, however, of your No. 2746-B., dated 12th June, and in consequence of the above report not being as full as I thought it might be, I proceeded to Benares and 30 tried to obtain as much information as I could as to the way in which the regulations issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889 were carried out.

I regret, however, having to say that I could get very little information on the subject, as there were no officials who had resided in the station a sufficiently long time to be able to say how it had been worked.

I examined the clerk of the Cantonment Magistrate's office, Babu Ram Juttan Singh, who has been many years in the office, and his information is contained on sheet page IV.

Besides this Babu I examined Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., 1st grade Hospital Assistant Saftar Beg, and Bagwante, the Dhai of the Female Hospital.

I went most carefully through all the points noted in enclosure sent with your No. 2746-B., dated 12th June 1893, with Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., who was 40 able to recall circumstances as far back as the end of 1891, and beg to refer you to that evidence. Of my own knowledge I am unable to make any statement, but from the evidence I have obtained, and also from what I have heard, I consider that all the Government Orders were duly carried out.

From having collected this evidence and having read all the official report, I notice that there are several points which are brought into great prominence before the Departmental Committee, and upon which I wish to make some remarks.

1. That because of debt therefore the women remained prostitutes.

I questioned the Hospital Assistant and the Dhai closely and separately on this 50 point, and they both denied the idea. Indeed, the Hospital Assistant laughed at it—vide sheet page IV.

Y. 24265.

3 C



BENARES—REPORT BY COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, COMMANDING ALLAHABAD  
DISTRICT—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.

Apart from this it stands to reason that the women could not be in debt, for if a woman only received six men daily for 23 days in a month at the rate of only four annas per visit, that would represent Rs. 34-8-0, and even allowing one-fourth of this to go to the Mahaldarni, rent Rs. 2, and food at the rate of 4 annas daily for 30 days, a woman would have fully Rs. 17 a month clear.

The women become prostitutes simply because their mothers and sisters before them have been or are prostitutes. In many of the official replies this point comes out. Every one who has been in India any time knows that a prostitute is well off and has money to spare.

2. Stress is also laid on the women being unable to leave a "chakla."

The reply to question 208 shows this not to be the fact; also 531, 562, and other places. Also see sheet page IV.

3. Great stress is put on the women talking or only understand about the hospital when it is called "Lock Hospital."

Titles and names last for years in India even after a change is made, so this is no proof that because the place was called Lock Hospital by the women, that therefore the orders of Government had not been carried out, which is implied.

To show how long names last, I can only say that the house occupied by the Civil Surgeon at Benares ten years ago is still only known by his name.

4. See question 544 of report.

The idea of a soldier being brought before his commanding officer for not paying a woman (and so giving an official idea to the proceeding) is absurd. I have commanded a British regiment, and such a case never came before me, neither have I, previous to my obtaining the command, ever heard of such an idea. Just fancy the charge in a man's ledger accounts of—Woman, 4 annas.

5. Dhai and mahaldarni—see question 517.

This idea has also been put forward to implicate the Government indirectly, but it is absolutely untrue.

6. The dhai denied it when I questioned her myself.

6. The witnesses at the Committee have evidently mistaken the male side of the hospital at Benares for the female—see page IV. There is no wall round the female hospital, there is round the male side.

7. In questions 1423 to 1436 an attempt is made to show that the hospital at Benares was really kept up by Government for women, because out of 34 cases 25 were entered as "menses." I can only say that when I visited the hospital, without warning, on the 17th June, there were no female patients and only four men. Of these four men, three received two annas a day and the other one *nil*.

8. See question 538—The tariff; and question 794.

9. The idea of reducing the money paid to English money is nonsense, as four annas to a native woman is of the same value whether the exchange is high or low.

9. The idea of the life being one of "shame" can hardly be put forward, when it is in evidence that the women's relations are to be found in the chakla—*vide* questions 1046-584 and other places, and 478, where the girls' brothers went to the "chakla" with them as a guard, because they had so much valuable jewellery on.

10. I have ascertained from Brigadier-General Kinloch lately Commanding the District, that during the period of his command he had given the strictest orders that the ruling of Government as to registration and compulsory examination of women should be carried out, and he had been repeatedly assured that the orders were strictly attended to. He himself believed that such was the true state of affairs.

SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S., states, with regard to enclosure with Military Despatch No. 50, dated India Office, London, 20th April 1893:—

*Paragraph 1. A.*—That during the first quarter of the year 1892, I know that native women did occupy the chakla, and that they were visited by European soldiers; but I am unable to say whether any systematic provision for the residence of those women was

made by or with the sanction of, the military authorities, or whether the women were set apart exclusively for the use of British soldiers. No papers have ever passed through my hands which would warrant the assumption that native women were set apart for the British soldiers.

*B.*—There has been no compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods by 110 European or native medical officers since I came here in October 1891.

*C.*—No compulsory detention in hospital of any women was carried out by orders of a medical officer.

*D.*—Detention in hospital not being compulsory as stated (under *C*), no arrest, fines, or imprisonment *could* be inflicted, but in the case of a patient suffering from *any* contagious disease, they had the alternative presented to them of remaining in hospital or leaving cantonments. This is in keeping with circular memorandum, 11th July 1892.

*Paragraph 2.*—The Cantonment General Hospital at Benares was *not* used for maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution. There was no compulsory examination of prostitutes, and there were no registered prostitutes. 120

*1. A.*—The “chakla” mentioned by me in paragraph *A* was here when I arrived, but I cannot say that the rooms in it were “assigned” for prostitutes. It is situated in the sudder bazar, and is an ordinary native building. I do not know what went on inside the chakla or how the women lived; nor whether natives were prohibited from going into the chakla. I have always heard that the women in the chakla could go and come just as they liked.

I have no idea who owns the chakla, nor whether rent was paid for it.

The Cantonment Hospital is near the chakla, and the chaukidar of the former may have wandered to the chakla, and been taken for a guard of the place; otherwise no 130 guard in uniform was maintained.

In this cantonment no register of “chakla” women was kept within my knowledge.

No plates to distinguish women were affixed to the rooms in the chakla or any other distinctive marks.

Until I perused the papers under consideration, I have never heard the native word “mahaldarni.” At the present date there is a woman called a “dhai” who received and still receives Rs. 10 per month from Cantonment funds as matron or nurse on the female side of the Cantonment General Hospital.

I have never heard of her getting money from the women in the chakla; nor have I any knowledge of her being in possession of any certificates such as are referred to.

If a mahaldarni and a dhai are the same, I have no knowledge what their duties 140 were, except that the dhai was necessarily present when women voluntarily presented themselves for examination.

I have never heard of any proportion of women for regiments; nor have I ever heard of a scale of pay, nor of a complaint ever being lodged to receive money.

I know nothing of the monetary or other private circumstances of those women, nor of the ages at which they begin this life. Nor do I know whether they move with regiments or not.

*B.*—As already stated, there was no register, and no compulsion was used for women to present themselves for examination either at irregular or fixed periods.

The examination (voluntary) was made sometimes when I was present, sometimes only the Hospital Assistant and dhai being present, and was made with the usual 150 appliances.

*C.*—Venereal disease was treated like any other contagious disease, the patients being given the option of remaining in hospital until cured or leaving cantonment.

The women in many cases themselves reported that they were undergoing their menstrual period and voluntarily remained in hospital.

Certainly women in hospital received daily allowance of 2 annas, as do all patients, male or female, in poor circumstances or not in Government employ.

*D.*—As there were no registered women and no compulsory examinations, no reports to any one were necessary.

BENARES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.—BABU RAM JUTTAN SING, CLERK OF CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE; FIRST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT SAFTER SING.

I was unaware that women required a permit to leave cantonments.

160 No rule was ever laid down giving prostitutes a prior claim for admission to hospital. Infectious diseases are treated in the cholera and small-pox hospital when they occur. Diseases other than contagious have always had an equal claim for admission within my recollection.

Sending cases of secondary syphilis away from hospital and turning them out of cantonment has not been done here. Again I repeat that there was no compulsion and no registration or reservation of women for use of British troops.

BABOO RAM JUTTAN SINGH, Clerk of Cantonment Magistrate's Office, states:—

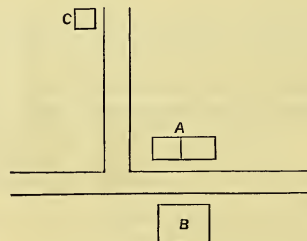
170 There is no record in the Cantonment Office of a place called a "chakla." There is a record of a place called formerly a lock hospital, but changed to Cantonment General Hospital since 1891, about. The place now known as a chakla belongs to Sher Rahamad Ulla, an agent.

There is no register of women kept now; it was discontinued from the date when the Lock Hospital Rules were abolished. This date was 23rd October 1890.

When the Lock Hospital Rules were in force, a woman who broke the regulations and was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate would render herself liable to a fine or imprisonment, but since those rules were given up the power could not be exercised.

FIRST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT SAFTER BEG—states:—

180 The natives all call the Cantonment General Hospital "the Lock Hospital," although the name has been changed since 1890, and no doubt they will continue to so call it for a number of years. In January 1892 the hospital was divided into two parts for the treatment of men and women, and has been so for some time. The "chakla" is in front of the male side of this Cantonment Hospital, but the Government paid no rent for it. I have heard it said that the East Lancashire Regiment (30th) paid the rent of the chakla, but I do not know if it is true or not. I do not know whether the "chakla" was reserved for British soldiers or not. I have never seen any list of the women who live in the chakla. The dhai in the hospital has never done any other but the one work. She has never done the work of dhai and mahaldarni together. The natives do use the two words indiscriminately. The dhai has been here for seven years. I have heard that she has been a prostitute—had given it up, gone to her village, and afterwards obtained her present post. It often happened that the prostitutes would give up the trade, leave it, and live with a man, but of course not married. It is a very common custom. For 190 the past three years these women came and left as they wished. I have never heard of any tariff for the payment of the women, [On the question of the women owing money, Safter Beg laughed at the idea, because, the women being able to go where they wished, no one would lend them money or its equivalent. To the question 591, the witness says that the age of the girls was more than 14—about 17—as they came from a native chakla in the city.] Since I came here in November 1891, there has been no periodical examination of women as stated in question 641. I was on leave for ten days when the 200 two European women came, as I heard, to this hospital, and prior to my leaving there was no list of women kept as a register.



The European women have mistaken the hospital B, which is for males, for that of C, which is for females. A is the chakla. The dhai must have brought these women  
 \* See. from C to B, C shown \* them the books, and they have mistaken B or C.



BENARES—BHAUGWANTI DHAI OF FEMALE HOSPITAL.—MAJOR H. READ, COMMANDING AT BENARES. SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.

BHAUGWANTI, Dhai of Female Hospital, states:—

Q. 517. With reference to this question, I may have used the two words “dhai” and “mahaldarni” because they are the same in native ideas, but I never did the two works.

Q. 399. For the first three months of 1892, when the two European women came, the chakla was occupied by some women. 210

Q. 561. The women were not bound by debts to remain in the chakla, but could leave when they liked. There were no numbers over the doorways to distinguish the women.

From MAJOR H. READ, Commanding at Benares, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Allahabad District,—(No. 80-C., “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Benares, the 15th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 126-G.F., dated 5th June 1893, and No. 130 G.F., dated 9th June 1893, forwarding Quartermaster-General's No. 2568-B., Confidential, dated Simla, 3rd June 1893, and copies of minutes of evidence, which are herewith returned, I have the honour to forward a report by Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., referring to the allegations contained in the minutes of evidence under reference. 220

Surgeon-Captain Paterson is the only officer now present at Benares who is in a position to state of his own knowledge what occurred, as he was the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital. Of my own personal knowledge I am unable to make any statement, except that at the present time no practices exist at this station which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, or the orders issued in July 1890.

Dated 19th June 1893.

Endorsed by the General Officer Commanding Allahabad District.

FORWARDED to the Quartermaster-General in India with my report, No. 138-G.F., dated 19th June.

*Report on Minutes of Evidence taken at the India Office, Whitehall, S.W., on Tuesday, 11th April 1893, and following days.* 230

*First day.*

Para. 81. Evidence exists that two European women did visit Benares Cantonment Hospital.

85. No Lock Hospital has existed in Benares within my recollection.

88. There then existed, as at the present date, male and female wards in separate but adjacent buildings. Males were not restricted to being “out-patients.” All medicines were stored and issued from within the building set apart for male patients.

398. The description of the chakla is correct.

400. Of my own knowledge I am unable to state whether or not these women living in the chakla paid rent. No money devoted to such purpose ever passed through my office. 240

402. I never heard of any order limiting the use of the women in chakla to British soldiers.

403 & 406. No registration lists existed here, and, consequently, the women could not be assigned to certain European regiments.

517. The statement of the dhai that she received Rs. 10 per month is correct.

518. To the best of my belief this woman was always called “Dhai.”

521. The dhai was and is still paid at the rate of Rs. 10 per month. All pay-bills and records were and are signed by the officer in medical charge Cantonment Hospital.

522. “With her name as dhai of the Lock Hospital.” This is incorrect. The dhai's name and pay is entered in the pay-book along with the names and rates of pay of other servants of the Cantonment Hospital. 250

538. The existence of this tariff was unknown to me, and I have no knowledge that it existed.

BENARES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.  
SITAPORE—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

Para. 561. At this length of time and in the absence of records I cannot confirm or deny this statement as to the early loss of health on the part of the women.

591 to 598, inclusive. This does not come within my knowledge.

260 639. Examinations of a purely voluntary kind were carried out in Benares within my knowledge and recollection, but to the best of my belief they lapsed and the women ceased to attend earlier than March 1892.

872. No registration lists of prostitutes existed within my knowledge in 1892, and all "*old Lock Hospital*" books had been destroyed in the end of 1891.

1417 *et seq.* to 1419. There appears to be some confusion in these statements. Apparently the visitors had mistaken the male side of the Cantonment Hospital for the female side (their so-called "*Lock Hospital*"). The building devoted to males is surrounded by a moderately high brick wall, and bears the inscription "*Cantonment Hospital*" on the wall near the gate. The female ward or building is not surrounded by a high wall, but contains a courtyard to the rear, which is enclosed as in most native buildings. This building never had a separate inscription over its door.

1423. *All patients*, male or female, were and are allowed two annas daily subsistence allowance, provided (1) they are not in Government employ, or (2) provided they are too poor to support themselves.

1425. Replied to under paragraph 872.

1428 to 1436. This I am unable to reply to, these two books being no longer available for reference, having been taken away by Officer Commanding the Station on May 24th, 1893.

280 Within my knowledge and to the best of my belief, instructions and regulations with regard to the management of the Cantonment General Hospital, Benares, have been strictly and consistently adhered to.

J. PATERSON, *Surgeon-Captain, A.M.S.,*  
*Officer in Medical Charge, Cantonment General Hospital.*

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District, Lucknow,—(No. 23-C.F., dated Sitapur, 13th June, 1893).

I HAVE the honour, in compliance with your memorandum, No. 7790, dated 7th June 1893, *1st*, to forward a report on the allegations contained in the printed evidence forwarded to me; *2ndly*, to state that no infringement of the Cantonment Act of 1889 takes place in the Cantonment of Sitapur. With regard to the report on the allegations, I have to state that Surgeon-Captain Reilly, who was in medical charge of the Cantonment Hospital on the 5th March 1892, has since left Sitapur, and no further direct evidence on the points mentioned than is contained in the report can be obtained. The Hospital Assistant, "*Shah Mahomedabad*," on whose authority the principal allegations rest, has also been relieved, and therefore had not been called on to explain the statements attributed to him in the printed evidence.

Endorsed by the General Officer Commanding Oudh District.

FORWARDED to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District, Lucknow.

No. 220. But you did not see any orders to that effect?—No; at Lucknow 35 girls and two mahaldarnis testified that only Europeans could visit them.

300

At Sitapur a woman who was there pointed to the smoke on the wall, and said that this room had been occupied by a native woman who was at that time one of the women of the chakla, who had a native lover who visited her secretly. He became very jealous and angry and set fire to the bed, and then it all came out, his visiting her secretly, and the woman was expelled from the cantonment.

310

No. 220. Formerly this was the case, but the order ceased on the passing of the "*Cantonment Act, 1889*." It is possible the soldiers through ignorance, or in order to keep the women to themselves, may have kept up the idea.

This case, as recorded in the police station's is as follows:—On the 22nd January 1892 a prostitute, named Moorah, in the chakla quarrelled with the natives, Kurran Khan and Tukhan, who visited her, and accused them of burning her bed, and they in turn accused her of burning her own bed in order to bring the accusation against them. The Head Constable reported the woman as a bad character, and she was ordered out of cantonments by the late Major Ferrier, Commanding Officer.

No. 389. Sitapur you visited 5th March?  
—Yes. Left Bareilly 4th March. Visited Sitapur 5th March.

No. 390. Is the only chakla there at the sudder bazaar?—Yes.

No. 395. What did they tell you? Did they say anything as to the payment of rent for the building?—That was after we passed round to the other side. (The remainder of her answer refers to Lucknow.)

No. 396. Was this your second visit?—No; we passed round the end of the building to this girl's room and she said to us: "This house belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent here. We had to pay two rupees a month at Lucknow, but we pay no rent here."

No. 516. How at Sitapur?—At Sitapur there was no mahaldarni: a woman and an *ex* dhai who was living here stated that the European guides and the native police took care of them; that they had no mahaldarni.

No. 528. That was a much smaller proportion?—At Sitapur 15.—(The remainder of this answer refers to the number of prostitutes kept at other stations for soldiers.)

No. 538. Table showing sources of information as to uniform rate of pay, viz. :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Sergeant - - - -	1	0	0
Corporal - - - -	0	8	0
Private - - - -	0	4	0

Cantonment.	Brothel.	No. and character of informants.
Sitapur	Sudder Bazaar.	1 prostitute; 1 <i>ex</i> dhai.

No. 389. No record of this.

No. 390. This is correct, but no order now exists for the prostitutes to live in the chakla. Nor is prostitution recognised in the cantonment.

Nos. 395-96. This is correct. On the 5th March 1892 the chakla was Government property. When the Cantonment Act of 1889 was passed, the women who had previously lived in the chakla were allowed to remain where they were, paying no rent and being under no special supervision. Steps to get rid of the house having been apparently omitted to be taken, the house was sold in May 1892.

516. The prostitutes are under no special police supervision whatever. They are treated as all other natives.

It is not understood what is meant by European guides; there are none at Sitapur. The Military Police visit the sudder bazaar, but have strict orders not to interfere with natives of any sort. They are there solely for the purpose of looking after soldiers and seeing that they do not create disturbances. 340

There is no record of any list of the number of prostitutes at Sitapur since the Act of 1889 amongst the documents in the Cantonment General Hospital, or elsewhere.

This may be correct, but it is, I believe, a mutual arrangement between the men and the women. There is no record of any fixed rates as having been established as ordered. 350

The holes referred to were placed there for the purpose of ventilation, there is no hole for the purpose mentioned. There are four or five in the building, but not one to each room. 360

No. 579. At Sitapur.—What did the girl show you?—The Committee will remember the construction of the Sitapur chakla. It was ten suites of rooms facing opposite ways, with a wall in the middle. The girls showed us a hole in the wall up near the roof, and they said that that was to enable them to call for help in case the soldiers abused them.



SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

No. 589. *At Sitapur.*—You saw a young girl, did you not?—We saw a young woman there who said she was “sold by a sepoy, whose daughter had brought her up, to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla”—that was the way she expressed it—when she was 11.

No. 590. What age was she?—She did not seem to be more than 20 then. She was sold by the sepoy. It was in famine times.

No. 637. *At Sitapur.*—At Sitapur, in an interview with the women the next day, the women said they went to the hills with the soldiers at Dagsbai and Sabathu, and what they earned they paid on the way.

No. 641. Table showing times, &c., of regular periodical examinations :—

Cantonment.	Place of obtaining information.	Number and character of informants.	When examined by Surgeons.
390 Sitapur	Lock Hospital	1 Native Doctor	Regularly
Do.	Chakla	2 prostitutes and an ex dhai.	Tuesday (weekly).

No. 754. *At Sitapur.*—At Sitapur in the chakla they said the examinations are voluntary, but if they did not go to the examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment.

No evidence can be obtained as to the truth of this story; the natives deny all knowledge of the matter.

The ex dhai says she remembers a lady about a year ago coming to Sitapur, but says she asked her no questions and remained a few moments.

The was a famine in 1877 at Sitapur, but none since. The woman would be about 36 years of age.

This must refer to the marches from Umballa. On the march of the regiment to Dagsbai in March 1891, the women were forbidden to accompany the troops by the Commanding Officer, and threatened to be handed over to Civil Police if they were found in the vicinity of the camp.

It appears from the documents at the Cantonment Hospital that since the passing of the Act of 1889 there have been no compulsory or periodical examinations of women, but there appear to have been voluntary inspections which the women attended or not as they pleased in the years 1889 and 1890. There is no mention of even voluntary inspections after 1890.

In the annual report, 1890, Surgeon Major O'Reilly, the medical officer in charge, states as follows :—

“This is now a voluntary hospital; no tickets are issued, no register of prostitutes is kept, and no compulsory examinations of women held.”

There is no evidence of regular periodical examinations having taken place in the documents of the hospital or elsewhere. It probably refers to the case of women supposed to be suffering from contagious disease, whose attendance at the hospital for inspection had been applied for. This applies to all contagious diseases such as small-pox, &c., besides venereal.

1060.—Did you hear anything more about this poor girl from any one that you saw? —We saw a girl at the Sitapur chakla who spoke of her and said “she can never leave a life of shame: she has more debts than the hairs of her head, and if she tried to go away, the police would catch her and bring her back.”

1072. In the official documents that you had an opportunity of inspecting, how did you find the hospitals were called?—At Sitapur it was called the Cantonment hospital for contagious and infectious diseases,

Nothing is known of this particular case. Undoubtedly these women do get into debt with bunniahs and others, who get them into their powers in the same way as they do all the poorer classes of this country. The police have no power to prevent them leaving if they wish.

This is correct.

## SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

1076. Did you find that the Lock Hospital was used for the purpose of their periodical examination? We did.

Since the Act of 1889 was passed no compulsory or periodical examinations appear to have taken place.

1077.—Invariably? In every instance.

See Answer 641.

1381.—You visited the Lock Hospital at Sitapur on the 5th March? Yes.

This seems to have been an unauthorised visit, and the books inspected without the permission of the medical officer in charge being obtained.

1384.—Did you see the Native Doctor? We did.

1335.—Did he admit you? He did.

1388. How many patients did you find? One

1389.—Did you see the examination room? We saw it.

1389.—There is no special examination room at this hospital other than the ordinary room which is used as an office and where patients of all sorts are seen.

1390.—And the dispensary? And the dispensary—there were no medicines there excepting those suitable for venereal cases.

1390.—The medical officer reports that there is a list of medicines taken over by the Hospital Assistant, 27th June 1890, in which there are several medicines, not used for venereal diseases.

1395.—Did the Doctor tell you what cases were treated there? He did. He said that the in-patients were only women with venereal. The women who were at the chakla; it was for them only; there were a few patients; out-door patients connected with the out-door dispensary; but all the in-patients were prostitutes only, and that no other women would be kept there.

440

Any resident in Cantonments would be by the regulations eligible for admission into the hospital; and cases other than venereal are shewn in the periodical returns of having been admitted. The apothecary was talking loosely; there was at the time no out-door dispensary; it is only now being started.

1396.—Did you ask if soldiers' wives could be treated? We did, and he said they would not.

Correct.

450

1398.—What kind of medicines were there then? There were washes and disinfectants, and such as would be used for treating venereal cases.

See answer 1390.

1401.—Did you see the annual report for 1891? We did.

1403. Under the column headed with names of diseases was there any record except for venereal?

The report for 1891 is not at hand to refer to, having been sent to the Assistant Adjutant General, Oudh District, by the Officer Commanding the Station, 26th May 1893.

460

No contagious diseases except venereal.

The report included out-door patients; the patients connected with the out dispensary.

1405.—I thought you said that there were no medicines except for venereal?

See answer to 1390.

## SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

There were not, and I do not understand how to explain that point. I only noted the fact that there were not.

470

1407.—And the financial statement, what did it say? It said the funds were received from Government, that was the expression.

1413.—How many women were there on the register at that time. There were 15 on the registration list.

1415.—Did you ask him what would be done if there were too many? We did, and he said send them away; and we asked if too few, and he said send and get some more.

480

1451.—Did the women understand that it was voluntary?

No, they said unless they submitted to the examination, they would be turned out of Cantonments.

1415.—There is no evidence of any such thing being done since the passing of the Cantonment Act, 1889.

1551.—It is possible; the women may have believed so, and did not understand the difference of the law previous to 1889, and as it was after the passing of Act of that year

See Answer 954.

1413.—There is no such register among the hospital documents or elsewhere to be found.

1407.—Correct

Correct.

490 SITAPUR; }  
The 13th June 1893. }

(Sd.) A. W. NOYES, *Lieut.-Col.*,

*2nd West Yorkshire Regiment,  
Commanding at Sitapur.*

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, 2nd West Yorkshire Regiment, Commanding a Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Oudh District, Lucknow,—(No. C. L. 24 dated Sitapur, the 16th June 1893).

IN answer to your memo, No. 8062, Confidential, of 13th June 1893, I have the honour to state that I can positively state of my own knowledge as to the allegations referred to, *viz.*—

No. 637, that the prostitutes were forbidden the camp of regiment on the march from Umballa to Dagshai in March 1891, and were threatened with being handed over to the civil police if found in its vicinity, as I was in command at the time.

500

No. 395-6, that it is true that the "chakla" was Government property on the 5th March 1892, and that the women were in occupation of it about that date.

No. 1407, that it is true the Cantonment Hospital is supported out of Cantonment Funds.

With regard to the remaining allegations, namely :—

- (1) That a woman was brought into the chakla at eleven years of age.
- (2) That a native man burnt the bed of a prostitute in the chakla through jealousy.
- (3) That the holes in the wall were made for the purpose of enabling women to call for assistance.
- (4) That there was a register of women kept at the hospital, and that the number was fifteen (15).
- (5) That the prostitutes were compulsorily and periodically examined.
- (6) That the only medicines were for venereal cases.
- (7) That the only cases in hospital of contagious diseases were venereal.

510



BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

- (8) That only women living in the chakla were admitted into the hospital.
- (9) That only medicines for the treatment of venereal were in the hospital.
- (10) That more prostitutes would be sent for, if required, and some sent away if there were too many.

I cannot state of my own knowledge if they are true or not.

With regard to the question whether the positive orders of Government from 1888–90 have been disregarded on the subject, I cannot state positively of my own knowledge that any infringing whatever of these orders has taken place. 520

From the Commandant, Oudh District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—  
(No. C. L. 362, dated Lucknow, the 18th June 1893).

FORWARDED in continuation of this office, No. C. L. 361, dated 13th June 1893, with reference to the Quartermaster General's telegram No. 2672-B., dated 8th June 1893. The Officer Commanding Sitapur has been directed also to comply with Quartermaster General's No. 2747-B., of 12th June 1893, without delay.

From MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 59-D.,—"Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,"—dated Ranikhet, the 15th June 1893). 530

IN forwarding replies to your No. 2570-B., dated 3rd June 1893, and subsequent telegrams, I would premise my statements by saying that the General Officer who commanded the District between 1888–1892, Major-General Sir Robert Low, is now at Lucknow, the two officers who commanded at Bareilly, Lieutenant-Colonel Hillyard, Rifle Brigade, and Colonel Cochran, 1st Hants Regiment (the latter commanded District from November 1891 to 1st May 1892), are both on half pay in England, the Cantonment Magistrate Major Annesley is on leave in England, and the medical officers in charge of the Cantonment Hospital have been changed.

2. In rendering this report I have therefore been unable to rely on personal knowledge before May 1882, but have made the most exhaustive enquiries I have been able to in the time.

3. I cannot support my replies by reference to books, as all the books were sent at your request to Simla.

4. Detailed answers have been given by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, now commanding at Bareilly, and I forward his replies with the letter I addressed to him.

5. I have personally examined a medical officer who was in charge of the Cantonment Hospital from December 1892 to end of January 1893, and his replies corroborate Lieutenant-Colonel Clark's statement.

6. With reference to the various points noted, I would remark— 550

*Name of Hospital.*—The Cantonment Hospital has ever since 1888 been so called officially, and by all who knew its proper name. But if the building stood empty, it would be probably known as the Lock Hospital by the natives. Every one knew that natives are slow to change their ideas, and having known it for years as a Lock Hospital, they will probably continue to call it a Lock Hospital as long as it stands. That it is in any sense a Lock Hospital is absolutely untrue; there is no wall round it, and any one can ride through it in any direction they like.

*Cases treated in Hospital.*—With reference to the cases treated in the Cantonment Hospital, at first no doubt there was a prejudice against going there among the better class native; this prejudice is gradually wearing off, and in January 1893 Surgeon-Major Butt informs me, that not only were all the men's wards full, but the verandahs also were occupied. The implication that any other cases but venereal were treated in any way other than that laid down in G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890, is absolutely false. There is a leprosy hospital in the city of Bareilly, and a case of leprosy would naturally be sent to it. The statement that there were no cholera or small-pox wards at the Cantonment Hospital is absolutely false. I forward a plan showing their position. 560

*The Chakla.*—There is no chakla officially recognised, or in any way paid for by any Cantonment moneys. That prostitutes generally collect in one part of the bazaar is well known, as respectable natives would object to their being scattered through the bazaar. This custom is not unknown in London. 570

BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

Apparently the majority of these houses belong to the matron of the Cantonment Hospital. This I have only just ascertained, and am issuing orders that she must either relinquish her post as matron or her connection with the houses.

*Nature of evidence tendered.*—The answer (379) as to the numbers on the houses shows how loosely the evidence was taken; the large number was the number of the block of the bazaar, the small number the number of the individual house.

It is well known to any one acquainted with India that any European going among natives and asking suggestive questions can obtain nearly any evidence that he requires. An instance of this is to be seen in the answer alleged to have been given by the  
580 Native Doctor at Bareilly, viz., that infectious diseases other than venereal were not treated at the Cantonment Hospital, and apparently the lady inquirers gathered that\* other diseases of a contagious nature were treated otherwise than venereal. The same

\* Answer 789.

Native Doctor is now asked if he has known any case treated otherwise, and he says No. As a matter of fact, none have been.

*Guard over Chakla.*—With reference to the guard over the so-called chakla, it will be seen there is no such guard: that the policeman on duty would probably be frequently near a spot where disturbances may frequently arise, is not unlikely; and another fact is well known, and that is, that if any European appears in the bazaar and begins to make any inquiries, the native policeman is sure to turn up and push himself officiously to the front.

590 *Date of examination.*—The medical officer lately in charge of the Cantonment Hospital at Bareilly informs me that a date was fixed on which women, who wished to be examined, might come. This was merely a business precaution, as the medical officer in charge had other duties to perform, and could not always visit the hospital at the same hour daily. There was absolutely no compulsion. He says that he noticed one woman always accompanied them, but he did not know who she was: doubtless she was the keeper of the bawdy house.

*Reserving women for British Soldiers.*—No doubt the bawdy house-keeper tried to reserve her prostitutes for British soldiers, but she had no official assistance in so doing.

600 From MAJOR G. M. BULLOCK, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, to the Officer Commanding, Bareilly,—(No. 54-D., *Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*, dated Ranikhet, the 9th June, 1893).

In forwarding the enclosed correspondence, I have the honour to request that you will make the closest investigation into the matter therein alluded to, and will return the documents, if possible, so as to reach this office not later than 14th instant, as the report is called for at Simla on 17th instant.

2. The General Officer Commanding is aware that of your own personal knowledge

610 Queries referring to Bareilly Nos. 85-88, 92-93, 124-128, 131, 133, 174, 220, 227, 229, 371-378, 440, 441, 513-515, 528, 538, 575-578, 635, 639-656, 753, 784, 789, 801-809, 871, 948-967, 1066, 1072, 1077, 1080, 1354-1380, 1450-1463. you cannot reply to matter previous to November 1892, but he wishes you to obtain the best evidence you can on the various questions, and also to answer from your personal knowledge what prevails at present.

3. The circulars referred to in telegram No. 2673-B., Q. M. G. will be in your office. The demi-official letters of 13th July 1888, and of the 8th November 1890, are not forthcoming. I enclose the demi-official, dated 21st March 1892.

4. The questions affecting Bareilly are noted in the margin, and your attention is especially called to the following:—

Q. 220. Is there any chakla or house in which women are kept reserved for European soldiers? If so, by whose authority, and what means are used to keep them for Europeans? Who owns the chakla, if there is one? Is the women in charge of it paid, and, if so, by whom?

620 Q. 227.—Is any guard kept over any woman's house, if so, by whose orders?

Q. 513.—Is there any mahaldarni? Does she receive any regular pay, if so, from whom?

Q. 515.—Is there any ground for saying that the expenses of any chakla or bawdy house are charged to the Cantonment fund?

Q. 649.—Is any registration list kept or signed by the medical officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital?

BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

Q. 803.—Please describe the position of the infectious ward of the Cantonment Hospital with reference to the other wards. Also, if the native Doctor of the Cantonment Hospital is the same who was there in January 1892. Please ask him if he knows of any case in which a contagious or infectious disease, other than venereal, has been known to the Cantonment authorities and has not been treated in the way laid down in G. G. O., No. 617, *i.e.*, either admitted to hospital, segregated, or turned out of Cantonment? 630

Q. 379.—Please inquire into these numbers; if the numbers referred to were registration numbers, what was the register? Was there any register of prostitutes, or was the register a register of householders?

Is there any record in the Cantonment Hospital, or in the Cantonment Magistrate's office, of any women being ordered to attend for examination, and, if so, under what circumstances.

Please return all enclosures.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. CLARK, Commanding at Bareilly, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Rohilkhand District, Ranikhet,—(dated Bareilly, the 13th June 1893). 640

*Reference.—Your letter No. 54-D—1893, Confidential, dated the 9th instant.*

1. As it was only received on the 12th it is impossible to despatch the answer, so that it reaches you not later than the 14th instant.

2. Hewewith I furnish replies to the questions marginally noted in your letter above quoted:—

Q. 85.—The hospital is the Cantonment Hospital, and was so then.

Q. 86.—It was called "Cantonment Hospital," but the old name of "Lock Hospital" from force of habits was frequently used, especially by women, and probably by the Native Doctor.

Q. 87.—It was called and described as the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 88.—For treatment of both men and women, there being separate wards for each. The dispensary is part of the building. I am told the men were seen by these visitors. 650

Q. 92. I believe they visited the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 93.—The men were seen by these visitors in *the wards*, and not in the out-door dispensary.

Q. 124. I cannot say who they went to first. The senior medical officers are all changed.

Q. 125.—I cannot say what the medical officers said.

Q. 128.—I cannot ascertain who these friends were.

Q. 131.—There was no Lock Hospital; they visited the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 133.—I understand from the Native Doctor that they looked at the books. 660

Q. 174.—Prostitutes in the sudder bazar have not been reserved for British soldiers since 1888.

Q. 220.—See answer to above. The information given to these visitors was untrue.

Q. 227.—Police were on duty to keep order, but not as a guard. None are now specially detailed.

Q. 229.—See answer to 227. Very likely a policeman was about.

Q. 371-78.—I believe they did make a visit in March, and the numbers they saw might have been as described.

Q. 440.—The statement is not correct; no room or house was so marked.

Q. 513.—There is none now. 670

Q. 515.—No expenses were ever paid out of Cantonment Fund for payment of mahaldarni; a dhai in the Cantonment Hospital received and receives pay for services in the hospital.

Q. 528.—The numbers are probably correct.

Q. 538.—There was a tariff, but I can't say what it was.

Q. 575.—I have no means of proving the truth of the statement; it is probably about one-hundredth part true and the rest untrue.

Q. 578.—See above.

Q. 635.—They make their way to the hills no doubt, but they do not "march with the soldiers," nor are they recognized. 680

Q. 639.—Statement is not correct; no examinations were held.

Q. 686.—I can find no register of any examination.



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BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

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Q. 753.—There being no compulsory examination, the statement is untrue.

Q. 784.—There is a small-pox ward at the Cantonment Hospital, and patients have been treated there. The Leprosy Hospital is not in the cantonment. One case of small-pox in 1891, none in 1892, 2 in 1893, 1 in a ward at present.

Q. 789.—Would be treated as contagious diseases.

Q. 801.—Answered before.

690 Q. 803.—There is both a small-pox and cholera ward.

Q. 804.—They were treated in separate wards.

Q. 805.—It is not a “venereal building.”

Q. 806.—I have no reports left; the books are not here.

Q. 807-9.—No record exists of their going to the Officer Commanding the station or any one else to report.

Q. 871.—Previously answered as to numbers.

Q. 948-967.—There was no compulsory examination.

Q. 1066.—The wards for men and women are separate.

Q. 1072.—Cantonment Hospital,

700 Q. 1077.—If a woman came and wished to be examined, it would be done at the hospital.

Q. 1080.—Answered before.

Q. 1354.—No record of the date, but probably correct.

Q. 1380.—The woman alluded to is still so living.

Q. 1450-1463.—The examinations were voluntary, and are so now. Certain days were fixed. Several women have come very recently of their own accord for examination and treatment, as they find they are treated well and kindly, and no punishment, such as turning them out, or anything else, is inflicted.

I forward the following answers to the questions to which you direct my particular attention :—

710 Q. 230.—There is no chakla or house in which women are reserved for European soldiers.

Since the arrival of the present Cantonment Magistrate, in consequence of some complaints of drunken soldiers trying to enter the houses of respectable people in the sudder bazaar, it was suggested to the women that they should live in one part of the bazaar. (By women, I mean prostitutes.) They have all moved to one part now. The houses they have gone into mostly belong to one woman, the matron of the Cantonment Hospital. I dare say this part of the bazaar will be known as the “chakla,” though it is not so.

The women are in no way reserved for Europeans.

Mrs. Barrett is the name of the owner of most of the houses occupied by prostitutes.

720 There is no woman in charge.

There is no payment made to any one for being in charge.

Q. 227.—There is no guard over any house.

Q. 513.—There is no mahaldarni, and consequently no pay.

Q. 515.—No grounds whatever for such a statement.

Q. 649.—There is no register or list kept, consequently there is nothing to sign.

When I sent the books to Simla, I found no registers or lists. The register seems to have been given up in 1888.

730 Q. 803.—I enclose a sketch of the Cantonment Hospital as it now exists. The clerk in the Cantonment Magistrate's Court states that a verandah used to be where the dispensary now is.

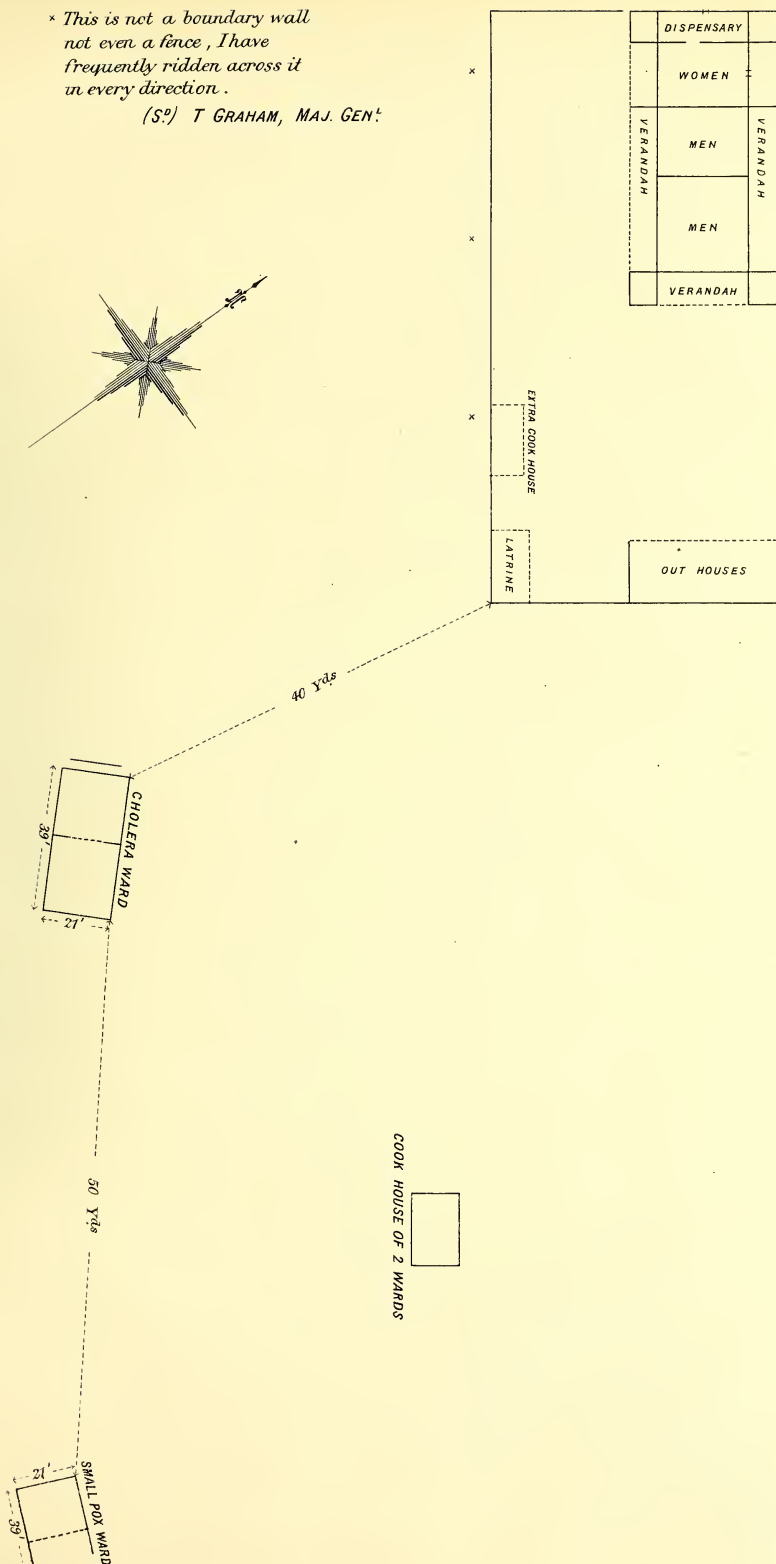
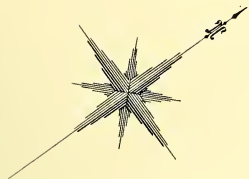
2. Yes; the Native Doctor has been there since 9th October 1891.

3. He states he does not know of any.

Q. 379.—Cantonment Magistrate states that the numbers had no reference at all to any registration of women; but the large number was the number of the *block* or portion of the bazaar, and the small numbers those of the houses in the *block*. There was and is no register of prostitutes.

There is no record *anywhere* of any woman being ordered to attend anywhere or at any time for examination. I have no documents to support these statements, nearly all the books having been sent to Simla.

\* This is not a boundary wall  
not even a fence, I have  
frequently ridden across it  
in every direction.  
(S<sup>o</sup>) T GRAHAM, MAJ. GEN<sup>l</sup>.







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BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND  
DISTRICT.

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BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

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740 From MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, C.B., R.A., Commanding the Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 60-D.—1893, “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Ranikhet, the 17th June 1893).

I HAVE already forwarded my reply to your No. 2726-B., dated 10th June 1893, but even at the risk of repetition I answer again categorically the allegations made in the statement of so-called facts relating to the administration of the East India Cantonment Act., forwarded with your No. 2748-B., dated 12th June 1893.

I (A) No provision whatever is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities at Bareilly for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers.

750 (B) No compulsory examination of such women is made in Bareilly by European or Native medical officers.

(C & D) Women found diseased are detained in hospital, or expelled from cantonments in accordance with G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890.

The Cantonment Hospital at Bareilly is not used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of prostitutes.

As to 1, there is no recognised chakla in the sudder bazar at Bareilly, but the prostitutes undoubtedly live together. Doubtless the prostitutes may live by themselves each in one room; I know of no law to prevent them: and doubtless they may receive visits from soldiers in their quarters, though I am informed that they generally go with  
760 soldiers to other quarters than those they sleep in; but of this I cannot get very reliable information. The women probably do no other work; harlots seldom do.

I am not aware that there is any solicitation by the women.

If natives are not allowed to resort to them, that is probably an arrangement between the women and the keeper of the brothel.

The women may leave the cantonment whenever they like.

The chakla, or quarters, in which the harlots happen to live at Bareilly do not belong to the Government, but doubtless may have been acquired by their present owners from Government.

If the harlots live rent-free, it is because the owners of the houses allow them to.

770 There is no guard placed over the so-called chakla.

There is no register kept of chakla women.

There are no plates or numbers, metal or other, affixed over the quarters of the harlots, indicating the register number of the harlots, there being no register.

There is a keeper of a brothel apparently at Bareilly who may call herself a mahaldarni. Her wages are not paid out of the cantonment fund. Very possibly she has certificates from British officers showing her to have been in the employment of the cantonment previous to the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Acts; but as she is not in any way in the employment of the cantonment, I cannot call upon her to produce  
them.

780 She has no duties connected with the cantonment and has nothing to do with the production of women for periodical examination.

I have no knowledge at present of the number of harlots living in cantonments, but could ascertain it from the general register of inhabitants in cantonments, if necessary.

Probably the rate of pay harlots get from soldiers is low and may be graduated.

The amount is never stopped out of men's pay.

I know nothing of the manner in which prostitutes spend their earnings. As nearly every class of native tries to prey on some other, doubtless bunnials and others prey on these women.

The usual fate of prostitutes, unless they die, is to be replaced by younger women when they grow old. I believe prostitutes begin their trade young in this country.

790 No transport is ever allowed to prostitutes when a regiment moves, doubtless many follow it.

They are never protected by European guards. I know nothing of what the so-called mahaldarni may try to do to protect them. She is not under Government control.

BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT. AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

(B) No women are entered in a register: no woman is required to present herself for periodical examination: nor is the Cantonment Hospital established for these particular diseases.

The voluntary examination is generally held once a week on a particular day, and a woman may come or not as she likes.

I am informed by a medical officer lately in charge of the Cantonment Hospital that the examination is mainly done by the dhai, and hardly ever with the speculum. 800

The women for voluntary examination come on a fixed day, and probably either walk or come in some kind of conveyance.

(C) The women who voluntarily come for examination either are dismissed, detained in hospital, or turned out of cantonments.

No women are detained in hospital during the menstrual period.

During detention in hospital all the poorer patients, venereal or others, receive subsistence from the cantonment funds—*vide* G. G. O. No. 617, paragraph 3.

(D) The Cantonment Magistrate never orders any women up for examination, nor are they fined, imprisoned, or expelled from cantonments for not appearing for examination. If diseased, and known to be so, they have either to go to hospital or to leave cantonments. 810

If a woman leaves cantonments she can come back whenever she likes, unless she is known to be diseased.

*As to 2.* Very few natives like to go to a hospital which has been known in former years as a lock hospital. The prejudice is dying out in Bareilly.

Many cases of secondary syphilis have been treated in the Cantonment Hospital.

No women are subjected to obligatory examination.

With regard to the above "charges" against cantonment authorities, might I ask what alternative an officer commanding a cantonment has to either permit a harlot "to resume her shameful calling" or to turn her out of cantonments? Has he any power to turn her out of cantonments for pursuing her shameful calling if she is not diseased? 820

Is there any law under which he can compel her to work, or if she does not work, punish her?

I am aware of none.

I should be only too glad if Cantonment Magistrates were allowed to expel from cantonments every harlot caught plying her trade, and to imprison any attempting to return.

It also would be a great boon to cantonments if cantonment hospitals were closed and Government charitable dispensaries founded in their place.

The cantonment hospital is a great burden on the cantonment fund, while owing to its previous history it is not well received by the classes whom it might be desirable to help.

The charges against cantonment authorities appear to be both that they allow 830 harlots to live in cantonments and that they expel them; that if harlots remain in cantonments they are allowed to ply their shameful calling, that if they are expelled they starve. There is an alternative, and that is, that if expelled from cantonments they go to the neighbouring native city and come back after dark and disease soldiers.

The average number of patients in the General Hospital at Bareilly who suffer from venereal disease has been, during my stay at Bareilly, about 50 per cent. of the patients, while many of the other diseases are directly traceable to venereal.

From MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head-Quarters, Simla—(No. 38-D, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Dalhousie, 15th June 1893). 840

IN compliance with your No. 2571-B., dated 3rd instant (received evening of 6th instant), and No. 2624-B., of 6th instant, I have the honour to enclose herewith a report regarding the station of Meean Meer.

2. The Officer Commanding at Amritsar in March 1892 is not now under my command. He has been communicated with by telegram, and his report will be furnished on receipt; but as my report is due in Simla on the 17th instant, it cannot be delayed for this statement.

Y. 24265.

3 E



AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT,  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

A statement by the medical officer there in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, is, however, attached (annexure A), which deals directly with the allegations  
890 (inferred, though advisedly stated) that the examination of prostitutes was not voluntary.

3. I am unable to state of my own personal knowledge what is or what is not true in the allegations regarding facts previous to April 1892, as I did not assume command of the Lahore District until 1st April last year.

4. I will deal as far as possible with the case of Amritsar first, being the simpler, remarking categorically on each question and reply affecting that station, as recorded in the minutes of evidence.

Q. 293.—Date of visit not disputed.

Q. 294. The fact that a small brothel only exists in the sudder bazaar is not disputed. Its construction is similar to most native houses, and requires no comment.

900 Q. 295.—The fact that there was a mahaldarni is not disputed.

Q. 296, 297.—The number of British troops in Amritsar is not disputed. It is 200.

Q. 298.—The fact that an English soldier was seen near the brothel is not disputed.

Q. 510.—The fact that the mahaldarni was not a Government servant, but was paid by the women themselves, is not disputed.

Q. 637, 640.—The fact that prostitutes were examined by the medical officer is not disputed. Such examination was, however, voluntary and not compulsory.

It may perhaps be noted, however, that there is a slight discrepancy between answer 294 and 641 in the evidence. Answer 294 states there were five prostitutes only in the brothel. Answer 641 states the information regarding examinations was received from  
910 six prostitutes in the same place, exclusive of the mahaldarni.

Q. 643.—The fact that a book of expenses is kept up at the Cantonment Hospital is not disputed.

Q. 678.—The examination of prostitutes at Amritsar was entirely voluntary, nor was any complaint or representation on that subject made to the medical officer in charge or to the Hospital Assistant, Cantonment Hospital (annexure A).

Q. 1302.—The fact that there were no patients in the female ward, Cantonment Hospital, on 1st March 1892, is not disputed. The number of native inhabitants of cantonments is small, and native soldiers are treated in their own hospital.

The Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, is divided into two wards, for males and females  
920 situated in separate though adjacent houses. This was the only suitable accommodation procurable in the cantonment. The male ward has been occasionally used, at any rate, as I have seen a patient or patients there at my visit, and I know that out-patients are treated at this hospital.

Q. 1304—1306.—The fact that a matron for the female ward, Cantonment Hospital, is paid from the cantonment funds is not disputed. Her pay is Rs. 10 (ten rupees) per mensem, and will be found included in the annual cantonment budget estimate for last year.

Q. 1307—1311.—The fact that the Cantonment Hospital possesses necessary instruments and equipment for the surgical examination of women is not disputed, nor that the  
930 examination of women voluntarily presenting themselves is made.

There do not appear to be any further statements affecting Amritsar.

5. Regarding the report from Meean Meer, it is plain therefrom that the orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances :—

(a) Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazaars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses.

(b) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way.

(c) From some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate (see last paragraph of report from Officer Commanding, Meean Meer), women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of  
940 prostitutes in any form whatever then continued.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

6. I am now instituting searching enquiries as to how this misconception on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate occurred.

I have every reason to believe from my personal knowledge that the matters at fault have been already entirely rectified in every detail, and on this I shall assure myself again at my next visit to Meean Meer, in a few days' time. 910

7. In addition to the replies of the Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, there are two points to be touched on.

*Answer 279.*—In the evidence it is stated there were 12 women at the rest-camp. This is an absolute falsehood, without the very slightest foundation whatever. I have the positive statement of Captain Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General in charge of the camp since 1890, that not only do no women of any kind whatever live at or near the camp, but there is no bazaar there, and the only native inhabitants are the camp servants.

8. With regard to the brothel in the sudder bazaar, I would invite your attention to your No. 415-B., dated 1st February 1893, forwarding a petition from one Badri Singh, the owner of this brothel, and my reply thereto, No. 550-B., dated 14th March 1893, from which it is clear that the Cantonment Committee repudiated all responsibility for rent in September 1888, and declined to accede to the petition of the owner (to whom the rent had been guaranteed previously) to cause the prostitutes to reside in the brothel. The owner, therefore, petitioned the Commander-in-Chief. 920

9. With reference to the replies of Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, Nos. 667 to 670 I have called for a copy of the alleged petition, or a statement by some person who saw the petition, to be forwarded to me, and it shall be transmitted. I regret that time does not admit to procure and forward it now, as the statement was only received yesterday evening, and my report must be posted before 11 A.M. to-day.

It is hoped, therefore, that, for this reason, in view of the short time available for the preparation of the report, any omissions may be forgiven. 930

The statements of evidence are returned under separate cover.

Telegram from SURGEON-CAPTAIN TROTTER, Amritsar, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Dalhousie,—(dated 13th June 1893).

“Examination of women in March 1892 quite voluntary. No complaint or representation ever made to me or to my Hospital Assistant.”

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. D. DOUGLAS, R.A., Commanding at Meean Meer, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District,—(No. 3-C., “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Meean Meer, 13th June 1893).

With reference to your No. 31-D., dated 7th June 1893, forwarding Quarter-master-General in India's No. 2571-B., dated 3rd June 1893, and enclosures, I have the honour to submit the following report on the allegations made in the attached minutes of evidence:— 940

Paragraph 266.—Admitted.

Paragraph 267.—Admitted.

Paragraph 268.—Admitted.

Paragraph 269.—It appears on inquiry that they conversed with a woman named Hooseenie who lived next to the chukla and who was known as a mahaldarni, but who is not the matron who lives in the compound of the Contagious Diseases Hospital.

Paragraphs 272–276.—They paid rent to the owners of the houses and not to the mahaldarni.

Paragraph 277.—Admitted. 950

Paragraphs 419–423.—No comments to make.

Paragraphs 424, 425.—The wording of the blank form is not correct. Instead of “as she is enrolled,” &c., it should be “and who attends the periodical inspection at the voluntary venereal hospital.”

Paragraph 426. Impossible to say—no counterfoils to refer to.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Paragraphs 427, 428.—No comment to make.

Paragraphs 429, 430.—Admitted.

Paragraph 433.—Ticket admitted to be correct.

960 Paragraphs 487, 490.—The mahaldarni seen and conversed with in her own house abutting the chukla, had nothing whatever to do with the voluntary venereal hospital, nor was she in receipt, as stated by her, of Rs. 10 a month from Government.

The matron who does receive Rs. 10 a month from cantonment funds lives in the compound of the voluntary venereal hospital altogether apart, and some distance away, from the chukla.

Paragraphs 491, 492.—Impossible.

Paragraph 495.—Admitted.

Paragraph 624.—It was customary for them to pay for their own carts.

Paragraph 625.—The mahaldarni conversed with had no standing.

970 Paragraph 626.—Most probable that they paid for their own carts.

Paragraph 648.—It has never been denied that the European medical officer held the examination.

Paragraph 651.—Without a reference to the books it is impossible to state distinctly what entries were made in them, but it is believed they were to this effect—that the woman had been examined and had been found clean, or that she was suffering from such and such a disease.

Paragraphs 667, 670.—Cannot comment on this. In 1889 (October) the prostitutes of the sudder bazaar expressed their willingness (in a petition) to attend and be inspected as heretofore.

980 Paragraphs 735, 737.—Undisputed.

Paragraphs 1219, 1220.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1221.—No watchman at the gate.

Paragraph 1222.—It is in the sudder bazaar.

Paragraph 1223.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1225.—Evidently the latter book.

Paragraphs 1226, 1227.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1228.—No comment to make.

Paragraph 1229.—Not correctly worded, as shown before.

990 Paragraph 1237.—The dhai, so called, otherwise the mehtrani, receives Rs. 5 per mensem from the cantonment funds.

The registration of prostitutes was stopped in August 1888 and recommenced in March 1890. The issue of tickets also ceased between September 1888 and March 1890, and was commenced again on receipt of Quartermaster-General's No. 283-B., dated 28th January 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment for Meean Meer Lock Hospital. From September 1888 no inspections took place, but on receipt of the above-quoted circular, women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly examinations made, so far voluntary, that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examination she was told she must either be examined or leave the station.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 170 C., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Murree, 14th June 1893).

1000

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communications noted in the margin, and to report that the investigation therein directed has been held personally by myself and Colonel Pennington, C.B., now in command of the station at Rawal Pindi. As most of the corps concerned are quartered about this station, the enquiry has been held here instead of at Rawal Pindi, the officers required being brought up for examination.

1. Q. M. G.'s No. 2572-B., dated 3rd June 1893.

2. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2625-B., dated 6th June 1893.

3. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2675-B., dated 8th June 1893.

4. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2728-B., dated 10th June 1893.

5. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2743-B., dated 12th June 1893.

1010



RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

2. The minutes of evidence taken before the Departmental Committee of the Secretary of State for India have been carefully examined, and all relating to Rawal Pindi noted. The corps and individual officers referred to are :—

- (1) 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, now stationed at Kuldanna.
- (2) 2nd Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders, now at Ferozepore.
- (3) 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, now at Gharial.
- (4) Three Batteries of Mountain Artillery, one of which has left the district, the other two now stationed in the Murree Hills.
- (5) The Royal Artillery of the Rawal Pindi garrison; head-quarters in Church Lines, Rawal Pindi. 1020
- (6) Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate.
- (7) The medical officer in charge of the hospital visited by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell.
- (8) The native assistant in the hospital.

3. The list of officers called up and examined is annexed; it includes all available officers concerned :—

- (1) Lieutenant-Colonel Price, then Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, has left the service. The Quartermaster is present.
- (2) The Seaforth Highlanders have left the command.
- (3) The Commanding Officer and Quartermaster of the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifles, are present; also the present Commanding Officer's immediate temporary predecessor. 1030
- (4) The Commanding Officer and Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery are present. One battery has left the command; the Commanding Officer of one of the other batteries is on leave in England.
- (5) The Commanding Officer of the Royal Artillery has left the command. The Adjutant is present.
- (6) Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi, is present.
- (7) Of the medical officers who have been in charge of the hospital concerned of late years, Surgeon-Major Mawson, I.M.S., and Surgeon-Major Battersby, M.S., are alone present. 1040
- (8) The native assistant who was in subordinate charge of the hospital at the period mentioned is present. His immediate predecessor, who was (apparently) the native official referred to in the minutes, is at Meean Meer, and has been telegraphed for.

4. The various allegations have been classified under heads, and the examination of the various witnesses has been directed accordingly. As far as possible the questions and answers of the Secretary of State's Committee, to which the examination refers, have been noted in the margin.

5. Before remarking on the evidence, I would beg to refer to the various orders and instructions received consequent on the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888, to which my particular attention has been drawn. These documents may be classified in three groups :—

- (1) The legislation and orders of 1888, comprising—
  - (a) The Resolution of the House of Commons.
  - (b) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888.
  - (c) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3001-B., dated 13th July 1888.
  - (d) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 12, dated 6th August 1888.
- (2) The legislation and orders of 1890, comprising—
  - (a) The Cantonment Act of 1889, in force from 1st January 1890. 1060
  - (b) The rules issued under the Act, G. G. O., Judicial, No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.
  - (c) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 4910 B., dated 8th November 1890.

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(3) The orders of 1892, comprising—

- (a) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 420-B.—Camp, dated 21st March 1892.
- (b) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.
- (c) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 21, dated 13th Ju'y 1892.

In addition to the above there were—

- 1070 (4) The enquiry held under Quartermaster-General's No. 5379-B., dated 31st October 1891.
- (5) Quartermaster-General's No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892.
- (6) Quartermaster-General's No. 1961-B., dated 9th May 1892.
- (7) Quartermaster General's No. 527-B., dated 9th February 1893.

6. The first group refers to a period antecedent to my assumption of the command of this district. The orders enjoined were—

- (1) That the residence of registered prostitutes in bazaars of British corps is prohibited.
- 1080 (2) That no public prostitutes are to be permitted to accompany regiments on the line of march.
- (3) That no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, or any tickets issued, nor compulsory examination of women held.
- (4) The Cantonment Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

7. The second group contains the rules published in G. G. O. 617 of 4th July 1890, and the Quartermaster-General's order to report that the instructions conveyed in previous orders are being fully carried out in my command.

In reply to that order I reported in my demi-official No. 26-C., of the 9th December 1890. I stated that the whole question had been dealt with confidentially by my predecessor, and that I therefore thought it best to enclose the actual replies received from Commanding Officers. I added that I should await the receipt of orders from the Quartermaster General before taking further action; and as to the general observance of the rules, I stated that nowhere in this command was there any compulsory examination of women, and that the Cantonment Hospitals are conducted on the purely voluntary principle.

8. Next in the order of sequence came (4) the inquiry under Quartermaster-General's No. 5379 of 31st October 1891. This was a reference relative to the working of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and rules regarding venereal disease in this command, directed by Military Department letter No. 4123, dated 21st October 1891. in consequence of a protest of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland against the Cantonment Act and the rules framed under it. To this reference I replied in my No. 11-C., dated 10th January 1892. I considered it necessary to place the Quartermaster-General in possession of the reports of all Commanding Officers, as it would be impossible to convey in a single report the exact tenor of the whole. In regard to the points more especially insisted upon, I stated my opinion as follows :—

- (1) The military authorities of this district are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.
- (2) Compulsion, in excess of that which is authorized under the rules, is not resorted to.
- (3) There is nothing that can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality.
- 1110 9. Quartermaster-General's No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892 (5), should here be referred to, as it was the first intimation that the Quartermaster-General's circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888 was held to refer generally to prostitutes, instead of, as stated in the circular, to "registered" prostitutes, and that in fact the residence of prostitutes generally in regimental bazaars was prohibited.

10. Group (3) [referred to in paragraph 5] should next be noted. These orders were in effect—

- (1) An injunction that the resolution of the House of Commons, the Cantonment Act, 1889, and the rules issued thereunder (G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890), should be strictly interpreted.
- 1120 (2) A reiteration of the previous rules issued by the Quartermaster-General.

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- (3.) An admonition to medical officers as to the extended scope proposed by Government for the dispensing of medical relief in the Cantonment Hospitals.

In Quartermaster-General's circular No. 20, included in this group, it was particularly enjoined that prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazaars. This point is noted, as in the present enquiry this circular (dated 11th July 1892) is relied upon by some Commanding Officers as being the first injunction that prostitutes were prohibited from residing in regimental bazaars.

11. The communication (5) dated 16th February 1892 had special application to three regiments alone. I myself did not appreciate any distinction between "registered" prostitutes and prostitutes generally, more especially as the registration of prostitutes had been prohibited as early as 1888, but I feel bound to accept the plea set forward by, for instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, Royal Artillery, in regard to whom any suggestion of mental reservation cannot be entertained. 1130

12. Quartermaster-General's circular No. 1961-B., dated 9th May 1892 (6), addressed to Major-General Luck during my absence in England, asking if any registration of prostitutes existed in any cantonment in this command, was replied to in the negative by my No. 87-C., dated 15th May 1892.

13. Quartermaster-General's No. 527-B., dated 9th February 1893 (6), was a communication from the Quartermaster-General in a special case which laid down the general rule that a regimental bazaar in a station, even if it is the only bazaar, is still to be regarded as one in which the residence of prostitutes is to be prohibited. 1140

14. Having detailed the orders received in connection with this enquiry, I proceed to state what in my opinion is, and what is not, true in the allegations regarding the station of Rawal Pindi contained in the printed minutes of evidence in the proceedings of the Secretary of State's Departmental Committee.

15. I have generalised the allegations under the following heads. The use of the present tense refers to the period of the visits referred to in the minutes of evidence.

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Questions 217-219, 282, 407, 434, 1361-63.

A.—*That women are reserved for European soldiers and registered by corps.*

The evidence shows there was no reservation of any sort. The Cantonment Magistrate took no action of the kind. It would appear that women voluntarily attached themselves to a mahaldarni, and that the mahaldarni with her troop either resided in the sudder bazaar or attached herself to a particular regiment, residing where she could—in quarters if she could get them, or if not, in tent provided by herself. It is probable that this was a survival of the old system abolished in 1888, before which there was presumably, as a general practice, registration of women and their allocation in regimental bazaars. That registration ceased in 1888 there appears to be no doubt. How far the mahaldarnis were countenanced subsequent to that date it is difficult to determine. The only allegation of direct connection with the authorities of a regiment in the minutes of evidence is in answer 497, where it is stated that the mahaldarni of the Highlanders (Seaforth) bazaar showed certificates of service extending to November 1891. It is, however, not stated by whom the certificates were given, and I have been unable to pursue the investigation in this case. 1150 1160

In the present enquiry it has been elicited that in the Royal Artillery Church Lines there was cognizance of a mahaldarni and certain women who resided near the regimental bazaar, and lists of whom were seen by the Adjutant. Any agreement or arrangement with these women is, however, repudiated, and they appear to have been free agents to come and go as they pleased without reference to any regimental authority in the Royal Artillery.

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Questions 176-78, 282-92.

B.—*That chaklas under regimental cognizance in regimental bazaars still exist.*

The inquiry shows that this was not the case.

1170

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Questions 220, 407, 434, 639-41, 656, 671-76, 1261-68, 1299-1301, 1447-48, 1455-50

C.—*That compulsory periodical examinations are in force for women receiving Europeans, but not for those consorting with natives.*

The whole enquiry shows that there has been no compulsion of any kind, unless the procedure under the rules (G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890) is called compulsion. The letter-books of the Cantonment Hospital and of the Cantonment Magistrate have been put in to show the procedure which obtained. The action of the Cantonment Magistrate appears to be strictly according to law except his suggestion, in his letter No. 3044, of 13th November 1891, which was, however, not acted on. In regard to the action of the medical officers of the hospital, it appears to have been the practice to employ the dhail of the hospital to procure information as to the state of the women in the sudder bazaar. 1180



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Whether this practice is within the terms of the law or not may be questioned. It appears to me that it is not illegal, although it was open to abuse, and was therefore in so far objectionable. This practice has long ceased. On the other hand, whether the action taken by the medical officers on the information was in all cases legal is more open to question. The procedure that should be followed is, I believe, correctly described by Captain Dennys in his evidence. Various letters in the two letter-books under notice have been marked, and cross-references, to show action taken, have been inserted.

There is one class of letter which calls for special remark, addressed by the medical officer to Officers commanding regiments. There are a few of these, commencing  
1190 apparently with No. 26, of 24th March 1891. This, it appears to me, was written under a misapprehension. The writer was Surgeon-Captain Garvie, who took over charge on the 26th February and relinquished it on the 23rd March 1891. The terms of the letter indicate that a new arrangement is asked for, and it is addressed to nearly all British corps. No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, is addressed, whereas there were three mountain batteries, but the writer was probably unaware that the bazaar was not a battery organization, but was under the Lieutenant-Colonel. The letter was written also on or about the very date that the troops left Rawal Pindi for the Hazara Expedition of 1891. Endeavours have been made to trace these letters of the 4th March in the enquiry, but without success. Probably no notice was taken of them. Another letter that requires  
1200 special notice is Surgeon-Major Mawson's, No. 92 of 10th November 1891. So far as it concerns his relation with the Cantonment Magistrate it speaks for itself; but the last sentence requires attention. Surgeon-Major Mawson explains this in his evidence (*vide* answer No. 78).

There is a noticeable fact in connection with this allegation which appears to me to negative absolutely the idea of compulsion. The number of European troops in garrison at Rawal Pindi during the cold weather is certainly over five thousand. Both the minutes of evidence (Question 434) and Surgeon-Major Mawson's evidence (Questions 79, 80) show that the number of women examined weekly was insignificant compared with the numbers that are known to reside in cantonments. If there was any system of examination by compulsion in this the largest European garrison in India, it seems to me certain that the number of examinations would, in the nature of things, have greatly exceeded the  
1210 admitted number of attendances.

No doubt the law was put in force to induce suspected women to come up for examination, but healthy women also came up voluntarily, and if the latter be deducted, the numbers of the former class (*i.e.*, the suspected) are reduced to comparatively very small dimensions.

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Questions 738-42.

D.—*That penalties were in force for refusing to submit to examination.*

There is nothing to be said on this point. Any action taken is described in the evidence of Captain Dennys, and appears to have been perfectly legal.

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Questions 496-505, 920-939.

E.—*That mahaldarnis are in regimental employ, or at any rate that transactions between them and the women are recognised, and that they receive certificates of good service.*

This allegation is wholly and universally repudiated, including the Royal Artillery, in which it is admitted that the mahaldarnis' lists of women were seen. That any mahaldarnis were, at the time referred to, in regimental employ, I do not believe; but that their presence about the various regimental quarters, accompanied by their women, was known, cannot be doubted. This knowledge, however, does not necessarily constitute recognition of transactions between the mahaldarnis and the women employed by them. The case of the Seaforth Highlanders, where a mahaldarni is said to have received a certificate as recently as November 1891, cannot be inquired into.

Secretary of State's Committee.  
Question 528.

F.—*That women reside in regimental bazaars.*

The answer marginally quoted implies the residence in the bazaar of an establishment of prostitutes entertained regimentally. This is universally denied, and I do not believe the practice existed. That there were prostitutes in all bazaars is more than probable, but if it was so, they were not regimentally entertained or registered. Registration, in fact, wholly ceased in 1888, and the bands of prostitutes frequented by soldiers I believe to have resided outside the regimental bazaars. Lieutenant-Colonel Keith has specially, in his statement following on his examination, explained his views as to the orders on the point. Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall has also given evidence as to the West Ridge bazaar. The injunction of Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3001-B., of 13th July 1888, addressed to Sir T. Baker, has been already referred to. It had not been acted on up to October 1888, when I assumed the

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command, and I quite recognise the difficulty of complying with it. To expel a set of women is one thing, to compel them to adopt a designated residence is another thing. The one may be effected, the other cannot. I know no legal means of enforcing it. It should also be stated that, in the case of the Lal Kurti bazaar, commonly spoken of by the natives by the names or numbers of the cavalry or infantry regiment quartered in the Church Lines, it is in fact a small town of 9,000 inhabitants. At the period referred to in this enquiry this overgrown bazaar had been taken out of regimental jurisdiction and handed over to the Cantonment Magistrate. It was in fact a sudder bazaar and had come under sudder bazaar rules.

It has for years been a source of anxiety and difficulty owing to its size and situation. In respect to this bazaar the rules as to the expulsion of prostitutes and of their location in the sudder would no apply.

In respect to the Artillery bazaar, the women were not within its precincts. The interpretation of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 1888 as to the expression "registered prostitutes" applies in this case for what it is worth up to the middle of 1892. After that date, if the women were allowed to occupy the locality described by Captain Leslie, it was a breach of orders. Further enquiry alone can show if this was the case. It would seem from entries in the malhaldarni's book, handed in by Captain Leslie, that the occupation of these huts continued until recently.

G.—*That the rates which soldiers pay for the use of women are fixed.*—The rates may be fixed by custom amongst the mahaldarnis, but that there is any official or regimental cognizance of these rates is, I believe, wholly imaginary. Enquiry in English towns might disclose customary rates which in many cases might be the same, but it would be equally just to charge the municipalities concerned with regulating prostitution, as a concerted plan, because this tariff existed, as to charge the cantonment authorities in India with a similar base transaction.

H.—*That women are unlawfully detained in hospital.*—The native official who is Secretary of State's Committee. concerned in this charge is not serving in the district. He has been sent for, but has not arrived in time for examination. Surgeon-Major Mawson has given evidence on this point, which appears to be quite satisfactory.

J.—*That women are ill-used by soldiers.*—The evidence shows that no complaint of this nature has been received. In the absence of any complaint the presumption is that no cases have occurred.

K.—*That some prostitutes are very young.—15 or 16 years of age.*—The probability is that prostitution is practised at even younger ages than this. The age of puberty in India is 12 years.

L.—*That women accompany corps on the march under regimental care and protection.*—This charge relates to the Mountain Batteries and to the 2nd Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders. The Artillery officers have given evidence on this point. The Seaforth Highlanders cannot be examined here.

I have little doubt that women do follow regiments on the march. The practice cannot be prevented; but that is not the charge. I prefer to accept the evidence of the officers to that of the women, which seems to be on a par with the statement coupled with it, that they had been registered by Government.

M.—*That certificate are given to dhais.*—This is fully explained by Surgeon-Major Mawson. I see no reason why a dhai should not get a certificate as well as any other public or private native servant.

N.—*That only venereal diseases were treated at the Cantonment Hospital and no secondary syphilis.*—This statement has also been dealt with by Surgeon-Major Mawson. It is altogether erroneous. The hospital afforded medical relief, according to the design of Government, to the fullest extent of which it was capable.

It is obvious that none but prostitutes could be expected to go there. No respectable woman would venture near it, and it is difficult to imagine why it was expected that men should be treated there.

These ladies asked to be taken to the Lock Hospital, and they were naturally taken to the contagious disease ward for women of the Cantonment General Hospital. They saw some medicines used for venereal cases, and they concluded that there were no others. It is unfortunate that the hospital assistant, described as a graduate of Calcutta, and an M.D.,



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cannot be examined, and explain his statements where they differ from Surgeon-Major Mawson's. As regards the treatment of males, if these ladies had widened the scope of their enquiry, they would have found within a stone's throw of the hospital they visited another hospital, or rather another section of the same hospital, under the same medical officer, where in-patients were admitted and out-patients treated, where there was a fully equipped dispensary capable of affording relief to the whole sudder bazaar.

1310 It was here that cases were diagnosed and all infectious cases immediately sent to the contagious diseases ward of the same hospital, which was located at a distance.

A statement by Surgeon-Major Battersby as to the scope of the hospital is annexed to the evidence. I would invite attention to the concluding sentence. This section of the Cantonment General Hospital is now practically useless, and this has resulted not from restricting operation within legal limits, but from non-application of the law at all. I am told, and I believe it is true, that women are suffering unnecessarily, and with slight encouragement would seek relief at the hospital. But this encouragement is not forthcoming. All officials concerned are holding back.

1320 There is a general indisposition to incur the responsibility of action, which, however legal it may appear, may, by some fresh limitation at any time, come to be construed as an irregularity. The fear is groundless, but it is not the less real, and the public service suffers. The same causes are at work in these hill stations. Protective measures are paralysed. The result cannot but be prejudicial to the health of the troops. Disease is increasing to an alarming extent. One regiment has 59 cases of venereal and 24 of all other diseases.

16. This enquiry has been made as full as time permitted. Investigation might have been pursued further in several directions; but the instructions that the report must reach Simla on the 17th instant, instead of the 23rd instant as previously ordered, has left only four days for the proceedings, including the preparation of the report.

*List of enclosures to letter No. 170-C. of 14th June 1893, to Quartermaster-General in India.*

- 1330 1. Evidence given at enquiry held by the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District.
2. Statement by Lieutenant-Colonel P. H. Smith, 1st Devonshire Regiment.
3. Report by Surgeon Major J. Battersby, Medical Service.
4. Extract Cantonment Hospital letter book.
5. Confidential letter from Lieutenant-Colonel J. Keith, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, dated 13th June 1893.
6. Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Bedfordshire Regiment, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi, dated 12th June 1893.
- 1340 7. Heliogram from Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Bedfordshire Regiment, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi, dated 14th June 1893.
8. Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, 1st King's Royal Rifles, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi, dated 14th June 1893.
9. List of officers attending prostitute enquiry.
10. List of books despatched by parcel post.

*Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Keith, D.S.O., Royal Artillery.*

Q. 1.—You were commanding Officer of the Mountain Artillery at West Ridge Barracks at Rawal Pindi between 20th and 26th February 1892, inclusive?

A. 1.—Yes.

1350 Q. 2.—Had you any bazaar establishment attached to your command, and if so, where was it located?

A. 2.—A portion of the general bazaar at West Ridge is apportioned to the Mountain Artillery, and I had an establishment for it of one mutsuddie and two weighmen who live in the bazaar lines, and a conservancy establishment of sweepers. The individual batteries had no separate bazaars, nor had the Officers Commanding Batteries any jurisdiction in it.



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RAWALPINDI—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KEITH, R.A.—CAPTAIN DOWELL, R.A.,  
ADJUTANT OF THE MOUNTAIN ARTILLERY.

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- 176-8, 183, 282-93, 496, 505, 920-39. Q. 3.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your command or a woman called a mahaldarni?
- A. 3.—None.
- 217-9, 282, 407, 434, 1261-3. Q. 4.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? 1360
- For what purpose was any such register kept?
- A.—4. There was no register of prostitutes of any sort.
- 183, 282-98. Q. 5.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar?
- A. 5.—No.
291. Q. 6.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with the Mountain Artillery?
- A. 6.—There were no tents occupied by women in any way connected with the Mountain Artillery?
- 220, 407, 434, 639-41, 739. Q. 7.—Were there any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance, for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 1370
- A. 7.—No women were ever sent up by my orders, or with my cognizance, to be examined anywhere.
- 538-41 Q. 8.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women?
- A. 8.—No; I have never heard of any rates of payment.
628. Q. 9.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer No. 628. What have you to say?
- A. 9.—No women were registered, nor recognized, nor accompanied batteries on the march.
- Q. 10.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your command? 1380
- A. 10.—While I have been in command prostitutes have never been recognized, and consequently have never been registered; nor have they been specially protected; nor have they been sent up for periodical examination; and no steps have been taken for their being procured for the use of the men under my command.

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*Statement by Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, with reference to the above examination.*

I WISH to add that in February 1892 prostitutes may have been living in the bazaar as private individuals; houses in the bazaar are private property and let by their owners to whom they like, subject to their orderly behaviour; but if there were such, they were in no way recognized or treated differently from the other inhabitants in the bazaar. On receiving a copy of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892, the orders of Government, which had previously prohibited the residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars were extended to prostitutes generally. 1390

I made it my duty to see that no prostitutes at all have been allowed to live in the regimental bazaar since that time. The only officer who was Commanding A. Battery at the time, and who is now in the district, is Major Cunningham, Commanding No. 3 Battery. My Adjutant at the time, Captain Dowell, is also present. He is and was the Captain of No. 9 Mountain Battery. The Adjutant of Mountain Artillery is specially in charge of the regimental bazaar. Nos. 3 and 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, were the only 1400 Mountain Batteries at Rawal Pindi in February 1892.

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*Statement of Captain Dowell, R.A., Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery.*

I WAS Acting Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery from December 1888 to February 1893, and had charge of regimental bazaars at the West Ridge at Rawal Pindi. During that time no registered prostitutes have ever lived in the regimental bazaar; nor, since July 1892, have any prostitutes resided in the bazaar. I have heard Lieutenant-Colonel Keith's evidence and corroborate it in every detail.

No prostitutes accompanied No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, on the march. I have been Captain of No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, since December 1890. 1410

RAWALPINDI—MAJOR D. CUNNINGHAM, R.A., LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MacCALL.

*Statement by Major D. Cunningham, R.A., Commanding No 3 Mountain Battery, R.A.*

I HAVE been Commanding No. 3 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, in the Rawal Pindi District, since February 1891, as Commander of a battery at West Ridge, Rawal Pindi. I had no connection with any bazaar, as the regimental bazaar is under the supervision of the Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding. In my battery there has never been any recognition of prostitutes; nor have any been sent up for periodical examination; nor have any been procured for the use of the men by me or with my cognizance. My battery has never been accompanied by women on the march. In the hill I am Commanding Officer of the station my battery occupies during the hot weather. No registered prostitutes have ever been allowed in any bazaar in cantonments; and since receipt of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 1892, no prostitutes of any kind have been allowed to reside in it.

*Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, Major the Honourable Keith Thnour, Lieutenant and Quartermaster Dwane, representing 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifles.*

Q. 11.—Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, you were Commanding Officer of 1st Battalion King's Royal Rifles, from 29th January 1892 to date, and between 20th to 26th February 1892, inclusive. It was stationed at West Ridge, Rawal Pindi?

A. 11.—Yes.

Q. 12.—Had you any bazaar establishment attached to your command, and if so, where was it located?

A. 12.—My regimental bazaar at West Ridge was a portion of the general bazaar allotted to my regiment.

Q. 13.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 13.—No.

Q. 14.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to or resident in the regimental bazaar? For what purpose was any such register kept?

A. 14.—I had no register of any kind.

Q. 15.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar?

A. 15.—No.

Q. 16.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with your regiment?

A. 16.—There were some women in tents, living outside the precincts of the bazaar; but they had no connection in any way with the battalion under my command. On receipt of Quartermaster General's letter No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892, Simla, I took steps to have the tents containing these women removed, in order to avoid any appearance of connection with my corps, because I considered this letter intended to extend the operation of the orders on the subject.

Q. 17.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital?

A. 17.—Never. I had none to send.

Q. 18.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 18.—No.

Q. 19.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. Has any such practice ever obtained in your battalion?

A. 19.—No. No women has ever accompanied my battalion on the march.

Q. 20.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your battalion?

A. 20.—Absolutely nothing of the kind.

176-8, 183,  
282-92, 496-  
505, 920-39.

217-9, 282,  
407, 434,  
1261-3.

183, 282-  
98.

291.

220, 407, 434,  
639-41, 739.

538-41.

628.

RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT COLONEL MACCALL—MAJOR THE HON'BLE KEITH TURNOUR, 1ST KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER J. W. DWANE, 1ST KING'S ROYAL RIFLES—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATERSON, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

572-3.

Q. 21.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers?

A. 21.—No cases have ever been brought to my notice. I wish to add that in the hill stations occupied by my battalion no prostitutes are, or have been, in any way recognised or dealt with.

*Major the Hon'ble Keith Turnour, 1st King's Royal Rifle Corps.*

States:—I commanded the 1st Battalion King's Royal Rifles from 1st July 1891 till 29th January 1892.

I have heard the evidence given by Lieutenant Colonel MacCall. The answers he has given relative to the practices under discussion apply to the period of my command. I am aware that in February 1892 a letter was received from Quartermaster General, stating that a report submitted by my battalion during my command showed that prostitutes were allowed to reside in the regimental bazaar. What I said was that prostitutes are at present living in tents which are pitched in line with others in the bazaar. They were never in the bazaar. They are the tents referred to by Colonel MacCall, which he subsequently had removed.

*Lieutenant and Quartermaster J. W. Dwane, 1st King's Royal Rifles.*

States:—I have been Quartermaster of the 1st King's Royal Rifles since the arrival of this battalion at Rawal Pindi in January 1891. I have heard the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel MacCall and Major the Hon'ble Keith Turnour, and can confirm it in every particular. The regimental bazaar was under my immediate charge. When Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall assumed command, I accompanied him round the bazaar and pointed out to him the tents which I knew were occupied by women, but with which I had nothing to do, as they were outside bazaar limits. I do not know how many there were, or anything connected with them. No practice has obtained in my corps which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration and protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of my corps.

*Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.*

281.

Q. 22.—You were Commanding Officer of the 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, from 12th October 1892, to date; and from 20th to 26th February 1892; it was stationed in Church Lines, Rawal Pindi?

A. 22.—Yes, in February 1892, Lieutenant-Colonel Price was in command, and until I assumed command; he has now left the service.

Q. 23.—Who was the Quartermaster of the battalion?

A. 23.—Lieutenant Fox was Quartermaster from the arrival of the battalion in India up to date.

Q. 24.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 24.—No.

Q. 25.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in the regimental bazaar. For what purpose was any such register kept?

A. 25.—No register of any description has ever been kept.

Q. 26.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazar?

A. 26.—No.

Q. 27.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with the regiment?

A. 27.—No.

Q. 28.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital?

A. 28.—Never.

Q. 29.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 29.—No knowledge.



RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATERSON, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER FOX, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

Q. 30.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. 628.  
Has any such practice ever obtained in your battalion?

A. 30.—No; I have never heard of or seen such practice.

Q. 31.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, 1520 or of their being provided for the use of the men of your regiment?

A. 31.—Certainly not.

Q. 32.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers? 572-3.

A. 32.—I have never heard of any case.

Q. 33.—Have prostitutes ever been recognised or dealt with in the hill stations occupied by your battalion?

A. 33.—Never.

*Examination of Lieutenant and Quartermaster Fox, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.*

Q. 34.—You were Quartermaster of 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, from the date of arrival of the battalion in Rawal Pindi to date, and from 20th to 26th February 1892?

1530 A. 34.—Yes.

Q. 35.—At that time was there any bazaar establishment attached to your battalion, and, if so, where was it located?

A. 35.—Up to December or January previous there was a regimental bazaar situated in what is called the "Lall Kurti" bazaar. It was too large for regimental control, as it contained 9,000 inhabitants. Three hundred only of these belonged to the battalion. Owing to representations of the impossibility of looking after so large a bazaar, at a meeting held prior to February 1892, the jurisdiction was transferred to the Cantonment Magistrate. After that I had nothing to do with the bazaar.

Q. 36.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a 176-8, 183,  
1540 woman called a mahaldarni? 282-93, 496,  
505, 920-39.

A. 36.—No.

Q. 37.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register, or 217-9, 282,  
a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? For 407, 434,  
what purpose was any such register kept? 1261-3.

A. 37.—There has never been any register kept.

Q. 38.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar.

183, 282-98.

A. 38.—Near the "Lall Kurti" bazaar, but outside cantonments, there was a disused chakla. It had nothing to do with my battalion, and whenever I have been near it, it was unoccupied. There was no regimental chakla of any kind.

Q. 39.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with 291.  
1550 your regiment?

A. 39.—None.

Q. 40.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your 220, 407,  
cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 434 639-41,  
739.

A. 40.—No.

Q. 41.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use 538-41.  
of women?

A. 41.—I have never heard of any fixed rate.

Q. 42.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. Has 628.  
1560 any such practice ever obtained in your battalion?

A. 42.—No such practice has ever obtained in my battalion.

Q. 43.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your regiment?

A. 43.—No such practice has ever obtained.

RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER FOX, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT—CAPTAIN J. H. LESLIE, R.A.

Q. 44.—Read letter No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, from Surgeon-Major in charge Cantonment Hospital, to Cantonment Magistrate. Can you explain this letter?

A. 44.—About that time I remember the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Price, sending for me and showing me a letter he had just received, asking why the prostitutes from the regimental bazaar had not been sent for examination. The bazaar called the regimental bazaar was in fact the "Lall Kurti" bazaar, of 9,000 inhabitants, and was at that time under my charge. The Colonel asked me if women were ever compelled to go for examination. I replied "No," and he told me to ignore the letter, and not to send the women for examination. He could not decipher the signature on the letter, and as it had not come through the office of the General Officer Commanding, he destroyed it. 1570

There were about 300 prostitutes in the bazaar at this time, none of whom were registered in any way. I know this, as I had to take a census of the whole bazaar.

Q. 45.—In a letter, dated 10th November 1891, the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital states:—"Hitherto a list of prostitutes for examination has been furnished to regiments by Quartermasters of regiments." Does this apply in any way to you? 1580

A. 45.—No.

Q. 46.—Do you know if any of these women went voluntarily for examination?

A. 46.—I do not know whether they went or not. If they did go, I had nothing to do with it. I never heard of it.

Q. 47.—Read letter No. 26, dated 4th March 1891, noted as addressed, amongst others, to the Officer Commanding 1st Bedfordshire Regiment by the Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital. Have you any knowledge of that letter?

A. 47.—No.

Q. 48.—Read letter No. 32, dated 26th March 1891, from the Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital to Officer Commanding 1st Bedfordshire Regiment. Have you any knowledge of this letter? 1590

A. 48.—No, I have not. I was a good deal sick at this time, and may have been absent from duty. I never heard of matron Mogul.

[*Note.*—Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson has been requested to refer to the regimental books concerning these two letters. It is noted that between January and April 1891 the battalion was located at West Ridge Barracks.] I should like to add that when the battalion arrived in Rawal Pindi in January 1891, it went straight into the barracks at West Ridge, vacated by the 2nd Devonshire Regiment. Until April I had nothing to do with the bazaar. I then took over the whole of it, including the batteries. It was not until it was pointed out to me in April that I was aware that I should have taken charge of any portion of it. The two letters last read refer to this period. The reason I took over the batteries was because they had proceeded on service. 1600

#### *Examination of Captain J. H. Leslie, R.A.*

Q. 49. You were Adjutant of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi between 20th and 26th February 1892; and as Adjutant you have, in respect of bazaars, the same duties as a Quartermaster of Infantry?

A. 49.—Yes; I have been Adjutant since July 1890 to date, and my duties are practically the same as a Quartermaster of a regiment as regards the bazaar. During this period there have been five different Commanding Officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot assumed command in April last. 1610

Q. 50.—Is there any bazaar establishment attached to the Royal Artillery, and if so, where is it located?

A. 50.—Yes; in the regimental bazaar.

Q. 51.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to the Royal Artillery, or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 51.—No; none.

Q. 52.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? For what purpose was any such register kept? 1620

A. 52.—There was no register of any sort.

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RAWAL PINDI—CAPTAIN J. H. LESLIE, R.A.—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.

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Q. 53.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar?

183, 282-98.

A. 53.—No regular chakla; but in some huts at the end of the sycces' lives women used to live. Beyond the fact that they were there I had no cognizance of this; and they were looked on as ordinary residents.

Some were probably there in February 1892; but I do not know how many.

Q. 54.—Do you recollect the receipt of Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892?

A. 54.—I do not personally; but there is a record in the office, no doubt.

Q. 55.—Are you aware that this Circular prohibited absolutely the residence of  
1630 prostitutes in regimental bazaars?

A. 55.—No, I am not; but these huts, although close by, are not within bazaar limits.

Q. 56.—Are the huts still occupied by prostitutes?

A. 56.—I really cannot say, as no notice is taken of these people more than others.

Q. 57.—Were there any huts occupied by women in any way connected with the  
Artillery?

A. 57.—None.

Q. 58.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cogni-  
zance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital?

220, 407, 434,  
639-41.

A. 58.—No; but I believe they attended voluntarily.

Q. 59.—Would women attending the Cantonment Hospital voluntarily have been  
1640 accompanied by any one connected with the Royal Artillery?

A. 59.—No; certainly not.

Q. 60.—Would these women have taken a list for examination?

403 7.

A. 60.—I have seen lists, which I believe were made out by themselves, purporting to give the results of the visit. This, I take it, was for their own credit. The list was certainly made by a native, and not by any one in the Artillery.

Q. 61.—Have you any knowledge of the rate of payment by soldiers for the use of  
women?

538-41.

A. 61.—No.

Q. 62.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 628. Has any  
1650 such practice ever obtained in the Royal Artillery?

628.

A. 62.—No.

Q. 63.—Has any practice obtained in the Royal Artillery which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your command?

A. 63.—None.

Q. 64.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers?

A. 64.—No knowledge.

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*Examination of Surgeon-Major Mawson, I.M.S.*

Q. 65.—You were in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, during  
1660 January and February 1892, until its abolition in the latter month (16th February)?

A. 65.—I took over charge, on the 6th September 1891, from Surgeon MacLeod, I.M.S. I handed over, on the 14th February 1892, to Surgeon-Captain Elkington, M.S.

Q. 66.—Did you conduct periodical examination of women at the Cantonment  
Hospital?

639-41, 656.

A. 66.—Yes; I attended every Friday to examine such women as came up. I also went frequently during each week for the same purpose, and to inspect the patients. On the latter occasions I went at irregular hours: on Friday I went at a regular hour, which was generally known as my hour of attendance at the hospital.



739, 1262

Q. 67.—Was there any register of prostitutes in the Cantonment Hospital, and if so was it by corps? 1670

A. 67.—There was no register whatever in the Cantonment Hospital.

220. Q. 68.—Was there any distinction as regards attendance or examination between women consorted with by European soldiers and those by natives?

A. 68.—None whatever, so far as I am aware. They came from all bazaars and the city, and I treated all indifferently, and whatever their diseases were.

Q. 69.—Then you treated cases other than venereal?

A. 69.—Yes; I had medicines for the purpose. Of course they were only prostitutes, as no respectable women would come for treatment at a hospital in which prostitutes were patients.

1238-59. Q. 70.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Questions Nos. 1238 to 1259. The Native Doctor states, in answer to 1243, that only venereal diseases were admitted there. Is that correct? 1680

A. 70.—Any disease sufficiently severe to require treatment in hospital would have been admitted if the patient had been desirous of remaining in hospital; as a matter of fact, none were treated as in-patients, as they preferred to take medicine as out-patients and return to their home.

Q. 71.—In reply to Question No. 1246 of Secretary of State's Committee, it is stated that only medicines for venereal cases were seen—none for general medical cases. Can you explain this?

A. 71.—The medicines referred to in the question were those kept in the examining room for constant use, such as washes, lotions, &c., which had to be applied several times during the day. The other medicines, and also the stock from which these were prepared, were kept in a separate room in an almshouse under lock and key on the other side of the building. 1690

Q. 72.—In answer to Questions Nos. 1249-50 of Secretary of State's Committee, it is stated that the record of patients for the year and the annual report practically dealt only with venereal cases. Can you explain this?

A. 72.—The returns and records of patients dealt only with in-patients, and it is not the practice of military hospitals to keep any record of out-patients.

Q. 73.—Has any record or list of women examined been kept?

A. 73.—None. If any women were admitted, their names were entered in the hospital admission and discharge book. This record was required to adjust the monthly bills of the hospital. No other record was kept. 1700

671. Q. 74.—Did you understand that all these women attended voluntarily to be examined?

A. 74.—No women ever made any objection to me to be examined.

Q. 75.—Did they come alone or in charge of any one?

A. 75.—Some came alone, and some accompanied by their mahaldarni; but they were never accompanied by any one else.

Q. 76.—If there were no hospital registers of women, were there any lists?

A. 76.—There were no lists in hospital. In some cases the mahaldarni brought lists. These latter generally referred to women who voluntarily consorted with European soldiers, and resided near the barracks of the various European corps in cantonments. 1710

Q. 77.—By whom were these lists made out?

A. 77.—I do not know; so far as I can remember, these lists were always unsigned, and generally badly written. I was under the impression that they were made out by some one connected with the regimental Quartermaster's establishment.

Q. 78.—Have you any further grounds for this belief? Read letter No. 92, dated 10th November 1891, addressed by Surgeon Major Mawson to the Cantonment Magistrate: that letter contains a positive statement.

(Letter book forwarded.)

A. 78.—I naturally assumed that these lists emanated from the Quartermaster's establishment. I know of no other source from which they could come; and I understood from the mahaldarni that brought them that they were made out by the regimental bazaar-writer. 1720

## RAWALPINDI—SURGEON MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.

Q. 79.—As to the numbers examined, can you give any information? Was any record kept of these?

A. 79.—No record was kept. I should say from 50 to 70 attended on the Friday at the hour appointed for my visit.

Q. 80.—What proportion of these brought lists?

A. 80.—I do not know. At a guess I should say about one-half.

Q. 81.—Did you keep these lists?

A. 81.—No; I noted the condition of the women named, signed and returned them 1730 to the woman who brought them; and what became of them I do not know.

Q. 82.—Will you look over this letter book—there are several letters all to the same purport, notifying to the Cantonment Magistrate the absence of women from examination. Take No. 91 of 6th November 1891. Why was that letter written?

A. 82.—In consequence of the women's names appearing in these lists mentioned in answers Nos. 77 and 78, I could not understand with what other objects these lists were submitted, unless it was for me to signify their absence and state of health. I considered it right to make the report for the information of the Cantonment Magistrate; but, having done so, it was immaterial to me whether they came or not. As a matter of fact, 1740 they never were sent to me. In the letter next after the one under reference, viz., No. 92, I see that I explain my views as to my duties as in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

Q. 83.—Will you refer to letters Nos. 76 of 17th September 1891, and 87, dated 27th October 1891? These letters do not appear to be consistent with No. 92 of 10th November 1891.

A. 83. Both these letters refer to women in the sudder bazaar. I understood that one of the duties of the hospital dhai was to make herself acquainted with the state of health of prostitutes in the sadr, and report the diseased woman who did not come to hospital through me to the Cantonment Magistrate. In answer to these reports the Cantonment Magistrate informed me that the hospital dhai should be forbidden to make any more inspections. This was complied with, as reported in my No. 88 of 28th October 1891.

Q. 84.—Were any women you examined ever in possession of a ticket or document 1750 licensing them as prostitutes?

A. 84.—None. I never saw one, or heard of one.

Q. 85.—In answer to No. 1298 of Secretary of State's Committee, that no cases of secondary syphilis were recorded, because "we send them out of the Cantonment to the Civil Hospital"—that there was no provision for treating them there. Is this correct?

A. 85.—It is not correct. I have never sent a woman to the Civil Hospital. I should never have thought of such a thing. On referring to the admission and discharge books, I find two under treatment by me in September 1891, one in October 1891; and in addition to these there are several entries of secondary syphilis under other names, such as condyloma, warts, &c.

Q. 86.—Were there any cases of infectious disease brought to the Cantonment 1760 Hospital?

A. 86.—None. If any came, they would have been sent away to the isolated hospital.

Q. 87.—Were women who, on examination, were found diseased ever compulsorily detained in hospital, or, having been admitted, compelled to remain until cure.

A. 87.—No woman was admitted to hospital against her own free will, or, on being admitted compulsorily, detained until cured. If she declined to remain, this fact, as well as the fact that she was suffering from disease, was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate.

Q. 88.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 563. Did you 563. ever hear of any such practice as this?

A. 88.—Never. Every admission and discharge was made personally by me. The 1770 Hospital Assistant had no power in the matter. In accordance with native custom, it is possible that bribes were given, although the expenditure of money in this way was useless, the Native Doctor having no influence.

Q. 89.—Did any case of the extreme youth of prostitutes come under your notice? 586-9.

A. 89.—Yes. There is one case referred to in my letter No. 96 of 19th November 1891. It was sent to me by the police, and I was asked to give my opinion as to age and physical fitness for prostitution. In no other case have I found a prostitute under age.

RAWALPINDI—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.—NO. 527, 2ND GRADE HOSPITAL  
ASSISTANT PREM SINGH.

Q. 90.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Questions and Answers 1265-12  
Did you give the certificates referred to, dated 14th February 1892?

A. 90.—I have no recollection of doing so; but the 14th February being the day on  
which I gave over charge of the hospital, it is highly probable that, according to custom, 1780  
I gave certificates to all servants at the hospital, including the dhai.

671. Q. 91.—As to the manner of conducting examinations, was there any undue exposure  
or publicity?

A. 91.—The examinations were conducted by me in a private room, with the assist-  
ance of the Native Doctor and hospital nurse (dhai). The patients came in singly. There  
was no undue exposure or publicity, nor were any complaints ever made to me.

657. Q. 92.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 657. Is the  
description correct?

A. 92. No. I did not use a speculum for purposes of examination. I only used a  
speculum when it was necessary to apply medicines. 1790

*Examination of No. 527, 2nd Grade Hospital Assistant Prem Singh.*

Q. 93.—You were Hospital Assistant of the Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal  
Pindi, between the 20th and 26th February 1892?

A. 93.—Yes. I was appointed on the 18th February 1892, and continued there till  
October of the same year.

281. Q. 94.—Do you remember two European ladies visiting the hospital?

A. 94.—I heard of their visit from the chuprassi, but did not see them. I was in  
another part of the Cantonment General Hospital, close by.

Q. 95.—Where did you hear the ladies were?

A. 95. I heard that there were two ladies in the venereal ward, and went over there. 1800

Q. 96.—How soon did you go there?

A. 96.—In about five minutes.

Q. 97.—Did you see the ladies?

A. 97.—No.

Q. 98.—Who was in subordinate medical charge of the venereal ward when you  
were appointed to the Cantonment General Hospital?

A. 98.—Senior Hospital Assistant Shaikh Tajuddin Hussain.

738. Q. 99.—Could he speak English?

A. 99.—Yes, very well.

738. Q. 100.—Was he a graduate of Calcutta?

A. 100.—No, he was educated at the Agra Medical College, where I was; but he 1810  
was senior to me.

738. Q. 101.—Was he an M.D.?

A. 101.—No, he was not.

Q. 102.—Was there any other Hospital Assistant in Rawal Pindi at that time who  
could talk English?

A. 102.—In that part of Rawal Pindi there was no other Hospital Assistant who  
could speak English.

Q. 103.—You know nothing more of the visit of these ladies?

A. 103.—No, except that the chuprassi told me that they had examined the books, 1820  
which they could easily do, as they were on a table in the verandah.

Q. 104.—Did you report their visit to any one?

A. 104.—Yes, the next day, to Surgeon-Captain Elkington, who was in charge.

Q. 105.—Did you take over the records from Hospital Assistant Shaikh Tajuddin?

A. 105.—Yes.

Q. 106.—Had Tajuddin any connection with the hospital on the 20th February 1892?

A. 106.—He had no official connection; but, having been so recently in charge, he  
was well known to all, and came to the hospital for two or three days after he handed  
over.



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RAWALPINDI—NO. 527, 2ND GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT PREM SINGH—CAPTAIN DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI.

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- Q. 107.—Where is the chuprassi ?
- 1830 A. 107.—He is dead.
- Q. 108.—Did you attend at the venereal ward when the doctor attended ?
- A. 108.—Yes, every day.
- Q. 109.—Were you there when the women came for examination ?
- A. 109.—Yes.
- Q. 110.—How did the women come up ?
- A. 110.—Some came with mahaldarnis, and those from the sudder bazaar came without.
- Q. 111.—Did you ever see any brought up by the police ?
- A. 111.—No.
- Q. 112.—Did they bring any lists with them ?
- 1840 A. 112.—Yes, each mahaldarni brought a list in which were the names of the women. It was returned to them with the doctor's remarks. I do not know who made out the lists. There were no signatures to them.
- Q. 113.—Did you keep any list of prostitutes in the hospital ?
- A. 113.—No, only the names of those who were admitted were entered in the admission and discharge book.
- Q. 114.—If a woman wanted to go away from hospital, was she allowed to go ?
- A. 114.—Yes.
- Q. 115.—Could they go without leave ?
- A. 115.—Yes, they often went without leave.
- 1850 Q. 116.—Did you ever hear the women make complaints about being examined.
- A. 116.—No, never ; they came voluntarily for examination.

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*Examination of Captain C. Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi.*

- Q. 117.—You are Cantonment Magistrate of Rawal Pindi, and were so in February 1892 ?
- A. 117.—Yes.
- Q. 118.—There are a large number of prostitutes resident in the sudder bazaar ? 217.
- A. 118.—A very large number, including Greeks, Italians, Japanese, sometimes Europeans, French, Eurasians, and natives of all classes.
- Q. 119.—Have you a separate register of such women ? 220.
- 1860 A. 119.—No register.
- Q. 120.—Are they classified in any way, *i.e.*, are certain women set apart for the exclusive use of European soldiers, others for native soldiers, and others for generally ? 739, 1362.
- A. 120.—No classification of any kind.
- Q. 121.—Are any women compulsorily registered ? 739
- A. 121.—No women are ever registered.
- Q. 122.—Are any allotted to particular regiments, or to particular quarters ? 407
- A. 122.—None.
- (Error in series).
- Q. 124.—Is there any different treatment of those frequented by European soldiers ? 407, 434, 1457 9,
- 1870 Is there anything approaching compulsory examination of these women ? 1261-3
- A. 124. There is absolutely no difference, and there is not, and never has been, any compulsory examination since 1888. 1299-1301.
- Q. 125.—Are any prostitutes required to attend hospital for examination, periodically or otherwise ? 407, 1262, 639-41, 1299
- A. 125.—None except those reported by the medical officer in writing to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment, as being persons suffering from, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from, any infectious or contagious disorder.

RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN C. DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI.

Q. 126.—Are the women voluntarily examined, and if so, how is this voluntary examination brought about?

A. 126.—The examination is purely voluntary. If women suffering from venereal disease wish to be examined, they go to the ward for contagious diseases at the Cantonment General Hospital (formerly the Cantonment Hospital). The examination is brought about by a report in writing from the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment. On receipt of such a report by me, I communicate with the police, who can ascertain the whereabouts of the women and produce them without the aid of any legal process. If found the women are brought before me, and are informed that they can go to the Cantonment General Hospital for examination; and that if they refuse to go, or, having gone and been admitted, leave it before the medical officer has pronounced them free from the disorder, I can, as Cantonment Magistrate, on an application from the medical officer, order them to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit them from re-entering or remaining in cantonments without the written permission of the medical officer, or on failure, they will incur a penalty of a fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or eight days' imprisonment. 1880

Q. 127.—Have any women been reported to you for breach of the regulations, or have any women been expelled from cantonments, or have you inflicted any fines or imprisonment?

A. 127.—Yes; they have been reported by the medical officer. None have been expelled; none have been imprisoned. But I believe I once inflicted a fine of 20 rupees for a breach of the regulations.

Q. 128.—Are these different chaklas in the sudder bazaar apportioned for any particular uses?

A. 128.—No; there are no separate chaklas. There is one large centre containing a long street in which a large number of native prostitutes reside; others live in houses either owned by themselves or as tenants; the latter include the more respectable class of women. As Cantonment Magistrate, I have nothing to do with the location of the prostitutes; but should any complaints be made to me by respectable inhabitants of their being a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and I find the complaint well founded, I order them to remove under the Criminal Procedure Code.

Q. 129.—Are any mahaldarnis paid from Cantonment Funds, or otherwise recognised?

A. 129.—None.

Q. 130.—Is any payment to mahaldarnis by prostitutes recognised?

A. 130.—No; but I am aware that it is customary for prostitutes to appoint their own mahaldarnis. She looks after them and manages their business for them. 1910

Q. 131.—Have you ever assigned women to the several regimental quarters?

A. 131.—Never; but it is quite possible that a body of prostitutes may attach themselves to a regimental quarter under their own mahaldarni, who will keep up their numbers as required from the bazaar. I have, however, no official cognizance of this.

Q. 132.—Are the localities in which the women reside outside the sudder bazaar regulated by you?

A. 132.—In no way whatever. 1920

Q. 133.—Are any women compelled to reside in certain localities?

A. 133.—None; they are free to reside anywhere, provided they are not a nuisance.

Q. 134.—Has there been a periodical examination of women. What part had you in this?

A. 134.—I am aware that the medical officer had one day per week for the attendance of prostitutes, but the examination was purely voluntary. I had no part in this, as before described. I simply promoted the attendance of women diseased, or suspected of disease, by a written application of the medical officer.

Q. 135.—Have you any knowledge of the rates of pay by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 135.—No. 1930

Q. 136.—Have you any knowledge of transactions between mahaldarnis and women regulating payments to the former?

A. 136.—None whatever. No case of this sort has ever come before me. Such complaints, if preferred, before magistrates, should not be recognised as opposed to public policy.

## RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN C. DENNTS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI.

Q. 137.—Have you any knowledge of ill-usage of women by the soldiers? 572-3.

A. 137.—I have never received a complaint from any women against any soldier since I have been Cantonment Magistrates in Rawal Pindi.

Q. 138.—Do you know of any very young girl practising prostitution in the sudder bazaar? 586-8.

1940 A. 138.—There was one case two years ago which was brought to my knowledge through the police, in a case of disturbance in the bazaar, which nearly resulted in a riot. The girl was supposed to be diseased, and of her own free will and accord went to hospital, where she was examined and found diseased. She was subsequently cured and discharged and went to her home in the Gujerat district. The medical officer was of opinion that she was about 14 years of age.

Q. 139.—Have you ever advanced money from the cantonment funds or otherwise for the procurement of women?

A. 139.—Never. Such an unauthorised charge would never be passed by the Accountant General.

1950 Q. 140.—You know the bazaar called the Lall Kurti bazaar?

A. 140.—Yes. The so-called Lall Kurti bazaar is situated between the British cavalry and infantry lines in the old cantonment. It sprung up as a regimental bazaar between these two lines; it has now grown into a small town of about 9,000 inhabitants. In the cold weather of 1891, frequent representations having been made by Commanding Officers that it was too large for regimental supervision, the matter was brought up at a Cantonment Committee, which resolved that the bazaar should be placed under my charge.

Q. 141.—So it is in fact now, and was in February 1892, a sudder bazaar?

A. 141. It is in fact now, and was in February 1892, a sudder bazaar; but there is no doubt that it continues to be spoken of by natives as the regimental bazaar of the 1960 corps who happen to be quartered in the Church Lines.

Q. 142.—Are there any prostitutes in this bazaar?

A. 142.—Yes, there are a large number; and precisely the same rules apply to these women as to those in the sudder bazaar.

Q. 143.—Will you read letters Nos. 76 and 79, dated 17th September 1891, No. 87 dated 27th October 1891, No. 89, dated 2nd November 1891, and No. 6, dated 14th January 1892, in the Cantonment Hospital letter-book, addressed to you; what action did you take on those letters?

A. 143.—I produce my letter book.

- 1970 (1) Medical Officer's No. 76, dated 17th September 1891, was forwarded to the police for compliance; *vide* my No. 2578, dated 18th September 1891.
- (2) Medical Officer's No. 87, dated 27th October 1891, dealt with as above; *vide* my No. 2915, dated 27th October 1891.
- (3) This office No. 2916, of same date, is a continuation of the above.
- (4) Medical Officer's No. 6, dated 14th January 1892, dealt with in this office No. 139, dated 14th January 1892.

Q. 144.—Will you read letter No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, in the same book?

A. 144.—On receipt of No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, I replied; *vide* my office No. 3012, dated 7th November 1891.

Q. 145.—And letter No. 92, dated 10th November 1891?

A. 145.—On receipt of medical officer's No. 92, dated 10th November 1891, I replied 1980 in my No. 3044, dated 11th November 1891.

Q. 146.—Will you look at letter No. 11, dated 11th February 1892, which appears to be a report from medical officer relative to a woman who left the Cantonment Hospital before she was cured. What action did you take?

A. 146.—*Vide* my No. 353, dated 11th February 1892. The woman Saidhoo, a prostitute, was directed to leave the cantonments within 24 hours by the police. The presumption is she left, as the police did not produce her for remaining in or re-entering the cantonment, which they would have done had she remained in or re-entered the cantonment.



RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN C. DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI—  
CAPTAIN T. H. LESLIE, R.A.

Q. 146. (a)—In your letter, to which Surgeon-Major Mawson's No. 92 is a reply, 1990  
you speak of regimental mahaldarnis; do you know what regiments had mahaldarnis?

A. 146. (a)—No; I took that from Dr. Mawson's letter. I had no reason to  
suppose that they had mahaldarnis, but as Dr. Mawson spoke of them, I accepted his  
statement as representing facts, of which I had no previous knowledge or idea.

Q. 146. (b)—Did you ever hear of mahaldarnis in regimental employ since 1888?

A. 146. (b)—No; I have never heard of them in regimental employ since registration  
of prostitutes ceased.

*Captain T. H. Leslie, R.A., recalled.*

Q. 147.—You said you would endeavour to obtain a list of prostitutes referred to in  
your answer. Have you succeeded?

A. 147.—Yes. I produce a book containing the lists referred to. The handwriting 2000  
is that of a native. I have not any idea of whom. I have always been under the  
impression that these lists were the private property of the "mahaldarni," and voluntarily  
kept up by her for her own purposes. I am certain they were not made out by, or by  
the direction of, any one in the Artillery.

Q. 148.—Did you receive Quartermaster-General's demi-official circular letter No.  
420-B., dated 21st March 1892?

A. 148.—Yes.

Q. 149.—With reference to the enclosures from the Secretary to the Government  
of India, paragraph 3, and the lists of prostitutes you have produced, was any action  
taken by you, directly or indirectly, or by any one under your orders, to oblige these 2010  
women to attend the hospital periodically for examination, on pain of being turned out of  
cantonments?

A. 149.—No action of any kind, or at any time, either to compel the women to attend  
the hospital, or to induce them to go voluntarily or to be examined.

Q. 150.—Do you know of any instance of non-attendance?

A. 150.—I have seen "absent" noted on the lists.

Q. 151.—Did you take any action thereon to procure the expulsion from cantonments  
of such absentees?

A. 151.—None whatever, as the women were not recognised in any way.

Q. 152.—Are you aware of Quartermaster-Generals circulars Nos. 3 and 12 of 1888? 2020

A. 152.—Yes; the orders therein contained have been observed. I have never seen,  
or known, or heard of any registered prostitutes in any Royal Artillery regimental  
bazaar.

No tickets have ever been issued to any prostitutes, nor has any compulsory  
examination taken place that I know of.

I do not consider the former of these circulars to apply to any but registered  
prostitutes.

Q. 153.—Are you aware of Quartermaster-General's demi-official circular of 15th  
July 1888, requiring that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should  
reside in the sudder bazaar?

A. 153.—Yes; I must have seen the circular, but as there were no registered  
prostitutes to eject, no action was required from me. 2030

*Murree, 12th June 1893.*

1ST DEVONSHIRE REGIMENT.

The battalion arrived at Rawal Pindi at the end of February 1893.

The following answers refer to the time between February to June 1893.

With reference to the evidence of prostitution, &c., which I have just heard read, I  
desire to state—

1. No regimental chakla exists in the 1st Devonshire.

2. There is not a mahaldarni

Y 24265.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, IN MEDICAL CHARGE  
CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, RAWALPINDI—EXTRACT FROM CANTONMENT  
HOSPITAL LETTER-BOOK.

- 2040
3. There are no registered or licensed prostitutes in the regimental bazaar.
  4. There is no examination of women, either compulsory or voluntary.
  5. Prostitutes do not reside in the regimental bazaar.
  6. No rates of pay have ever been fixed by any regimental authority.
  7. I have not received any complaint of women being ill-used by soldiers since the arrival of the battalion in India.
  8. There are no women.
  9. No women have accompanied the battalion on the march since I have been in command.

PHIL. H. SMITH.

*Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding 1st Devonshire.*

I corroborate the above.

H. HONNER, *Quartermaster,*  
Devonshire Regiment.

2050

*Report by SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, M.B., A.M.S., in Medical Charge,  
Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal Pindi.*

I TOOK over medical charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal Pindi, from Surgeon-Captain H. P. Elkington, M.S., on 15th April 1892, and am still in charge.

There were about seven prostitutes under medical treatment in the wards specially appointed for that purpose. These wards were part of the General Hospital, as much as the small-pox or cholera wards. The patients referred to were directly under my medical care, and were at perfect liberty to leave the hospital if they wished to do so.

2060 I have been under the belief that Clause 4, G. G. O. 617 of 1890, applied equally to cases of venereal disease as well as small-pox or cholera, and any case of suspected or existing disease (venereal) that has ever been examined by me, was examined in a private room, assisted by my hospital assistant and hospital nurse (dhai).

No other patients or people were ever allowed into this room, and the examination was as purely private as any existing practice I have seen in large hospitals at home.

It is most undesirable and much to the prejudice of the hospital that venereal cases should be treated in the same wards with surgical and medical cases. In fact, I know that women with broken limbs would prefer to remain in the bazaar rather than come to hospital if they thought they were to be treated in the same ward with those suffering from venereal diseases.

2070 I believe that many cases of bad venereal disease were brought to hospital through the instrumentality of the hospital dhai, but on receipt of Quartermaster-General's No. 420-B., dated 21st March 1892, I instructed the dhai to limit her work entirely to the hospital.

I have not had any cases of venereal disease among women since August 1892.

No compulsory examination has been made during the time I have been in charge of the hospital, nor have any women been detained therein against their will.

June 13th, 1892.

*Extract from Cantonment Hospital Letter-book.*

2080 No. 26, dated 4th March 1891.  
Officer Commanding Bedfordshire Regiment.  
Officer Commanding Seaforth Highlanders.  
Officer Commanding King's Royal Rifles.

Officer Commanding 3rd Dragon Guards.  
Officer Commanding No. 2, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery.

Has the honour to request he will be good enough to make arrangements for the inspection of the prostitutes living in the bazaar under his command at the Cantonment Hospital on every Friday at 9 A.M., established for the purpose.

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RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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From MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, to LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KEITH, D.S.O., R.A., and CAPTAIN DOWELL, R.A.

Reminder sent—20th March 1891.

PLEASE report if the above was received and the  
action taken thereon.

When did No. 9, Mountain Battery, leave Rawal Pindi for the Black Mountain?

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. KEITH, Commanding Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District,—(Dated 13th June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to inform you that nothing is known by No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, about the accompanying memorandum dated 4th March 1891, which would seem to have been circulated to corps in Rawal Pindi station.

It was not received by No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, which was not in Rawal Pindi on the above date, having left for the Black Mountain on 1st March 1891.

Demi-official from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS,  
—(Dated Kuldana, the 12th June 1893).

OUR letter register for 1891 is left at Rawal Pindi, so I am not able to inform you whether the letters in question were received by us or not. 2100

If required I will send for the register.

Telegram from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON, to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Staff Officer,—(Dated Kuldana, the 14th June 1893).

THE person we sent down to Pindi telegraphs that he cannot find the Quartermaster's letter-book for 1891. We have found the letter-book of the orderly room for that year, and there is no trace in it of either of the letters purporting to have been addressed to Officer Commanding Bedfordshire Regiment.

Demi-official from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. B. MACCALL, to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District,—(Dated Norfolk Lodge, the 14th June 1893).

2110

YOUR urgent wire just received *re* action taken on a certain letter from Medical Officer, Cantonment Hospital, presumably West Ridge. As far as I can ascertain, no action was taken at all, as there were no women in the bazaar known of, and a reply was considered unnecessary. This, of course, is only what I can hear, as I did not belong to the battalion at that time. Colonel Cramer was in command. The Quartermaster, to whom the letter was given, filed it, and this is now down in Pindi, he having only brought up the last 12 months' letters with him. If necessary the Quartermaster is quite prepared to answer any questions on the subject. My Adjutant brought the telegram over to my house, and he takes this on, and can bring me any answer you wish to send.

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*List of Officers, &c., directed to attend at the enquiry regarding prostitutes.*

2120

COLONEL C. R. PENNINGTON, C.B., Colonel on the Staff, Rawal Pindi.

SURGEON-COLONEL T. MAUNSELL, Principal Medical Officer, Rawal Pindi District.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. KEITH, D.S.O., R.A., Commanding Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

MAJOR J. D. CUNNINGHAM, R.A., Commanding No. 3, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery.

CAPTAIN G. C. DOWELL, R.A., Commanding No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, and late Acting Adjutant, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. H. SMITH, Commanding 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER H. HONNFR, 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON, Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment. 2130

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER C. FOX, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. B. MACCALL, Commanding 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps.

Y 24265.

3 H



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PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING  
PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

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MAJOR THE HONOURABLE KEITH TURNOUR, 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps.

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER J. W. DWANE, 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps.

CAPTAIN C. J. DENNYS, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi.

SURGEON-MAJOR W. A. MAWSON, I.M.S., late in charge, Rawal Pindi Cantonment General Hospital.

SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, A.M.S., in charge, Rawal Pindi Cantonment General Hospital.

2140 CAPTAIN J. H. LESLIE, R.A., Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

2ND GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT PREM SINGH, Subordinate Medical Department.

MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District.

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*List of books despatched by Parcel Post to the Quartermaster-General in India in connection  
with the Rawal Pindi District Prostitute Enquiry.*

1. RAWAL PINDI Cantonment Magistrate's Memo. Book C. from 15th September 1891 to 25th July 1892.

2. Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital Letter-book from 4th June 1884 to 14th February 1892.

3. Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, Admission and Discharge Book, from 13th March 1891 to 31st August 1892.

2150 4. List of prostitutes referred to by Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

MURREE,  
The 14th June 1892.

E. A. TRAVERS, Major,  
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

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From BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head-Quarters, Simla,—(No. 10-C. D. —*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*—dated Cherat, the 15th June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter—*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*, No. 2751-B., of June 12th 1893, and of your memorandum (Sanitary) No. 2754-B., of same date, both of which reached me this morning. The report previously called for was forwarded by me yesterday, and I think that it nearly fully  
2160 answers the allegations based on the evidence given before the Departmental Committee at the India Office.

I think, however, that it is as well to recapitulate, and reply to the statements contained in confidential enclosure to Lord Kimberley's Despatch No. 50, dated London, April 20th 1893, as regards the Cantonment of Peshawar.

1 (A).

There is no rule by which any prostitutes are reserved for the use of British soldiers: they may receive visits from any one they like.

(B.)

There is no compulsory examination of women.

(C.)

2170 There is no compulsory detention in hospital.

(D.)

There is no punishment for non-attendance at hospital, except that any person who may be certified to be suffering from contagious disease of any description may be expelled from cantonments if he or she refuses to submit to treatment.

2.

1 (A).

As already reported, prostitutes mostly resort to one quarter of the sudder bazaar, according to ancient custom.

PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING  
PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

There is no restriction as to who visit them, nor as to their going and coming.

There are no guards in uniform, but Military Police visit the whole bazaar, to preserve order. 2180

No register is kept, nor has been since 1888.

There were numbers on some of the houses, but they had no meaning in 1892.

There is no recognised "mahaldarni;" if such a woman exists, it must be by arrangement among the women. The authorities know nothing about her.

Possibly certificates may have been given in old days, before the new rules were promulgated.

As there is no establishment of women, there can be no fixed proportion.

No "rate of pay" is or could be fixed. During more than thirty years' residence in India I have never heard of a man's pay being stopped for such a purpose as that mentioned. 2190

If "black-mail" is levied on prostitutes, it is certainly not with the connivance or knowledge of the military authorities.

It is well known by any one with even limited acquaintance of India that prostitutes rarely or never wish to give up their trade. Should they do so, there is nothing, except the customs of their own people, to prevent them.

Prostitutes generally begin young, being brought up to the life by their own relations, and girls coming to maturity much earlier than in Europe. I do not believe that prostitutes are ever now sent with troops, though they sometimes were in former years. Should they choose to follow particular regiments, it is entirely by their own choice. No one can interfere with their liberty. 2200

1 (B).

Medical officers and medical subordinates deny that there has been any compulsory examination since the orders on the subject were issued. The statement that the women themselves ever objected to the examination when it was compulsory is, from all that I can ascertain, entirely unfounded, as a general rule.

If women attended the Cantonment Hospital voluntarily, it would of course be at a fixed hour, and naturally they would either have to walk or drive.

1 (C).

If a woman was certified to be suffering from any contagious disease, she would have the option of remaining in hospital till cured, or leaving the cantonment. A small sum for daily food is allowed for those requiring it, as long as they remain under treatment. 2210

1 (D).

The statement of penalties to be incurred for disobedience of orders which are non-existent is, of course, untrue.

The only reply to the objection that a woman would be starved if she had to leave cantonments under the only circumstances when she could be required to do so, although she could live comfortably in hospital and ultimately be cured, appears to be that the objectors consider that she should be not only permitted but encouraged to ply her calling and spread disease.

2. The reason why most of the cases of contagious diseases treated in the hospital are venereal is the fact that unfortunately these diseases are the most prevalent. Small-pox being infectious as well as contagious, and one of the most fatal diseases, patients suffering from it are invariably isolated in all hospitals, and treated in separate wards or buildings, which are generally temporary. I am unable to find any evidence to show that admission has ever been refused to a person suffering from secondary syphilis. 2220

The last paragraph has been already answered.

3. With regard to your No. 2754-B, I can only observe that Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer's statement entirely supports what I have already submitted in my report of yesterday, which is based upon all the evidence that I have been able to obtain after full and searching enquiries, in which I have been assisted by Colonel Prendergast, Commanding the station, Brigade Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Churchill, Principal Medical Officer, and Major Macausland, Cantonment Magistrate. 2230

PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING  
PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

From BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 9-C.-D., "*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Cherat, 14 June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in your Confidential letter "*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*," No. 2573-B., of 3rd June 1893, and telegrams No. 2676-B., of 8th June, and No. 2729-B., of 11th June 1893, I proceeded to Peshawar, and there, in conjunction with Colonel Prendergast, Commanding the Station, Brigade Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Churchill, Principal Medical Officer, and Major Macausland, Cantonment Magistrate, made the fullest possible enquiries into the truth of the allegations made by the witnesses who gave evidence before the Committee that assembled at the India Office.

2. In consequence of the numerous changes that have taken place among staff and other officers since February 1892, it is now difficult to obtain direct evidence to contradict some of the assertions made by the witnesses; but I believe that what evidence we have been able to elicit shows that there is no foundation for the charge that the orders of Government were evaded or disregarded.

3. I think that the clearest and simplest way in which I can give the information called for is to refer to the questions put by the Home Committee, and the answers thereto, in consecutive order, so far as they apply to the Cantonment of Peshawar; to give the results of my enquiries, and the sources from which I obtained information.

Such books and documents as in any way bear upon the question will also be quoted, and the originals attached.

Question 175.—The women chiefly reside in two streets. This is nothing extraordinary. I believe that in every city in the world women of this class frequent certain localities, their presence being objected to by the respectable residents in other quarters.

Questions 301 to 344.—The women live in houses as described. Those who had recently been ordered to leave regimental bazaars under the new regulations would naturally resort to the same locality as the others.

As the women had so increased in numbers, there would probably be two examination days for the convenience of those who attended for treatment, but such attendance was voluntary; I can find no record nor any evidence to show that there was any compulsion.

It is quite true that there are circular plates with large numbers in addition to the numbers of the houses, but they were put up several years ago, when the old rules were in force, and have long been obsolete. They did not correspond with any register, and had no further significance than any old name or signboard left by a former resident. I have now ordered them to be removed. No register was kept, nor were any tickets issued by the Cantonment Magistrate, who distinctly states that he never heard of or saw a register until I ordered a search to be made, when the old register (marked A) which is forwarded herewith was discovered. It will be observed that it bears no signature, and that it has evidently been disused since 1888.

A list of prostitutes has been commenced in 1890, but not carried on, and as no tickets were issued, and the new numbers do not correspond with those opposite the same names in former years, it is evidently in no sense a register, but was probably made out for administrative purposes as stated in telegram from Cantonment Magistrate attached (marked B).

The police, of course, have lists of all persons residing in bazaars, whatever their trade or calling may be. The hospital was not set aside for venereal diseases.

Q. 411 to 418.—So far as I can ascertain, the alleged statement of the girl was utterly untrue, unless it referred to what was done several years before, which it probably did.

Q. 509.—No mahaldarni exists; if any woman receives any fees from prostitutes, it must be by private arrangement among themselves.

Q. 633.—Women may possibly follow troops that go to the hills, but there is no proof that they accompanied them. It is also now incapable of disproof, but considering the stringent orders issued, I cannot believe that it has been allowed since the publication of those orders.

Q. 639.—In reply to question 304 it was stated that there were two examination days a week. Here is a discrepancy.

Q. 677.—From enquiries that I have made I am certain that the objection of women to be examined on sentimental grounds is purely imaginary. They neither consider themselves



PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING PESHAWAR DISTRICT—QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S CIRCULAR NO. 21, DATED 13TH JULY 1892.

outcasts, nor are they looked down upon by the native community generally. I know of instances where they have expressed their satisfaction with the system of examination, which they considered a benefit and not a hardship. 2290

Q. 743 to 746.—The native medical subordinate who was at the Cantonment Hospital on the occasion referred to, flatly denies having given any such information as that imputed to him, and distinctly states that there was no compulsion. What the women state about their having no other profession is true enough. Their trade has been recognised as a legitimate one, from time immemorial, among their own countrymen.

Q. 758 to 769. The so-called register must have been the private list of women voluntarily examined and treated by the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, which was forwarded to you with my No. 8 C.D., of 26th May 1893. If there were only 56 names in the list, it is obvious that it could not be a register. There are probably double that number of prostitutes in the sudder bazaar. 2300

Q. 870 and 872.—The numbers were certainly there, as admitted in my reply to questions 316 to 332; but the inference drawn therefrom was incorrect.

Q. 1269 to 1301.—The description of the Cantonment Hospital is correct.

The so-called registration list, containing 56 names, was doubtless the hospital book referred to in my reply to questions 758 to 769.

The native medical subordinate distinctly denies having given the information attributed to him, and also denies the truth of the statements.

He states that he was called by the “dhai” to see two persons whom he described as European “Mem-Sahil’s,” and that they asked him to show the books, which he refused to do without the permission of the medical officer in charge. 2310

He further states that they did not inspect the books in his presence, although he cannot say what they may have done before he was called, of course with the connivance of the “dhai.”

This man receives a high character from the Staff Surgeon under whom he served, when in charge of the followers’ hospital at Peshawar.

4. I attach a letter (marked C) from the Cantonment Magistrate, in which he states that no register was kept up, nor tickets issued since 15th April 1891, when he took charge of the Peshawar office.

As an additional proof, if one were required, that there is no system of registration (and was not in 1892), a careful search in the bazaar only produced two tickets, dated 1884. These are attached to Major Macausland’s letter. 2320

5. In conclusion, I would point out that, although even among the women themselves all enquiries have failed to establish the fact that any of them are or recently were registered or were under the impression that they were, any surreptitious questioning by strangers who asked leading questions with a view to getting the answers they desired would have no difficulty in eliciting any amount of strange and false evidence, on any subject, in any bazaar in India.

6. The enclosures of your letter under reply are returned as directed.

Circular Memorandum from Colonel W. L. Dalrymple, for Quartermaster General in India, to the General Officers Commanding Presidency, Assam, Allahabad, Nerbudda, Bundelkhand, Oudh, Rohilkhand, Meerut, Sirhind, Lahore, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Quetta, Districts, and Punjab Frontier Force—No. 21, “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Army Head-Quarters, Simla, 13th July 1892). 2330

THE Quartermaster General is directed to bring to the notice of General Officers Commanding Districts that a perusal of the annual reports of the working of Cantonment Hospitals for the year 1891 leads to the belief that medical officers in charge of those institutions do not, in all instances, fully appreciate the intention of Government, as expressed in G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890, which is that every description of case applying for relief should be treated therein, so far as may be possible, either as out-door or indoor patients, according to the possibilities or requirements of the cases. It is therefore requested that the attention of all medical officers in charge may be invited to this point, and that they may be instructed to carry out the purpose of Cantonment Hospitals to the greatest extent possible. 2341

2. It is also requested that the attention of medical officers concerned may be drawn to the forms of annual reports forwarded with this office circular marginally noted, and that they may be directed to have them carefully filled in and without altering the prescribed forms in any way before submission.

No. 29, dated 8th August 1891.

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S CIRCULAR NO. 21, DATED 13TH JULY 1892  
—QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IF INDIA'S DEMI-OFFICIALS, DATED 13TH JULY  
1888 AND 8TH NOVEMBER 1890.

- 2350 From Colonel *W. L. Dalrymple*, for Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, the Adjutant General in India; the Director General of Military Works; the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; the Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India; the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; the Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh; the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; the Chief Commissioner, Assam; the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; and the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, the Controller of Military Accounts, Eastern Circle; the Controller of Military Accounts, Western Circle; the Quartermaster General, Madras Army; the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army—(No. B, dated Simla, July 1892).
- 2360 Forwarded for information.

- From Major-General *E. F. Chapman*, Quartermaster General in India, to Brigadier-General H. M. G. Purvis, Presidency District; Major General W. W. Lynch, Allahabad District; Major-General C. J. S. Gough, Oudh District; Brigadier-General C. J. East, Sangor District; Brigadier-General R. M. Rogers, Gwalior District; Colonel W. H. Macnaghten, Rohilcund District; Major-General Sir G. R. Greaves, Meerut District; Major-General D. Macfarlan, Sirhind District; Major-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Major-General Sir T. D. Baker, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Brigadier-General Sir O. V. Tanner, Quetta District; Brigadier-General Sir R. C. Low, Upper Burma Force, —(dated Simla, 13th July 1888).
- 2370

CIRCULAR No. 25, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain for your information that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—*vide* paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules. The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

- From Major-General Sir *James Browne*, K.C.S.I., C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to Major-General Lord Frankfort, Presidency District; Brigadier-General A. A. A. Kinloch, Allahabad District; Brigadier-General W. Barnard, Nerbudda District; Brigadier-General Sir R. Low, Rohilcund District; Major-General A. E. Perkins, Oudh District; Brigadier-General G. T. Pretymman, Bundelkhand District; Major-General Sir J. Hudson, Meerut District; Brigadier-General Auchinleck, Sirhind District; Major-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Major-General Sir Geo. White, Quetta District—(dated Simla, 8th November 1890).
- 2380

HIS Excellency the Commander-in-Chief desires me to write and invite your attention to this Department Circular No. 3, of 12th May 1888, and No. 12, of 6th August 1888; also to a confidential demi-official letter addressed to the General Officer Commanding by name by General Chapman on the 13th July 1888 (Quartermaster-General's No. ).

- In view to probable and existing agitation on the subject in England, I am to ask you to let me know, for His Excellency's information, that the instructions conveyed are being 2390 fully carried out in your command.

The subject is one which in the existing state of feeling in England requires to be most carefully dealt with, more especially as the establishment of Cantonment Hospitals, rules for which are under issue, will probably raise further opposition at home.

I am therefore to ask that you will carefully inquire into the subject demi-officially and confidentially in such manner as you may consider necessary. It has been brought to His Excellency's notice that the order regarding prostitutes not accompanying regiments on the march has in some instances been disregarded.

- From Major General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to Major-General Lord Frankfort, Presidency District; Brigadier-General A. A. A. Kinloch, Allahabad District; Brigadier-General W. Barnard, Nerbudda District; Colonel F. Cochran, Rohilcund district; Lieutenant-General A. E. Perkins, Oudh District; Brigadier-General G. de C. Morton, Bundelkhand District; Major-General Sir J. Hudson, Meerut District; Brigadier-General G. T. Pretymman, Sirhind District; Lieutenant-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Colonel Palmer, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Major-General Sir G. S. White, Quetta District—(dated Fort William, 21st March 1892).
- 2400

IN continuation of Sir James Browne's demi-official letter No. 4901-12-B., dated 8th November 1890, regarding the question of prostitutes in cantonments, I am desired by

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S DEMI-OFFICIAL, DATED 21ST MARCH 1892.  
LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to forward copies of two demi-official letters, dated 11th March 1892, from Major-General Colleen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, and, with reference thereto, to request that you will be good enough to warn officers commanding stations, demi-officially and confidentially, to carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolutions (quoted in one of the accompanying letters) of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and the provisions of the Cantonment Act and the Rules, which have received the approval of the Secretary of State. 2410

From Major General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2988-B,—“*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Simla, the 26th June 1893).

In continuation of this office No. 2959-B, dated the 23rd instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further reports\* regarding the allegations made in the evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Lucknow, Rawal Pindi, Amritsar, and Meen Meer. 2420

\* (1) Oudh District, No. C.-L-361, dated 13th June 1893, and enclosures.  
(2) Oudh District, No. C.-L-363, dated 22nd June 1893.  
(3) Rawal Pindi District, No. 171-C, dated 21st June 1893.  
(4) Lahore District, No. 49-D, dated 22nd June 1893, and enclosures.

From Major General *R. C. Low*, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. C.-L.-361,—“*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated Lucknow, the 13th June 1893). 2430

With reference to your 2672-B. and your No. 2725-B, I have the honour to make the following report:—

The subject is here dealt with under the following heads:—

- A.—The existing Cantonment Hospital and its arrangements.
- B.—The action taken by the local authorities to carry out the orders received.
- C.—The allegations made against the authorities.

2. As regards heading A, I attach a plan showing the hospital buildings, which consist of—

- (a) The General Hospital for both males and females.
- (b) The venereal ward for females only. 2440
- (c) The infectious disease ward for cases other than venereal.
- (d) There is another building not shown in the map, being on the confines of cantonments and two miles from the hospital. This is a cholera and small-pox ward.

Patients are removed to this ward (d) from the ward (c) when an epidemic of cholera or small-pox occurs.

The ward (c) being used for isolated cases, which are of frequent occurrence.

3. There is a point of importance with reference to the female venereal ward (b), namely, that it was formerly, and for many years, the lock hospital, and it is still generally called so by the native inhabitants of cantonments. 2450

4. It is necessary to show how these four blocks of buildings have been gradually merged into a Cantonment General Hospital, as the process had the effect of isolating the building (b).

A General Hospital for treatment of all classes of cases had been in operation here for some years in a haphazard kind of way, and largely dependent for success on the skill and energy of the medical officer in charge; but such as it was this General Hospital was inside the enclosure in which the building (b) stands, and the building (b) was then the Lock Hospital.

5. On the formation of the General Hospital, the nearest barrack was given for the purpose and added to an enclosure made round it, and these buildings became (a) the General Hospital. 2460

The old Lock Hospital (b) was retained as a female venereal ward.

The infectious disease ward (c) was built, and the building (d) was kept up in its original form as a cholera and small-pox ward.



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LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

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6. Thus the present General Hospital, with its different buildings (a), (b), (c), (d) was formed.
7. The existing arrangements for treatment of female venereal cases are these.
8. The admissions are absolutely voluntary so far as the authorities can make them.
9. Any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined.
10. If found diseased, she would be sent to the venereal ward.
- 2470 11. Between the case of a prostitute seeking relief for venereal disease and that of any other woman seeking relief for the same, the only difference that could occur is this : The prostitute, knowing the place, would go straight to the venereal ward, while the other might very likely go to the General Hospital ; both would become inmates of the female venereal ward.
12. Any such woman could leave the hospital at any moment ; but if she left before being cured, she would not be permitted to reside in cantonments, as per paragraph 5, G. G. O. No. 617 of 4th July 1890.
13. No compulsion whatever is brought to bear on the women to present themselves for examination. They have been repeatedly told that if they wish they can be examined, 2480 but that they are not obliged to be examined.
- I have, however, heard of pressure being brought to bear on the women indirectly by their customers preferring to deal with those who have been examined. Also I have heard of pressure being brought on them by those to whom they are in debt ; but the authorities have let the women know plainly that there is no compulsion on their part.
14. There is a dhai, who is paid Rs. 12 per mensem by the Cantonment Fund, and also has quarters in the General Hospital, and whose duty it is to attend on the sick.
- Prior to the 1st February 1892, there were two dhais sanctioned. Application for matrons was made in this office No. 836 of 23rd December 1891 (copy attached marked J), for discharge of one, and for sanction to entertain a compounder in place of the dhai discharged. Sanction was given to this in Quartermaster General's No. 86-B. of 14th 2490 January 1892.
15. Hitherto the day and time on which the medical officer is prepared to examine women has been notified. This is essential not only to enable the medical officers to properly arrange their work, but it is essential in the interests of the patients.
16. As having reference to the points noted so far, I attach, marked (K), a statement of queries made by me and replied to by the medical officer at present in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.
17. I now turn to heading B—"The action taken by the authorities to carry out the orders received."
- The orders received may be classed under four heads, namely,—
- 2400 (a) The removal of registered prostitutes from regimental bazaars, and that they were not to reside in any building owned by the Cantonment Fund.
- (b) The discontinuance of registrations and the abolition of tickets.
- (c) Substitution of voluntary for compulsory examination.
- (d) Prostitutes not to be permitted to accompany troops on the march.
- The orders issued on each of the above and action taken are as follows :—
18. *As regards (a).*—Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3 directs that "residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars of British troops is to be prohibited."
- I enclose the original order of Major General Sir C. Gough to the Cantonment Magistrate, Major Campbell, marked (L).
- 2510 Major Campbell states that all buildings out of which these women were ejected, which were Government property, were at once sold.
- That some of the ejected women occupied a building in the sudder bazaar, which was at that time the property of the Cantonment Fund, but which was then sold. The deed of sale is registered in the Office of the Registrar of Lucknow ; and others of these ejected women hired houses in the vicinity of the above building, owned by private individuals.
19. It may be mentioned here that, consequent on the removal of the women from the regimental bazaars, the three regimental dhais were discharged. Sanction was obtained for this—*vide* Quartermaster General's letter No. 2710-B. of 16th July 1889.
- 2520 20. *As regards heading (b) and the orders to "discontinue registrations and abolition of tickets."*—The action taken is noted on the reverse of original circular (Circular No. 12), and I attach this paper, marked (M).
- Major Campbell states that since that time the register of prostitutes referred to in Rule 9 of the old Lock Hospital Rules and the tickets referred to in Rule 14 have both been discontinued in his office.

## LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

21. On the above three points, I attach an original paper (marked N) written by Captain Ozzard in November 1890, apparently for the information of the General Officer Commanding, which describes the state of matters at that time.

Captain Ozzard is now in England.

22. *As regards (d) that "prostitutes were not to accompany troops on the march."*—No troops have left this station or arrived during my tenure of command, which dates from the 1st April 1892. 2530

The point need not be dealt with by me beyond saying that it would be impossible for prostitutes to obtain Government transport for such a purpose, or Government hired transport, or money from Government to pay for rail fares: but there can be no doubt that prostitutes often do follow the soldiers; whether they pay their way themselves, or get help from the men, or borrow the money, is not material.

These women can easily carry out the orders, and yet follow certain men to their new stations. They simply go by rail to the new stations and establish themselves in the prostitutes' quarter and await the arrival of their friends, and no action that we can take will prevent this. 2540

23. In concluding this portion of my report, I can only add that, having before me the different orders and circulars of the Commander-in-Chief, I can state that they have been loyally carried out, so far as I am aware, or can ascertain, by those officers whose duty it was to do so.

24. I now pass to the allegations, the first of which is—

"That there is chakla, or quarter, or serai in which prostitutes are living, in the sudder bazaar."

This is true. In the interests of the other inhabitants of the bazaar they are only allowed to reside in one quarter of the bazaar in which prostitutes have always resided.

25. Again, regarding the existence of mahaldarnis. 2550

This is true; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities.

26. In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges.

The tariff of charges may be true.

It is immaterial whether really true or not, because it is certain that prostitutes expect and get payment, and it may be accepted as certain that a charge is made, but where the untruth lies is that the public are led to believe that this tariff is recognised and sanctioned by the authorities.

27. Then take the allegation that "a policeman was seen on duty at the chakla." 2560  
Why should he not be there?

Would the presence of a policeman on duty in the neighbourhood of brothels in London or New York be held to be "State aid, or regulation, or provision of vice"? Yet it is in this sense that the statements are made in the queries and replies Nos. 209-215.

28. The prostitutes are as much entitled to protection of life and property as other residents of the cantonments.

If the women had been found to be debarred from protection of police, it might have reasonably been considered a fault on the part of the authorities; but it is ridiculous to try and make out that the provision of police protection is blameworthy.

29. Then there is the incident described in queries 550-559. 2570

If the description given means anything, it means that the two ladies who were making these inquiries saw a girl sold before their eyes into prostitution.

These ladies were certainly aware of the existence of officers and the Cantonment Magistrate, and it is unreasonable to suppose they did not know of the existence of one or more of the following:

The General Commanding.

The English Chaplain.

The R. C. Chaplain.

The Presbyterian Minister.

What are we to think of two ladies who, knowing this, saw with their own eyes a girl sold into prostitution without taking a single step to get her released? 2580

One of two conclusions is obvious.

If they believed the story, they were themselves guilty of the abominable cruelty of leaving the girl to her fate; or if they did *not* believe the story, they have purposely represented the case in such a way as to deceive a credulous public in England.

## LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

The case is typical of the general way these ladies have gathered their evidence.

The credulous public in England will believe a good deal; but they would not have believed that in this case these ladies had asked for the help of one of the above officials and had been refused. Consequently, no such help was asked for.

2590 It is no reply to say they did not know where to find any of the above officials.

They made no attempt to find any of them, and, as a matter of fact, the quarters of the General and the quarters of the Cantonment Magistrate are known to every cabman in Lucknow.

30. Then there is the endeavour to prove registration of prostitutes in the statements to queries 852-869.

As a matter of fact *every person*, male or female, and of whatever occupation, trade, or calling, who wishes to reside in the sudder bazaar must present a written petition on a printed form laid down for miscellaneous petitions.

The price of a form is a quarter of an anna

2600 A one-anna court-fee stamp has to be affixed to the petition.

The man who writes the petition is paid by the petitioner as may be arranged between them.

This is the ordinary process of every day life, and I am informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that there is nothing approaching registration in it, and it is absurd to try and twist it into registration of prostitutes.

I am further informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that prostitutes have never been made over to the police or to an inspector to take to hospital since registration was abolished.

31. Then there is the story of the dismissal of the mahaldarni, queries 884-902.

2610 It is probable that the woman who stated she had been dismissed was the woman referred to in attachment J.\* The dates correspond; but she was, when in Government service, a paid matron or dhai, while, in the evidence, an attempt is made to prove she was paid as a procuress or forewoman of prostitutes.

N.B.—If she was the same woman, this conclusively proves her discharge was not owing to the visit of the two ladies, as suggested in queries and replies, 884-892.

32. The statements and incidents alluded to in queries 973-1146 will, no doubt, be dealt with by the Commission on its road here.

I believe the girl in question is still here, and so is the Cantonment Magistrate who received the two ladies at his court. So, also, I think, is the native doctor referred to.

2620 33. The allegations alluded to by me in this report are the main accusations brought against the authorities; and while, with my knowledge of the customs of the natives of the country and of the many minor native officials that have to be depended on to carry out the details of any radical changes, such as those directed, to meet the resolutions of the House of Commons, it is, in my opinion, probable that there may have been cases of oppression, or of dilatoriness in the carrying out of the instructions in all these details, I can confidently reassert, with the orders in front of me, so far as I am aware, and so far as I can ascertain, the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been carried out loyally and in reasonable time.

2630 34. I attach one more statement marked (O) showing the dates on which the Lucknow Cantonment Fund chaklas were sold.

## LIST OF ENCLOSURES.

Plan of the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital and detached wards.

J.—Oudh District Office No. 836 of 23rd December 1890.

K.—Statement of queries and replies made by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

L.—Original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough.

M.—Original Circular No. 12 with note of action taken on reverse.

N.—Original statement of how orders were given effect to by Captain Ozzard, Cantonment Magistrate, in November 1890.

2640 O.—Statement showing dates on which the different chaklas, formerly owned by the Lucknow Cantonment Fund, were sold.

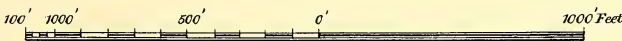


# LUCKNOW D<sup>n</sup> M. W.

PLAN SHOWING VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GENERAL  
CANTONMENT HOSPITAL.



Scale 1 Inch = 500 Feet.



GENERAL CANTONMENT HOSPITAL ENCLOSURES

D<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup> BUILDINGS

OTHER BUILDINGS



(S<sup>d</sup>) E.D. SWINTON, LIEUT<sup>t</sup> R.E.



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LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

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## J.

From MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. PERKINS, General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, — (No. 836, “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,” dated, Lucknow, the 23rd December 1891).

WITH reference to the accompanying letter from the Medical Officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital, I have the honour to request the sanction of His Excellency the Commander in Chief to the following alteration in the existing establishment of the Cantonment Hospital proposed by the Medical Officer in charge of the hospital, and recommended by the Army Medical Officer:—

1. Compounder at Rs. 10 per month in place of a dhai. 2650
2. I fully concur with the view that, under the present system, the services of two dhais are not necessary.

## K.

*Queries—Cantonment General Hospital.*

(1) Were cases of any other kind treated in the old Lock Hospital enclosure before the new hospital was built, and did the Hospital Assistant treat cases himself?

A.—Yes; both male and female patients. The males were treated in a shed erected in the Lock Hospital compound. The women were treated in a detached portion of the lock ward.

(2) What has become of the huts in the Lock Hospital compound? 2660

A.—They still exist, but are unoccupied.

(3) How many dhais are there, and where do they live? What salary do they receive?

A.—One dhai only. She lives in the Cantonment General Hospital quarters. Salary is Rs. 12 per mensem.

(4) On what date was the New Cantonment General Hospital opened?

A.—1st February 1892.

(5) Was the female ward opened at the same time, or was it built afterwards?

A.—Built afterwards.

(6) Pending construction of the female ward, where were female patients treated?

A.—In the old Lock Hospital. 2670

(7) When was the infectious disease ward opened?

A.—May 1892.

LUCKNOW;	}	(Sd.) C. A. LANE, <i>Surgeon-Captain,</i>
<i>The 12th June 1893.</i>	}	<i>Army Medical Staff.</i>

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## L

Demi-official from CAPTAIN S. J. MICHELL, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to Major-General Sir C. S. GOUGH, K.C.B., V.C.,—(dated Lucknow, the 17th July 1888).

CIRCULAR No. 5, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain to all Officers Commanding Station in the Oudh Division that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—*vide* paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules. 2680

The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

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## M.

Memo. from MAJOR-GENERAL E. F. CHAPMAN, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding,—(No. 12. dated Simla, the 6th August 1888).

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital Rules, framed under clause 7, section XIX of Act XXII of 1864, and continued under section 2 of Act III of 1880.



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LUCKNOW—CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, LUCKNOW.

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2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is in fact to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

No. 763, dated Lucknow, the 20th August 1888.

FORWARDED for information and favour of compliance with paragraph 2.

(Sd.) S. J. MICHELL, *Captain,*  
*Offg. Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.*

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FORWARDED for information to Officer in medical charge Lock Hospital. Please return.

LUCKNOW ; }  
The 20th August 1888. }

(Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major,*  
*Cantonment Magistrate.*

Noted and returned,

2700 LUCKNOW ; }  
The 20th August 1888. }

(Sd.) R. E. KAY, *Surgeon, M.S.,*  
*In medical charge Lock Hospital.*

REGISTRATION to be discontinued. All tickets to be recalled.

LUCKNOW ; }  
The 22nd August 1888. }

(Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major.*

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## N

Memo. by CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, Cantonment Magistrate, Lucknow, on the points noted by the Quartermaster-General in "*The Sentinel*" of October 1890.

1-A.—The whole tenor of this passage is to the effect that compulsory examinations of the women are still held. This is entirely false. The attendance of the women at the hospital is perfectly voluntary, also their residence in hospital if diseased. There is no compulsion in the matter at all. If a woman does not wish to attend, or to remain in hospital, she is at perfect liberty to act up to her wishes, and nothing further is done.

1-B.—No women are punished by the Cantonment Magistrate for anything connected with their calling as prostitutes. They are, of course, subject to the ordinary cantonment rules, the same as every other inhabitant of cantonments, European or Native, and would be fined, like any one else, for breaches of them.

1-C. and 1-D.—Prostitutes reside in the sudder bazaar in one quarter: it might be called a "serai." This is merely in accordance with customs which restrict trades and professions to certain quarters and streets. The prostitutes' quarters are not new buildings, and they are not Government property. They belong to a native house proprietor named Salig Ram. The cantonment authorities have no more control over these premises than over any other buildings in bazaars.

1-E.—There is no rule or law of any sort prohibiting native men from entering the building in question. Natives probably do not resort there; but this may be because they do not care for coming into contact with soldiers.

1-F.—Statistics are necessarily kept at the hospital as to the number of patients, the number voluntarily attending, their state of health, &c. It would be impossible for a hospital of any kind to be carried on without some records of results, and the number of patients, if only to check the bills for dieting.

LUCKNOW.—CAPTAIN OZZARD, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, LUCKNOW.

1-G. *Vide* reply to 1-A.—There is absolutely no compulsion in the matter, and no women are confined in hospital. They are examined and remain in hospital of their own free will. Being well treated and well fed whilst in hospital, there is no inducement whatever for them to leave; but if they should wish to do so, there is nothing to hinder them. 2730

1-H.—No tickets or licenses of any kind are issued to the women, nor are any kept in the Cantonment Magistrate's office. The tickets were all called in and destroyed when the compulsory system was abolished two years ago.

1-K. *Vide* reply to 1-C. and 1-D.—The quarters where the women reside are not Government property, but belong to a private individual, who lets them on hire to the women the same as any other houses in the bazaar.

1-L.—Two matrons are paid by the Cantonment Fund to look after the woman and maintain order—one at the hospital and one in the prostitutes' quarters. They are not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but are employed to maintain order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order as in other parts of the bazaar. 2740

In conclusion, it is evident that the writers of the articles under reference can have no idea of what the old compulsory system was like, when every public prostitute within cantonments and within a radius of five miles round was compulsorily registered and licensed, and forced under heavy penalties to attend medical examinations, and rigorously confined in hospital if found diseased. This has all been swept away; the hospital is a voluntarily institution in no material way differing from the hospitals in the United Kingdom in connection with the same subject; there is no registration; there are no penalties; the women are free to attend or not as they choose. 2750

LUCKNOW; } H. H. OZZARD, Captain,  
The 10th November 1890. } Cantonment Magistrate.

O

*Statement of Sales of Cantonment Fund chaklas at Lucknow.*

Name of Chakla.	Date of Sale.	Name and Description of Purchaser.	Price Realised.	Remarks.
Royal Artillery -	4th August 1888 -	Ran. Lall Pundit of Royal Artillery Bazaar.	Rs. A. P. 97 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Sudder Bazaar -	24th September 1888	Salig Ram and Choonee Lall, Merchants, Sudder Bazaar. (Deed of sale registered in Office of Registrar, Lucknow, on 10th December 1888.)	4,000 0 0	Still occupied by prostitutes. 2760
European Cavalry	27th September 1888	Basj Nath Banya of Sudder Bazaar	100 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Left European Infantry.	3rd October 1888 -	Mooloo Jemadar, cook -	68 0 0	Has left the station. Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.

(Sd.) A. W. CAMPBELL, Major,  
Cantonment Magistrate.

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LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

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2770 From MAJOR-GENERAL R. C. LOW, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 363-C. L., “*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*” dated Lucknow, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

I HAVE the honour, with reference to your No. 2747-B., to submit the attached report, which deals *seriatim* and without comment with the points noted in the printed enclosure forwarded with your letter.

I may, however, here point out that the printed paper starts with an error ; it states that—

“The principal facts ascertained and verified are the following, &c., &c.”

2780 The facts are stated by two ladies on the testimony of the most vicious and degraded of the population in India, and though these statements admitted of easy proof on the reverse, at the time and on the spot, no attempt whatever was made by these ladies to verify the statements which as a matter of fact are untrue.

In cases where the facts stated were true as regards custom and procedure prior to 1888, they have been accepted as existing now, and no attempt was made by these ladies to ascertain whether they really existed now or whether the statements only referred to the past.

The question at issue is, whether the procedure and custom prior to 1888 has or has not been abolished in obedience to orders, and it is worth noticing that so anxious were these ladies to prove the former that they were unable to see ordinary people on every-day circumstances of an Indian bazaar without endeavouring to twist them into evidence in their favour.

2790 They see a policeman.

He of course cannot be there in the usual course of police duty, he is there to guard and maintain prostitutes for the British soldier by order of the authorities !

His badge is an additional proof.

They see houses with numbers on them.

This is a proof of registration of prostitutes provided for the British soldiers, and so on to the end of the chapter.

— So far as I aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out.

LUCKNOW CANTONMENT.

2800 *Replies to Statement in annexure to Secretary of State's No. 50 of 20th April 1893.*

A.—The word *chakla* means “brothel” ; it is applied to any place or quarter of a town or bazaar where public prostitutes reside.

The *sudder bazaar* is the only place where prostitutes have been permitted to reside since 1888.

Neither houses nor rooms or any special place of residence is assigned to them, but they necessarily congregate in one quarter, as if scattered amongst the respectable inhabitants, their presence would be resented.

2. Some of the prostitutes live in a large block of buildings, which formerly belonged to the Cantonment Fund, but which was sold in 1888.

2810 Others live in adjacent houses.

The prostitutes are not reserved for British soldiers, but the fact that soldiers visited certain prostitutes might debar natives from doing so.

The women like most of their class in all countries live by prostitution.

There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them, and they are at liberty to leave cantonments whenever they choose ; in fact, they constantly do so and no steps whatever are taken to bring them back.

3. The large block of buildings was till 1888 the property of the Cantonment Fund ; it was then sold.

4. Since 1888 the prostitutes have had to house themselves.

2820 5. No guard is put over the *chakla*.

Military and native police visit the *chakla* as well as the rest of the bazaar in their rounds.



## LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

6. No register has been kept since the Lock Hospital Rules were abrogated. Where metal plates bearing numbers are placed over rooms or houses, it has been done by the owners of the houses for their own convenience.

7. There is no mahaldarni or other person in charge of the chakla who is paid by the cantonment or other fund.

8. Under the registration system (in force prior to 1888), dhais were paid for making daily inspections; some of them may hold testimonials from the medical officers under whom they performed their duties.

9. No women are authorised to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now. 2830

10. Prostitutes who elect to reside in cantonments in preference to outside of cantonments doubtless do so in the hope of receiving visits from soldiers.

The number of such prostitutes doubtless varies with the size of a cantonment—a larger number being in a big cantonment than in a small one.

11. There may be a fixed scale of charge; if so, it has been fixed by the women themselves; the statement that charges if not paid are stopped out of a man's pay is false.

12. Prostitutes, if they get into debt, are treated by the Cantonment authorities in no way different from any other class in the bazaar.

13. If a more attractive woman comes into the bazaar and takes the custom of those who are growing old, it would not be a matter in which the Cantonment authorities would interfere. 2840

14. Women are not allowed to accompany a regiment on the march, nor is it possible for them to obtain Government transport or money from Government to pay for hired carriage or railway fares, but no doubt they often do follow a regiment to another station; there is nothing to prevent them going by rail to the new station if they can raise the money for the fare.

It follows that the statement that they are protected by European guards on the march is false.

B.—There is no register, and women are not required to attend examinations.

There is a Cantonment General Hospital in which there is a female venereal ward; the admissions are entirely voluntary; any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined, and if found diseased, would be sent to the venereal ward for treatment. 2850

C.—No woman is compelled to attend for examination, but if they attend voluntarily and are admitted into hospital they are dieted, and the charge is defrayed from Cantonment Funds; this is the case with all patients whether suffering from venereal disease or other malady.

D.—No compulsion is used to make a woman present herself for examination.

Pressure may be brought sometimes on the women indirectly, either by their customers or by those to whom they might be in debt, but they have been repeatedly told by the authorities that they are at liberty to do as they like in the matter. 2860

2. If a woman voluntarily presents herself for examination and is sent to the venereal ward for treatment, she is at perfect liberty to leave the hospital whenever she likes; but if she does so before she is cured, she is not allowed to live in cantonments.

3. A woman may leave the cantonments at any time, without any one's permission or any one interfering with her. Should she have permanently left and afterwards desire again to reside in cantonments, she would—like all new-comers of every class—have to obtain the permission of the Cantonment Magistrate.

No medical examination would be required.

4. Women are visited by soldiers outside as well as inside cantonment limits. 2870

*As to 2.*

Small-pox and infectious diseases other than venereal have been for years past at the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital.

2. There are no registered prostitutes in Lucknow Cantonments.

There is no Lock Hospital.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 171-C., dated Rawal Pindi, the 21st June 1893—"Confidential").

IN compliance with your letter No. 2750-B. of 12th instant, I have the honour to  
2880 furnish replies in categorical form to the allegations contained in the paper headed "East India Cantonment Acts and Regulations since 1889, Statement of Facts, &c."

3. In my former letter I furnished the additional report referred to in the concluding portion of the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated 12th June 1893. This report was concluded before the receipt of your letter under reply. The categorical report, however, covered wider ground, and I was unable to reply at once. I found it also necessary to proceed to Rawal Pindi, where further evidence has been taken. The minutes of this evidence will follow to-morrow, in continuation of that previously rendered.

3. The following are my categorical replies. The period of time specially referred to in these replies, unless otherwise stated, is the latter part of February 1892.

2890 4. I have enquired into the cases of all places within the Cantonment of Rawal Pindi, where public prostitutes are known to reside, and, with one exception, to be noted hereafter, I find that no provision, systematic or otherwise, is made for the residence of

That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by, or with the consent of, the military authorities;

(A.) For the residence, &c.

prostitutes, or for any woman being reserved exclusively for the use of British soldiers.

5. The special allegations under this head are as noted in the margin.

6. There are no assigned quarters, inasmuch as the residences of the prostitutes are hired houses, the property of private persons, for which rent is paid under arrangements

2900 In each cantonment there are assigned quarters, &c.  
between landlord and tenant, without any intervention or control by any military authority. The places where prostitutes reside are usually called 'chaklas' and the tenants of the several chaklas, other than those in the sudder, are in the habit of speaking of themselves as belonging to such and such a regiment. In the large bazaar between the cavalry and infantry in Church lines, which has been, since 1891, practically a sudder bazaar, as already explained, there are two so-called chaklas—one situated on the side near the cavalry, and the other on the infantry side. These chaklas are part and parcel of the bazaar, and are merely houses indistinguishable from other houses. If the prostitutes were replaced by other tenants, there would be no trace of the so-called chakla. In the sudder it is the same, except that the chakla consists in part of a court-yard. The exception noted above is the case of  
2910 the Royal Artillery Bazaar. It appears that a portion of the deserted grass-cutters' lines (grass-cutters having been to a great extent abolished) have been allocated by authority for the use of prostitutes. These huts are situated within the regimental bazar limits. The women were free agents, and their actions were not controlled in any way. It appears that the regimental connection did not extend further than their being allowed to reside in these disused huts rent-free. This action is contrary to orders, and the irregularity is being dealt with separately. The prostitutes have been turned out of these huts.

7. None of the so-called chaklas in this cantonment have any resemblance to a military building. They are indistinguishable from ordinary bazaar residences. No women

2920 The chakla in some cases consists, &c.  
are reserved for the exclusive use of either Europeans or natives. They are free to receive any persons. In the cold weather, if they could not procure houses, women sometimes occupied tents provided under their own arrangements. Under similar conditions followers of the troops use tents. The two classes of encampments would be indistinguishable. All prostitutes are free to come and go, in or out of cantonments, without permission. There is no control of any sort.

8. In no case (except the Royal Artillery case stated above) are the residences of the prostitutes Government property, nor is there any trace of their ever having been

2930 Government property. The Royal Artillery huts were Government property only in the sense that they are believed to have been originally built by the followers with the help of a small allowance from Government. If the huts had remained tenantless, they would have tumbled down ere this. Their existence is therefore due to their being tenanted and to the expense of maintenance being undertaken by the occupants.

9. All prostitutes pay rent, except in the case of the Royal Artillery, as mentioned above.

10. In no case is there any guard within or near the prostitutes' quarters; the police supervision is the same as for bazaars generally.

In some cantonments a guard in uniform, &c.

RAWAL PINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

11. There is no register of prostitutes of any kind or in any case. Mahaldarnis have lists of their own women for their own purposes, and for the purpose of examination, but this is a private arrangement. Numbers (sometimes on metal plates) are affixed to the houses occupied by prostitutes, but all other houses are distinguished in the same manner, and the metal plates and numbers have no relation to the tenants, whether prostitutes or others, and do not change with the tenants. There is only one number for each house, unless there are separate tenements separately taxable. The numbering is for the purpose of levying the general house-tax only. There is no truth in the statement that the numbering is to enable a soldier to designate a particular woman. 2940
12. Mahaldarnis, where they exist, are in all cases maintained by the women attached to them, by mutual private arrangements. In almost every instance the chakla, with its occupants, is under the control, &c. In no case has a mahaldarni been paid wholly or in part out of Cantonment Funds. 2950
13. It has been ascertained that this is the case. The majority of these certificates refer to periods antecedent to the legislation of 1889. To any one who knows the importunities of natives to procure something in writing, no matter from whom, this will not be surprising. Some of these certificates appear, however, to be given out of excess of good nature where many persons would have refused them. The mahaldarni referred to in the minutes of evidence of the Secretary of State's Committee (Q. and A. 925-939) has been seen. The description there given of her certificates is correct. She has since added two to her stock, but there is no pretence that the writers of these certificates had anything further to do with her than that she and her women lived in quarters in the bazaar nearest to the lines occupied successively by the writers' regiments.
14. The passing of the Cantonments Act and the issue of G. G. O. 617 of 1890 have made this difference that the mahaldarnis became private agents, while before they were sometimes part of the bazaar establishment and paid as such. All their duties are the same, &c.
- The number of women in each chakla, &c.
- A uniform low rate of pay is made, &c.
15. The number of women is not proportioned by any military authority, but only by the law of supply and demand.
16. The evidence of Alladi is instructive on this point. She is the best authority on the subject. Nothing is known as to a tariff except by those personally concerned. 2970
- If not paid complaint was sometimes made, &c.
17. No such complaint is known to have been made here.
- Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, &c.
18. All this is very probable and scarcely requires verification.
- The result is that they live in the cantonment as soldiers' prostitutes, &c.
19. This also is unfortunately too probable.
20. These prostitutes are of all ages, but some are undoubtedly very young, according to European standards. The age of puberty in India is 12. Only one case is known of a prostitute of extreme youth, and the action then taken appears to prove the rarity of the occurrence. 2980
- The prostitutes are generally girls, &c.
21. Women do frequently follow a regiment, but so far as is known they make their own arrangements to do so. No case of provision of transport is known, or of their protection on the march, or recognition in any way by the regimental authorities.
- When a regiment changes its cantonment, &c.
22. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women.
- That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities.
- (B).—For the compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods by European or Native medical officers.
23. There is no register, nor has there been since 1888. As to the compulsory examination of women, all the evidence available has been taken, and it shows that no compulsion was used beyond the powers conferred by G. G. O. 617 of 1890. 2990
- Every woman entered on the register, &c.
24. The women presenting themselves were examined. In this hospital the regular day notified was Friday, but women would be received in the hospitals at any time for examination.
- The examinations are usually once a week, &c.



RAWAL PINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

25. The only medical officer who has had charge of the Cantonment Hospital who is available, has been examined, and he acquiesces in the description of the examination with the important exception that the speculum was never used by him for this purpose.
- The examination is made individually, &c.
26. Correct.
- The women assemble at a fixed time, &c.
27. There is no such provision; the conditions of detention are such as are prescribed in G. G. O. 617 of 1890.
28. Generally correct; if by "next examination" day is meant the next day they chose to come for examination.
29. No cases of such detention are known; the practice is denied.
30. Generally correct; this is for subsistence in hospital, which all poor patients get in all sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.
31. The procedure has been in accordance with G. G. O. 617 of 1890.
32. It is possible that some medical officers may not have strictly worded their correspondence, so as to conform to the law and regulations. If so, the Hospital letter book, which has already been sent up will show. Its return was applied for, but it could not be spared, and it is now not available for further reference. The procedure of the medical officers is believed to have been substantially within the law.
33. As above.
34. There is no such thing as a permit to leave cantonments. The procedure described in G. G. O. 617 of 1890 is probably referred to.
35. This is very unlikely to be the case. Most of the prostitutes have their homes outside Cantonments, and there is no reason why they should not obtain a livelihood elsewhere as well as in cantonments.
36. This charge is categorically denied.
37. This description is generally applicable to the female contagious diseases ward of the Rawal Pindi Hospital. Infectious diseases are not treated in it, because wards for infectious cases are provided elsewhere. It is only frequented by prostitutes because other women will not come to it.
38. This is not true in respect of this Hospital.
39. This is entirely untrue, both in fact and suggestion.
- (C) For the compulsory detention in Hospital of any such women under the orders of the medical officers.
- Upon the examination the women are either dismissed, &c.
- Detention is ordered not only in cases of detected disease, &c.
- (D) With penal consequences in the case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment.
- During detention in Hospital, &c.
- If she leave hospital before being formally discharged, &c.
- If she leave the cantonment without a permit, &c.
- The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman, &c.
2. (Page 1.) That the Hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts, and the regulations made thereunder, are systematically used, &c.
- All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious or contagious diseases, &c.
- It is only intended for females, because the wards and dispensary for males are provided elsewhere.
- In some of these Hospitals cases of secondary syphilis, &c.
- The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examination, &c.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head Quarters, Simla,—(No. 48-D.. *Cantonment—Sanitary*, dated Dalhousie, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

IN reply to your No. 2749-B., dated 12th June 1893, and in continuation of my telegram No. 39-D. of 15th instant, I have the honour to reply categorically to the statements made in the enclosure to Secretary of State for India's letter, No. 50-M., dated London, 20th April, in as complete a manner as the limited time at disposal for enquiries allows. This report is supplementary to my No. 38-D. of 15th instant. 3050

2. With reference to Amritsar. The Officer Commanding in March 1892 was Captain Anderson of the Manchester Regiment. He is now on leave in Kashmir. Questions have been sent by telegram for him to reply to, and the answers will be submitted when received.

3. I enclose a letter, a statement of patients treated in the Cantonment Hospital, and replies to questions (annexures A, B, and C) furnished by Surgeon-Captain Trotter, Medical Staff, who was in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, in 1892. From this it appears—

- (1) There was a voluntary inspection of women bi-monthly. 3060
- (2) There was no register of women, or issue of tickets made, to the knowledge of the Medical Officer.
- (3) The Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, was, and is, used for the treatment of all classes of natives, male and female, and for female cases also other than venereal cases.
- (4) No steps were taken for the punishment of women refusing to attend inspection, or leaving hospital before being regularly discharged.
- (5) Women were not detained during their natural menstrual period.
- (6) From Annexure A of my No. 38-D. of the 15th instant, it is also evident that the examination of women was quite voluntary; and 3070
- (7) No complaint or representation regarding the inspection was ever made of the women to the Medical Officer or the Hospital Assistant.

4. With regard to annexure B, I only called for a statement as to those months immediately preceding and following the visit of the persons whose statements are now the subject of a Committee, as being sufficient evidence as to the point at issue.

The statement of Captain Anderson will be evidence on the remaining points.

5. *Meean Meer*.—Though my information is not quite so full and so precise as I could have wished had more time been available for this enquiry, I am able to give definite replies to most of the questions raised.

One of the medical officers in charge of the Cantonment Hospital about the time at issue, Surgeon-Captain Hudson, 16th Bengal Cavalry, is now on leave at Simla. The other, Surgeon-Captain Grainger, is, it is believed, in civil employ in Tirhoot. The Hospital Assistant is giving evidence before a Committee at Rawal Pindi. 3080

6. *Paragraph I.—(A) of Statement*.—With the sanction of the Military authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army Head Quarters, and as I understand, without the knowledge of the General Officer Commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazaars of British Infantry and Royal Artillery, for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

7. With the sanction also of the Military authorities generally, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the Sudder Bazaar. Those residing in the Sudder Bazaar were open to receive visits from Europeans or natives without restriction. 3090

8. B.—*Examination of women so far compulsory that they had the option of leaving the cantonment if they did not submit*. In 1889 also the prostitutes petitioned to be inspected. (Annexure D.)

9. C.—*Women were compulsorily detained in hospital under the orders of the examining officers, but see also annexure D. as to their willingness to be so detained*.

10 D.—*No arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from cantonments were the punishments*.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

11. *As to 1 (A).* There were three chaklas or brothels, 1 in Royal Artillery Bazaar, 1 in British Infantry Bazaar, 1 in Sudder Bazaar. The women residing in the two former were reserved for British soldiers. In the sudder bazaar they were open to Europeans and natives.

The chaklas in Meean Meer (and also in Amritsar) bear no resemblance to military buildings, but resemble native houses. The brothel in the sudder bazaar was specially constructed as such in 1877, but the responsibility of the Cantonment Committee for it ceased in September 1888,—see *para. 8* of my letter, No. 38. D. of 15th instant.

The women are prostitutes by trade. Public solicitation by women is not customary. Natives are allowed to resort to the brothel in the sudder bazaar.

12. None of the brothels are the property of the State or of the Cantonment; they are private property, the women do not live rent-free, but pay rent to the landlords.  
3110 No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel.

13. Registers of prostitutes were maintained in Meean Meer in March 1892, though now discontinued. See also paragraph 5 (c) of my No. 38-D., dated 15th instant, for particulars.

14. The prostitutes are under a mahaldarni paid by a share of the women's earnings. (See Officer Commanding Meean Meer's report under my No. 38-D. of 15th instant as to the woman conversed with by the persons who visited the brothel not being the mahaldarni of the brothel but some other woman.)

It is not known whether the mahaldarni possesses certificates signed by officers. It is believed, however, that no certificates of this nature have at any rate been granted since the Lock Hospital Rules were cancelled.

3120 The duties of the mahaldarnis practically continue the same.

15. As regards the proportion of prostitutes to British soldiers, the number is not regulated by the State, nor fixed in any way.

16. It is believed the rates of payment made are correct, but such payment is in no way regulated by the State. It is a matter of custom.

No cases are known of the amount due to a prostitute being recovered by stoppages from a man's pay.

17. It is very probable that the keepers of the brothels are extortionate.

It does not appear that the prostitutes are obliged from poverty to reside in the cantonment until too old for their trade, especially in view of the fact stated in the following  
3130 paragraph that they are generally girls and many of them very young. In Meean Meer the prostitutes vary in age up to 40 years. It is roughly estimated that 50 per cent. are of the age 14 to 16, or so. But as regards their age, it should be borne in mind that women in India live with their husbands younger than this, and are very frequently mothers at 14 and 15 years old.

I deal with these points of age, &c., as they are raised in the Statement, though they do not lie within the powers of a Commanding or other Officer to deal with officially.

18. It seems evident that prostitutes did accompany regiments marching to Meean Meer, but further specific details have not been supplied. In the experience of the officer in temporary command of the station, guards were never supplied for this purpose,  
3140 though the women were usually accompanied by a mahaldarni.

19. *With reference to B.*—Registered women were required to present themselves for examination bi-monthly; the examinations were not limited to women consorting with British soldiers only. The examination was made by a British medical officer. Each medical officer had, it appears, his own way of conducting the examination. Sometimes they were made in the presence of the native medical officer, mahaldarni or dhai, and sometimes only in the presence of the mahaldarni.

20. With regard to the feeling of the women regarding this inspection, a copy of the petition referred to in paragraph 9 of my No. 38-D., dated 15th instant, is attached (annexure D). This petition was presented in 1889 to the Cantonment Magistrate by  
3150 the prostitutes, and states their willingness to be inspected and detained in hospital if found diseased.

The women assembled at a fixed time.

21. *With reference to C.*—Women were dismissed, if well, or detained in hospital, if diseased.

Detention was not ordered during the natural menstrual period, without disease.



AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT,  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

Each patient receives subsistence allowance when detained in hospital.

22. *With reference to D*—If a woman failed to present herself for examination, the medical officer reported the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who probably fined her for non-attendance, and ordered her to attend or leave the cantonment.

If she left the hospital before being discharged she was liable to be fined.

A woman who had left the cantonment could not practise prostitution again in it, until she had been examined. There is no evidence to show whether the expulsion or exclusion of women from cantonment is tantamount to starvation or not. 3160

23. *As to "2."*—The hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was formerly exclusively used, under the name of the voluntary venereal hospital and contagious diseases ward for the treatment of venereal diseases, contracted by registered prostitutes.

Other classes of natives were treated in the "Provident Dispensary," situated in the sudder bazaar,\* and superintended by the medical officer in charge of the "voluntary venereal" hospital. Followers are treated in the "followers' hospital." These hospitals were amalgamated in May 1892 into the "Cantonment General Hospital," though from want of funds the original buildings have to be made use of. 3170

24. All registered women, whether for the use of British or native soldier, or natives generally, were periodically examined.

The examination was not confined to women reserved for the use of British troops.

25. The above "Supplementary Report" should be read in connection with the report furnished under my letter No. 38-D, dated 15th instant, addressed to the Quarter-master-General in India.

#### ANNEXURE A.

From SURGEON-CAPTAIN W. F. TROTTER, Army Medical Staff, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, Dalhousie,—*"Cantonment Hospitals,"* —(dated Amritsar, 12th June 1893). 3180

I HAVE the honour to forward a statement showing the number of in and out patients treated in the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, during the months of January, February, and March 1892.

There was a voluntary inspection of the women held on the 1st and 15th of each month.

There was never any register, nor issue of any tickets, during the time I was in medical charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

#### ANNEXURE B.

*Statement showing the number of in and out patients treated in Cantonment Hospital at Amritsar during the months of January, February, and March 1892.*

Description of patients.	MALES.		FEMALES.		TOTAL.		REMARKS.
	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	
In-patients - - - -	--	—	2	2	2	2	We also had 5 cases of itch (scabies) under treatment during January and February 1892.
Out-patients - - - -	—	39	—	15	—	54	
Total in and out patients.	—	39	2	17	2	56	

W. F. TROTTER, *Surgeon-Captain,*  
*Army Medical Staff.*

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT,  
COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

### ANNEXURE C.

#### QUESTIONS.

#### ANSWERS.

Telegram to Surgeon-Captain Trotter, dated  
19th June 1893, from Deputy Assistant  
Adjutant-General.

Telegram from Surgeon-Captain Trotter,  
dated 20th June 1893, to Deputy Assistant  
Adjutant-General.

Please wire replies immediately to fol-  
lowing queries.

Women detained in hospital for disease  
only.

Were women detained in hospital for  
disease only or during natural menstrual  
period?

3210 Were any steps taken for punishment  
of women not presenting themselves for  
examination, or leaving hospital before  
regularly discharged?

No steps taken for the punishment of  
women.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the  
Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3004-B., "*Sani-  
tary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, 28th June 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 2988-B., dated the 26th instant, I am directed by

\*I.—Rawal Pindi District No. 172-C., dated 21st  
June 1883, and enclosures.

3220 II.—Rawal Pindi District No. 173-C., dated 22nd  
June 1893, and enclosures with 1 book.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to  
submit, for the information of the Govern-  
ment of India, the accompanying further  
reports\* on the subject of the working of the  
rules for infectious and contagious diseases

issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889, at Rawal Pindi.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District,  
to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 172-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 21st  
June 1893).

IN my letter No. 171-C. of date it is stated that certain irregularities have been found

#### Enclosures.

1. *Minutes of Evidence.*

Questions 294 to 315.

3230 2. Roll of officers who have commanded the Royal  
Artillery at Rawal Pindi since 1888.

to exist in the case of the Royal Artillery at  
Rawal Pindi, with reference to the location  
of prostitutes in the regimental lines. The  
continuance of this practice up to the present  
time appeared to me so unaccountable that  
I considered it necessary to hold a special  
inquiry.

2. I accordingly proceeded to the Royal Artillery lines on the morning of the 20th  
instant, in company with Colonel Pennington, and examined the spot. The houses for-  
merly occupied by the women (they had then been vacated) are at one end of a double  
row of followers' huts, situated between the Royal Horse Artillery stables and the  
bazaar, disconnected from both, but within the limits of the bazaar as defined by the  
boundary pillars. I was at first unable to ascertain how the women had got into these  
lines, but Sergeant-Major Curley, in his evidence given to-day, throw some light on the  
subject. It would appear that in 1888 these women were turned out of the regimental  
bazaar, but that subsequently, by permission of Major-General Sir T. D. Baker,  
Colonel Ford, Commanding the Royal Artillery at this station, allowed some prostitutes  
to occupy these disused huts.

3. As it appeared inexplicable how, in the face of the orders on the subject, and  
especially Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892, this irregularity  
could have been allowed to continue, I went from the lines to the Royal Artillery orderly-  
room, and examined the registers of letters. The record is as described in Captain  
Leslie's evidence of to-day. There are no records of any sort in the Royal Artillery  
office prior to the 1st January 1890. Before the 1st April 1890 the District Artillery  
3250 Commander represented the Colonel on the Staff, and the records of the Local Command  
were filed in his office. On that date his office became that of the Colonel on the Staff.  
Captain Leslie joined as Adjutant about the same time and opened a confidential register  
in his own handwriting, which is properly kept, but is evidently imperfect.

4. There is no record in either the Confidential or the Ordinary register of Sir James  
Browne's demi-official letter of the 8th November 1890, or of any reply thereto, but in this

(قتل درخواست) بعد اکت مجسٹریٹ صاحب بہادر میا میر دام افغانہ

اصل درخواست پر کورٹ فیس چسپان ہے  
در

نجات عاے

خدیان کو بطور قیدی کھانگی کرانا منظور ہے اور تا ایام عیاری کے ہر ایک طوائف کو خوراک سرکار ملا کرے۔ خواہ سرکار سے دیوی یا اسدن خود کھادی۔ اور نظمران جملہ طوائفان راضی بہین کہ سماء بیونی محلہ ارنی قیدی مقرر فرمائی جادی۔ اور ہر ایک ماہ دو دفعہ یعنی یکم۔ اور ۱۵ تاریخ کو کھلائی ہو کرے۔

عمر  
جملہ طوائفان چکلہ صدر بازار میانہ ۹ اکتوبر ۱۸۸۹ء

سماء لکھی طوائف - سماء پٹیا - سماء الفت - سماء نصین - سماء بیونی - سماء گوری  
سماء بیگم - سماء بو - سماء لکھی - سماء حبیب جان - سماء بیجان - سماء ملک  
سماء لاڈو - سماء نجان - سماء ہڈی - سماء ارجن - سماء بہین - سماء سلال  
سماء بیگم کشیرن -  
نفیلم اکبار ام عرافین نولیس خفیفہ میانہ

حکم

۹ اکتوبر ۱۸۸۹ء

کمیٹی کے روبروی پیش ہوئی -  
دستخط انگریزی صاحب مجسٹریٹ بہادر میا میر

We are willing to undergo inspection & to be detained in Hospital should we be found diseased.

our dietary expenses being borne by the Cantonment Fund.

a woman chosen by us one Jewuni be appointed Matron.

True Copy

(sgd) G. H. Macpherson  
C.M.





RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

connection it should be observed that the Attock Camp of Exercise was going on at the time, and that Captain Leslie was away as Staff Officer to Colonel Yeatman-Biggs, who had handed over the Artillery Command at Rawal Pindi on the 14th November 1890 to Colonel Burgers (since retired). The replies of Commanding Officers to this reference were forwarded to you in original with my letter No. 26-C. of 29th December 1890, and a reference to the enclosures of that letter will show the purport of the report received from the Officer Commanding Royal Artillery; a copy of it has not been kept in the District Offices.

3260

5. Quartermaster-General's No. 5379-B. of 31st October 1891 is entered in the Confidential register. Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson was in command at the time, but the letter, forwarding without comment the answers of Officers Commanding Batteries to a reference from the District Staff Office, is signed by Major Baldock. The replies from the district were forwarded to you with my letter No. 11-C. of 10th January 1892.

6. Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. <sup>420-B</sup><sub>Camp</sub> of 21st March 1892 is entered in the Confidential register as having been received on the 7th April, and is noted as "Circulated to Batteries."

7. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892, which may be considered as one of the most important in the whole series, is not entered in the Confidential register. It was duly received on the 8th August, two days subsequent to Colonel Anderson's departure on two months' privilege leave, and while Major Coxhead was in temporary command. This latter officer had only a few days previously joined from England. Captain Leslie had proceeded on 10 days' leave of absence, and Lieutenant Pack-Beresford was acting for him. The communication is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note to the effect that it is confidential; the action taken is marked "Copy to Batteries and Companies," "Received 15-8 and copy filed." The copy was filed in the ordinary file. This is the last document which would be communicated to regiments, until the two communications of last month correcting this circular.

3270

8. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson is not now in this district, but it is reasonable to conclude that Circular 20 did not come to his notice on his return from leave, as Captain Leslie, who had immediate charge of the office, remained in ignorance of it, though it is difficult to understand how it could have escaped this officer's attention. Major Coxhead was so new to the country and to the subject that the importance of the circular may well have passed unobserved by him, although it was incumbent upon him to have seen that its provisions were complied with; moreover, the fact of the presence of the substitutes in the lines, though perhaps unknown to him at the time, must later on have come to his knowledge.

3280

9. It is difficult to apportion the blame, but the examination of the records shows that sufficient care was not taken systematically with confidential correspondence. Such documents are usually kept by the Commanding Officer himself in a special box, but in this case they remained in the custody of the Adjutant and were insufficiently protected. In a well-regulated office it should have been impossible for a confidential document of this kind to have escaped observation or record in the Confidential register and box, without speedy detection of the error.

3290

10. During this enquiry I have been unable to examine Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, and without hearing what he has to say I am unwilling to express a positive opinion as to his responsibility for the neglect of the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in the matter under reference. Having regard, however, to the position he has held, first in Command of the station of Campbellpore in 1891, and afterwards of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi until April last, I cannot but conclude that he must have been practically acquainted with the wishes and intentions of Government in respect of the application of the Cantonment Act and the regulations framed in accordance therewith. In this view I cannot but think that he is chiefly responsible for the perpetuation of a system which was evidently opposed to the orders of Government. Moreover, it was clearly his duty to make himself acquainted on his return from leave with the orders which had been received during his absence.

3300

11. In a secondary degree Captain Leslie, as Adjutant, cannot be absolved from sharing in the responsibility attaching to his Commanding Officer.

12. For Major Coxhead's want of action it has been shown there is some excuse, but he cannot be altogether acquitted of carelessness in passing by without notice and enquiry an order that, on the face of it, showed that it demanded the immediate and close attention of all Commanding Officers.

3310

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING  
RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN LESLIE, ADJUTANT, ROYAL ARTILLERY.

13. This branch of the enquiry deals with a matter of discipline, but it is so closely connected with the investigation into the working of the Cantonment Act, held under orders received from you, that I have addressed it to you instead of to the Adjutant-General. The minutes of evidence attached, although numbered as part of the general inquiry, deal only with the question treated of in this letter.

*Proceedings of a Special Enquiry into certain Irregularities in the Royal Artillery Bazaar.*

The numbering of the questions and answers is continuous from previous enquiry.

- 3320 *Examination of Captain Leslie, Adjutant, Royal Artillery, re-called.*
- Q. 294.—Have you recorded in the Artillery Office the following Circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888?
- A. 294.—No. The Royal Artillery Office, as it at present exists, was not formed until 1st April 1890. I was appointed Adjutant of the Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, on the 14th July 1890.
- Q. 295. Have you anything previous to that date?
- A. 295.—No.
- Q. 296.—Have you any note of receipt of Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 4910-B., dated 8th November 1890?
- 3330 A. 296.—No record of it or of any reply.
- Q. 297.—Who was Commanding Officer, Royal Artillery, at that time?
- A. 297.—Lieutenant-Colonel Burgess.
- Q. 298.—Have you any note of papers received under Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, No. 651-C. of the 23rd November 1891?
- A. 298.—Yes.
- Q. 299.—Who was Commanding Officer at that time?
- A. 299.—Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson.
- Q. 300.—Have you a copy of his reply?
- A. 300.—Yes. Battery replies were forwarded without comment.
- 3340 Q. 301.—Have you note of Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 21st March 1892?
- A. 301.—Yes, I have; copy filed after circulation to Officers Commanding Batteries.
- Q. 302.—Is there any need of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892 in the Royal Artillery Office?
- A. 302.—Yes, there is; the Circular was received by Royal Artillery—Major Coxhead was Commanding on the 8th August 1892—and circulated to Officers Commanding Batteries by Lieutenant Pack-Beresford, officiating for Captain Leslie, Adjutant, who was absent on 10 days' leave. Major Coxhead had taken Command on the 6th August 1892 from Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, who was on leave till 3rd October. This document is not entered in the Confidential register, which is in my handwriting, and is continuous from 3rd September 1890 to date. It is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note that it is confidential. Action taken—marked as "Copy to Batteries and Companies," "Returned 15th August and copy filed." It was filed in the ordinary file. But for this, I must have seen it on my return from leave, and I should then have entered it in the Confidential file.
- 3350 Q. 303.—What officers have been in Command of the Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, since 1888?
- A. 303.—I hand in a nominal roll of officers who have been in Command, specifying dates.
- Q. 304.—Since when have prostitutes been located in the disused syces' lines in the bazaar?
- 3360 A. 304.—They were there before I became Adjutant.
- Q. 305.—You are aware that these huts are within the limits of the regimental bazaar?
- A. 305.—When I gave evidence at Murree on the 12th instant—and in answer to question No. 55, I replied to the best of my recollection, but under a misapprehension. I now find they are just within the bazaar boundaries.



RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN LESLIE, ADJUTANT, ROYAL ARTILLERY—  
SERGEANT-MAJOR J. CURLEY, ROYAL ARTILLERY.

# ROYAL ARTILLERY, RAWAL PINDI.

RAWAL PINDI, 21ST JUNE 1893.

## *Nominal Roll of Officers Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, since 1888.*

NAME.	Assumed Command.	Relinquished.	REMARKS.
Colonel H. J. E. Ford - - -	1887 - - -	31st March 1890 - -	(Retired.) 3370
Colonel A. G. Yeatman-Biggs - -	1st April 1890 - -	13th November 1890.	
Colonel H. M. Burgess - - -	14th November 1890 -	25th January 1891 -	(Retired.)
Lieutenant-Colonel Molesworth - -	26th January 1891 -	14th September 1891.	
Major Baldwin - - -	15th September 1891 -	8th October 1891 - -	(Retired.)
Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson -	9th October 1891 - -	30th March 1893.	
Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot - -	5th April 1893.		

(Sd.) J. H. LESLIE, *Captain,*  
*Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.*

## *Examination of Sergeant-Major John Curley, Royal Artillery.*

Q. 306.—How long have you been Sergeant-Major in Rawal Pindi? 3380

A. 306.—Since October 1887.

Q. 307.—Do you remember the new rules about prostitutes in 1888?

A. 307.—I do not remember the rules; but I recollect orders being issued in 1888 with reference to prostitutes in the regimental bazaar. Prior to that date the names of prostitutes were entered in the general register of occupants of the bazaar, their trade being entered against their names in a similar manner to that of other residents. About April 1888 they were turned out of the regimental bazaar. There had been no special register of prostitutes, nor did they receive tickets or licenses. When the orders for the expulsion of prostitutes was given, I turned out all the women who were shewn on the general register as prostitutes.

3390

Shortly after this some prostitutes encamped near the village of Adhra, which is in the vicinity of the Royal Artillery lines, but outside the cantonment boundaries.

The villagers made a complaint of their living there, and this being represented to the General Officer Commanding, the latter came round and arranged with the Officer Commanding Royal Artillery that they should occupy a portion of the disused grass-cutters' lines. The remaining huts in these lines were subsequently occupied by followers of "B" Battery, who were removed from lines which were considered to be too near the stables and which had been ordered to be destroyed.

I remember that at the time these grass-cutters' lines were considered to be outside the boundaries of the bazaar proper. The boundary pillars have since been repaired, and it appears that these grass-cutters' lines are now within the bazaar boundary pillars. But they have nothing to do with the regimental bazaar. 3400

Q. 308.—Do you know who built these houses?

A. 308.—They were there when I came to Rawal Pindi, and I do not know by whom they were built. They were disused grass-cutters' huts and were falling into ruin. They have since been kept in repair by the occupants as is usual.

Q. 309.—Since the occupation of these huts by prostitutes has any list or register been kept of them?

A. 309.—No. No register or list has ever been made out of them. The women were free to come and go as they pleased; and I received no orders to supervise them in any way. 3410  
Y. 24265. 3 L

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RAWALPINDI—SERGEANT-MAJOR CURLEY, ROYAL ARTILLERY—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BROADFOOT, COMMANDING ROYAL ARTILLERY AT RAWALPINDI.

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Q. 310.—Did you ever send them up for examination?

A. 310.—No; beyond knowing that they were there, I had nothing to do with them. At times, when walking round the lines on duty, I have observed that the prostitutes' houses were empty and have been told that they had gone for examination by the doctor; this must have been an arrangement entirely among themselves and their mahaldarni.

Q. 311.—A book containing lists of prostitutes for examination has been put in; do you know anything about it?

A. 311.—I sent a native to the mahaldarni for the book, which was brought to me.

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*Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, Commanding Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi.*

3420 A. 312.—When did you assume Command of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi?

A. 312.—About the 5th April 1893.

Q. 313.—Were you aware that some prostitutes were living in some disused huts within the precincts of the Royal Artillery bazaar?

A. 313.—Soon after my arrival I visited the bazaar, accompanied by the regimental Sergeant-Major, who told me that there were some prostitutes living there. I said I hoped no existing regulations were being infringed. He replied, no, the women were free to come and go as they pleased, and that we had nothing to do with them.

Q. 314.—Had you any conversation with Captain Leslie on the subject?

3430 A. 314.—Yes, I asked him to find out what rules existed on the subject, and to let me know. He replied that he had found out that they should not live there. Accordingly I ordered them to be turned out.

Q. 315.—Is there any connection now existing direct or indirect with the prostitutes?

A. 315.—None whatever.

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From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 173-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 22nd June 1893).

AFTER my letter No. 170-C. of the 14th instant was closed, Hospital Assistant Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain, who had been sent for, arrived from Meean Meer. As he is an important witness in the case, I proceeded with his examination and annex his evidence.

3440 2. Having been instructed to furnish categorical replies to all the allegations formulated in a general form in respect of Indian cantonments, I found it necessary to make further enquiry. For this purpose I proceeded to Rawal Pindi; the further examination of witnesses taken there on the 19th instant is annexed. I also, in company with Colonel Pennington, Commanding at Rawal Pindi, visited all the bazaars in Rawal Pindi, viz., the Lalkurti, the Artillery, and the sudder, and inspected the quarters occupied by the prostitutes. In the case of the Artillery, the women had recently been turned out. From the information thus obtained I formulated my categorical replies. One point should be noted. It was found by personal inspection that the place where the women had been residing in the Royal Artillery lines was in fact included within the bazaar precincts and was not outside those limits, as previously stated in evidence.

3450 3. In addition to the books already sent to head-quarters, I now forward a book, called the "Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital Diary Register, from 25th October 1883." The pages of this book are loose, but the book is complete. The entries constitute the diary of the medical officer and vary in form according to the habit of noting of the particular medical officer. The record is intermittent. The book was in fact closed on 4th September 1888, when the lock hospital was abolished (*vide* entry of that date), and appears to have been taken into use again in 1891 to utilize its blank pages. Some entries which bear on the evidence are marked in red. Owing to the varying nature of the entries, no exact comparison can be made, but a perusal of the notes in 1887 and in 1891 will show that the numbers examined under the old system greatly exceed the number of examinations since 1888. In the month of April 1887 there are 510 examinations noted. When it is considered that the number of British troops quartered at Rawal Pindi has greatly increased of late years, I submit that the falling off in the number of women examined (to say 200 per month) is evidence of the voluntary nature of recent examinations as compared with the procedure before 1888.

3460 4. I submit a letter from Colonel Pennington, C.B., now commanding this station, recording his opinion as to the state of the question at the present time. In addition to all I have already recorded, it may be considered sufficient if I state that, after personal enquiry

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

and inspection. I confirm all Colonel Pennington has said. The printed “Minutes of Evidence” forwarded with your No. 2572-B., dated 3rd June 1893, are herewith returned.

*List of Enclosures accompanying letter No. 173-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 22nd June 1893.*

I.—Minutes of Evidence, questions No. 147 to No. 293.

II.—List of officers (but whose evidence is not recorded) examined as to the state of 3470 things now obtaining at Rawal Pindi in regard to prostitutes.

III.—Letter No. 12-C.M., from Colonel C. R. Pennington, C.B., Colonel of the Staff, Commanding at Rawal Pindi.

IV.—Diary Register, Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital, from 1883.

V.—Printed “Minutes of Evidence” (five parts).

*List of Officers (but whose evidence is not recorded) examined as to the state of things now obtaining at Rawal Pindi in regard to prostitutes.*

1. Captain J. Walter, Commanding Wing, 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.
2. Captain Gloster, Acting Adjutant and Quartermaster, Wing, 1st Battalion 3480 Devonshire Regiment.
3. Major Clerk, temporarily Commanding the Queen's Bays.
4. Lieutenant and Quartermaster Charters, Queen's Bays.
5. Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, Commanding Royal Artillery.

From COLONEL C. R. PENNINGTON, C.B., Colonel on the Staff, Commanding at Rawal Pindi, to the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Rawal Pindi District.—(No. 12-C.M., dated Rawal Pindi, 21st June 1893).

WITH reference to the part of telegram No. 2675 of the 8th instant, from the Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding the Rawal Pindi District, which directs that Officers Commanding Stations concerned in the matter under reference are to state what they consider true in the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Secretary of State's Committee, and whether 3490 the positive orders issued since 1888 have been in any way disregarded, I have the honour to state that I only took over Command of the Station of Rawal Pindi on the 6th of April last, so I do not consider it in my province to make any remarks prior to that date, the subject having been most fully enquired into, and reported on, by the Major-General Commanding.

2. During the short period I have been in Command at Rawal Pindi, I believe, with one exception, the rules and regulations published from time to time since 1888 have been most strictly attended to and carried out.

3. The exception referred to is that of the Royal Artillery, and the fact of the prostitutes being located in the regimental bazaar was not known to me. 3500

These women have now been removed from the bazaar, and at this present time I can confidently state that in every respect, and by all corps stationed here, all orders on the subject are most punctiliously carried out.

*Examination of Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain, 1st Grade Hospital Assistant.*

Q. 147.—You were the Hospital Assistant of the Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, in January and February 1892?

A. 147.—Yes, I was at that hospital for about two months, from 23rd December 1891 till 14th February 1892; but I was requested to remain on duty till the 20th.

Q. 148.—Are you a graduate of Calcutta, an M.D., and do you speak English? 3510

A. 148.—No, I am not a graduate of Calcutta, nor an M.D. I can speak English.



RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 149.—Do you remember two European ladies visiting the male ward for contagious diseases?

A. 149.—Yes. On or about the 20th February 1892 I saw one European lady and one Eurasian. The Eurasian spoke Hindustani very well and was interpreting.

Q. 150.—Were there not two European ladies?

A. 150.—No. There was only one. She was a tall thin woman; between 28 and 30 years of age. I think she said she was a doctor.

Q. 151.—Did you tell them you were an M.D. and graduate of Calcutta?

A. 151.—No, neither.

3520 Q. 152.—You saw those ladies and conducted them into hospital, and gave them certain information?

A. 152.—No. I was in my house and was called. I found them in the hospital. They were reading the hospital books kept on the table in the verandah. I had handed over charge that morning. There was no other Native Assistant about the place.

Q. 153.—Did they ask you any questions?

A. 153.—Yes, they asked me who was in charge of the hospital; what women attended the hospital, and all sorts of questions.

Q. 154.—Did you say that only venereal cases were admitted there, or treated there, and only women?

3530 A. 154.—Yes, that only venereal cases were treated there, and only women.

Q. 155.—Did you point to the examining room?

A. 155.—No.

Q. 156.—Did the ladies examine the medicines in the examining room?

A. 156.—No, not in my presence. They may have done so before my arrival.

Q. 157.—Have you ever known women to be treated at this hospital for any complaint except venereal?

A. 157.—They have been treated, but not in my time. The books will show.

Q. 158.—Were there other medicines besides those required for venereal diseases?

A. 158.—Yes, in the almirah.

3540 Q. 159.—Did these ladies examine the draft report for 1891?

A. 159.—No, not in my presence.

Q. 160.—Do you know the report in question?

A. 160.—Yes.

Q. 161.—What was it like?

A. 161.—I think it was entered in the book.

Q. 162.—If it was not entered in the book, where would it have been?

A. 162.—In loose pages.

Q. 163.—Would it have been entered in the same book as the previous Annual Report?

A. 163.—It would have been.

3550 Q. 164.—Among the records of the hospital was there any register or list of prostitutes?

A. 164.—Yes, a list was kept of those who came to be examined, but not of all the prostitutes in the sudder.

Q. 165.—Were the regiments to which they belonged specified in the hospital list?

A. 165.—No, we kept no list of any except those who came from the sudder. The mahaldarnis brought lists of regimental women, which were returned to them.

Q. 166.—By whom were the lists made out?

A. 166.—I cannot say; only two lists used to come, one from British Infantry and one from Royal Artillery; one was always in a book, and one on loose paper. I cannot say which was which. I think these were the only prostitutes that came regularly,  
3560 except those from the sudder.

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RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

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Q. 167.—Were the regimental lists signed?

A. 167.—No, except by the medical officer, before being returned to the mahaldarnis who brought them.

Q. 168.—Then there was no general list of prostitutes, or lists by regiments, but only of those who attended from the sudder?

A. 168.—No general list, or regimental list, but only of those who attended from the sudder.

Q. 169.—Did you tell the ladies that all women consorting with Europeans must be examined and registered with the Cantonment Magistrate?

A. 169.—No; I did not tell them so. 3570

Q. 170.—Did you say that those women who were for the European soldiers were obliged to be examined, but those for the Native soldiers came only when they pleased?

A. 170.—No; I did not tell them so.

Q. 171.—Was it a fact that all women consorting with European soldiers had to be examined and registered?

A. 171.—I know of no register of any sort.

Q. 172.—As to the examination, how many women used to come?

A. 172.—About 25 to 35, including those that came from regiments and the sudder bazaar. 3580

Q. 173.—Did they come voluntarily?

A. 173.—I cannot say.

Q. 174.—Who brought them?

A. 174.—Those who came from the sudder came by themselves; those who came from regiments came with their mahaldarnis.

Q. 175.—Do you suppose that all women who consorted with European soldiers came for examination?

A. 175.—No, not all, but most of them.

Q. 176.—Do European soldiers consort with women in the sudder?

A. 176.—Yes, I believe so. 3590

Q. 177.—Did all such women come up for examination?

A. 177.—No; not all of them. There are numbers of women who are in fact prostitutes, who are known under designations, such as dancing girls, kept women, &c.

Q. 178.—Do you suppose you had a list of all women known as prostitutes?

A. 178.—Yes, of most of them. The list was in existence when I came to the hospital and was corrected from time to time by me agreeably to the information brought by the dhai after her visits to the mahaldarni.

Q. 179.—If the women on the list did not come for examination, did you send for them.

A. 179.—No. The Medical Officer wrote a letter to the Cantonment Magistrate.

Q. 180.—Can you remember the form of letter? 3600

A. 180.—Yes, sometimes it was that she was supposed to be suffering from disease; sometimes simply that she was absent, and requesting that she might be sent for examination.

Q. 181.—Who wrote these letters?

A. 181.—Sometimes the Medical Officer, and sometimes I wrote them for his signature by his order, and in all cases the information was taken from the book.

Q. 182.—When these reports were made to the Cantonment Magistrate, did the women attend?

A. 182.—Yes; they always attended except in one or two cases, in which it was reported that the women had absconded from cantonment.

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RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

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Q. 183.—Did they come by themselves ?

3610 A. 183.—Sometimes they came in consequence of having been told to do so, and sometimes in custody of the police.

Q. 184.—When they were examined they were kept in hospital if found diseased ?

A. 184.—If they were found diseased, they were kept in hospital—that is, they had no option, but had to remain.

Q. 185.—If they did not wish to remain, could they go away ?

A. 185.—No, they had to remain.

Q. 186.—What was to prevent them going away ?

A. 186.—The Medical Officer ordered that they were not to leave the hospital compound, and they were detained till cured. The compound door was locked, and there  
3620 was a chowkidar on the gate.

Q. 187.—Did you get these orders from the Medical Officer direct ?

A. 187.—The Medical Officer ordered the women to remain until they were well. I was in subordinate medical charge of the hospital, and I saw that the Medical Officer's orders were carried out, I saw that the women were kept there.

Q. 188.—Then they never left till they were cured ?

A. 188.—No ; in some cases they were allowed to go, if they said they were leaving the cantonments for good.

Q. 189.—Who was the chowkidar, what were his duties ? Did he wear uniform ?

A. 189.—He was a hospital servant, and his duties were to prevent people from  
3630 coming in and prostitutes from leaving the hospital. Females were allowed in, but no men. He did not wear uniform.

Q. 190.—Did you explain to the ladies the nature of the hospital ?

A. 190.—No ; they did not ask me any questions of this nature.

Q. 191. Did they ask you were men ever treated ?

A. 191.—No.

Q. 192.—You were aware that there was a male hospital close by ?

A. 192.—Yes ; had they asked me, I would have told them.

Q. 193.—Did you tell them that women were obliged to come up for examination ?

A. 193.—No ; I do not remember that I did tell them.

3640 Q. 194.—Did you tell them that women who were sick were compulsorily detained in hospital ?

A. 194.—They did not ask me.

Q. 195. Did you explain to these ladies the nature of the annual report ?

A. 195.—When I arrived, the book was in their hands. They said " we have been reading these reports ; " they did not ask any questions about these reports, but simply, whom it was sent to ; and I replied to the Cantonment Magistrate, that I had prepared it this year, and in previous years my predecessor had.

Q. 196.—When women were examined were they ever detained because they were found to be in their menstrual period, but without disease ?

3650 A. 196.—I could not say without referring to the Admission and Discharge Book. (After a pause.) Yes, I think if they said they were in their menstrual period, they were not examined, and were sent back to the bazaar.

Q. 197.—During detention in hospital what allowance did each woman receive ?

A. 197.—I forget the exact sum, I think it was from 2 to 3½ annas. It was for subsistence.

Q. 198.—Did you ever see prostitutes with Register tickets at Rawal Pindi ?

A. 198.—No.



RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 199.—Have you ever been to the place in the bazaar where the prostitutes reside? Is it called a chakla?

A. 199.—I have ; it is called a chakla.

3660

Q. 200.—What do you mean by a chakla?

A. 200.—A place in which prostitutes are living ; it may be an open street, or within an enclosure. I think the women rent the houses ; I do not know to whom they belong.

Q. 201.—Does this describe the place at Rawal Pindi, inhabited by the women frequented by European soldiers?

A. 201.—It does.

Q. 202.—Is everybody free to come and go, both the women and others?

A. 202. Yes, women and men of all classes come and go freely.

Q. 203.—Then the women living there may be visited by natives as well as Europeans?

A. 203.—Yes, native soldiers as well as Europeans go there—there is no other place for them to go to.

Q. 204. Then there is absolutely no distinction between the women frequented by British soldiers and those consorted with by native soldiers?

A. 204.—No, they are consorted with indifferently by all, British soldiers, Native soldiers, followers, and others.

Q. 205.—Then you would not say that some women were set apart for British soldiers and others for natives?

A. 205.—No, the women used to call themselves so, but it is not so ; they receive all classes of men.

Q. 206.—Were women who were not called British soldiers' women, obliged to come to be examined?

A. 206.—They all used to come.

Q. 207.—You say you had certain conversation with these ladies—did you say that 45 women were regularly examined, and that 35 of them were for the Europeans?

A. 207.—No ; I did not.

Q. 208.—And that these 35 were obliged to come, while with the others it was optional?

A. 208.—No ; not at all.

Q. 209.—Did you also say that women consorting with European soldiers must be registered by the Cantonment Magistrate?

A. 209.—No ; as a matter of fact they are not so.

3690

Q. 210.—Did you say that they must be regularly examined, if they consorted with the European soldiers?

A. 210.—No ; nothing about European soldiers ; they did not ask me any question of that sort ; but they asked me if the women were regularly examined, and, I think, I said yes.

Q. 211.—The European lady asked you some questions. Did she ask you why there were no cases of secondary syphilis in the hospital books.

A. 211.—No, I don't think she asked me that question.

Q. 212.—Then you did not answer to her "that they were not there because we send them out of the cantonment to the Civil Hospital."

A. 212.—No, it is not the fact ; we never send cases to the Civil Hospital."

3700

Q. 213.—Would you deal with cases of secondary syphilis in the Cantonment Hospital?

A. 213.—Yes, if they came there. I do not think there were any cases while I was in the hospital. But we certainly would never send them to the Civil Hospital if they had come. On secondary consideration I think there was one case of secondary syphilis during the six weeks I was in the Rawal Pindi Hospital.

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RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—CAPTAIN DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.

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17th June 1893.

SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN recalled, and states that he wishes to correct some of the answers he made in his examination of the preceding day.

3710 "With reference to my answers [18 to 21] I wish to modify the statements which I made yesterday. I have been considering what I stated, and I find that I confused in my mind the practice of Rawal Pindi Hospital with that of the hospital to which I proceeded in February of last year. I was only some six weeks at Rawal Pindi Hospital. I now wish to say that at Rawal Pindi there was no list of sudder bazaar prostitutes in the hospital; information regarding the women in the sudder was obtained from the dhai, and action taken was wholly from this source."

With reference to my answer to question 27, I wish to say—

"None came from the sudder bazaar except those sent for on a report by the dhai that they were diseased."

With reference to my answer to question 30, I wish to say—

"Only those women came who were sent for."

3720 With reference to my answer to question 31, I wish to say—  
"There was no list."

With reference to my answer to question 32, I wish to say—

"I made a mistake, there was no list at Rawal Pindi Hospital; it was in another hospital."

With reference to my answers to question 33 and 34, I wish to say—

"The information of suspected disease of women in the sudder was obtained from the dhai, and without such information no action was taken. No women ever came from the sudder unless sent for through the Cantonment Magistrate or through the influence of the dhai."

3730 With reference to my answer to question 57, *see* reply to question 27 corrected.

When I answered question 61, I was not referring to the sudder bazaar.

The whole of the evidence I gave yesterday, I have had read over to me, and, except in those parts where I have made corrections, I confirm it in all particulars. I was examined about a period 16 months ago, and as I have said, I was only six weeks in the Cantonment Hospital.

*Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi, recalled—*

Q. 214.—Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain in his examination has made some statements which affect your procedure (read those portions); have you any thing to say?

3740 A. 214.—With reference to the statement of Sheikh Tajuddin regarding prostitutes being brought by the police to the hospital, this must refer, and can only refer, to women who were reported as suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from venereal disease. The only action I could take on a report from the Medical Officer of this nature would be to request the Police Inspector to give these women the prescribed option of going to hospital or leaving the cantonments within 24 hours. If these women, referred to, were seen at the hospital with the police, it must have been that they had consented to go to hospital, and that the police accompanied them to see that they fulfilled their engagements.

*Surgeon Major Mawson, I.M.S., recalled—*

3750 Q. 215.—Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain in his examination has made some statements which affect your procedure (read those portions); have you anything to say?

A. 215.—His statement that diseased women were compelled to remain in hospital till cured is incorrect. Any woman found diseased was admitted into hospital unless she objected to remain; if she did so, I invariably pointed out to her the advantages of treatment in hospital, and told her that if she left she must leave cantonments, as she could not be allowed to propagate disease by continuing prostitution in cantonments. This was also my procedure with regard to women already under treatment in hospital who wished to leave before being cured. It is quite true that I gave orders that no patient was to be admitted, or allowed to leave, without my special permission. This I consider was absolutely necessary to prevent bribery. The chowkidar's duties were not only those of a durwan, but he was a general custodian of Government property. The door was kept locked to prevent loose characters from entering and consorting with the patients.

And, of course, it was his duty to see that the women did not leave the hospital without my orders. I may also state that I sometimes allowed the patients out to see their friends for a few hours, the dhai accompanying them to see that they did not consort with any men.

RAWALPINDI—SERGEANT E. WINTER, SANITARY INSPECTOR, SUDDER BAZAAR,  
RAWALPINDI—DAROGAH RAM-U-DIN OF THE LALKURTI BAZAAR.

*Examination of Pensioned Sergeant E. Winter, Sanitary Inspector, Sudder Bazaar,  
Rawal Pindi, dated Rawal Pindi, 19th June 1893.*

Q. 216.—What are your duties?

A. 216.—I have to look after the sanitation of the sudder bazaar.

Q. 217.—You are familiar with the localities of the sudder bazaar?

3770

A. 217.—Yes.

Q. 218.—Is there any particular place in the sudder where the prostitutes live?

A. 218.—They mostly reside together in a block of buildings which was formerly a chakla; some of them live elsewhere, wherever they please. The houses are private property, owned by natives, and the prostitutes make their own arrangements.

Q. 219.—Do they all pay rent?

A. 219.—Yes.

Q. 220.—Are any of the houses occupied by prostitutes the property of Government, or of the Cantonment authorities?

3780

A. 220.—None.

Q. 221.—Are houses occupied by prostitutes numbered?

A. 221.—Yes; all houses in the bazaar are numbered consecutively from 1 up to 2 or 3 thousand.

Q. 222.—Whether a house is occupied by prostitutes or any other persons, the number remains the same, and has no reference to the tenant?

A. 222.—The number is connected with the registry of houses, and has nothing to do with the fact of a prostitute residing there; the numbering does not change with change of tenant.

Q. 223.—Is there any case in which more than one number is assigned to a house in which prostitutes reside, that is that the rooms inside are numbered?

3790

A. 223.—No; there is only one number for each house, and it may contain any number of tenants; there are some with two, some with three and four.

Q. 224.—Are the prostitutes residing in the sudder exclusively set apart for the use of British soldiers?

A. 224.—No.

Q. 225.—Or for native soldiers?

A. 225.—No; all prostitutes are public for any one, either European or Native, who go to visit them.

Q. 226.—Have you anything whatever to do with the prostitutes living in the sudder?

A. 226.—Nothing, beyond seeing that they keep the place clean.

3800

Q. 227.—Are you the only European subordinate officer employed in the sudder bazaar?

A. 227.—Yes; I have under me a chowdry, two jemadar sweepers, one chuprassie, and one jemadar bhishty; none of these men have anything to do with prostitutes as prostitutes.

Q. 228.—Are these women free to come and go as they please, or leave the cantonments?

A. 228.—Yes; they can come and go in or out of cantonments as they please. At this time of year there are comparatively few in the sudder, many of them having gone to the hills, but they get no permission to go.

3810

Q. 229.—Are there any police or guard specially told off to look after the prostitutes?

A. 229.—No.

Q. 230.—The answers you have given now apply to the present time; do they apply equally to last year, say, in February 1892?

A. 230.—Yes; ever since I came here, about June 1891, there has been no change; they are now as when I found them.

*Examination of Darogah Ran-u-din of the Lalkurti Bazaar.*

Q. 231.—You are in charge of the Lalkurti Bazaar?

A. 231.—Yes; I have charge of all the cantonments outside the sudder bazaar.

Q. 232.—What establishment have you under you?

3820

A. 232.—For the Lalkurti Bazaar I have one Police Serjeant, and menial establishment.



- Q. 233.—Is there any particular place in the Lalkurti Bazaar where the prostitutes live?
- A. 233.—Before 1888 there was a street where they were obliged to live, and they live there still of their own free will. The houses are the property of bunniahs, and they pay rent for them.
- Q. 234.—Do any live rent free?
- A. 234.—The owners take good care to make them pay in advance ever since about a year ago, when the Cantonment Magistrate refused to entertain a suit for non-payment of rent, on the grounds that the tenant was a prostitute, a decision that was upheld by the Chief Court of the Punjab.
- 3830 Q. 235.—Are any of the houses occupied by prostitutes the property of Government, or of the Cantonment authorities?
- A. 235.—No.
- Q. 236.—Are houses occupied by prostitutes numbered?
- A. 236.—Yes; all houses in the bazaar are numbered; those occupied by the prostitutes are not specially numbered.
- Q. 237.—Whether a house is occupied by prostitutes or any other persons, the number remains the same, and has no reference to the tenant?
- A. 237.—The number of the house has no connection with the tenant.
- Q. 238.—Are the women distinguished by any number? or are they registered?
- 3840 A. 238.—They are not numbered. There is no registry.
- Q. 239.—Are the prostitutes residing in the Lalkurti Bazaar set exclusively apart for the use of British soldiers?
- A. 239.—No; they are for all classes alike.
- Q. 240.—Are the women free to come and go as they please, or to leave the cantonments?
- A. 240.—Yes; they come and go as they please, without asking leave.
- Q. 241.—Are there any police or guards specially told off to look after the prostitutes?
- A. 241.—No; there are no special guards; the police are only in the bazaar generally to keep order.
- Q. 242.—Have you anything to do with the prostitutes going up for medical examination?
- 3850 A. 242.—No, nothing whatever; they go or not as they please.
- Q. 243.—Are the women under mahaldarnis?
- A. 243.—Yes; there are two mahaldarnis—one resides with the prostitutes in the Cavalry side, and one on the Infantry side. It is a relic of the old system, but the women and mahaldarnis are entirely free agents. They are supported by the prostitutes, to whom they are attached; they are not paid by regiment, nor of course by Government, or the Cantonment authorities; the women support them.
- Q. 244.—The answers you have given, now apply to the present time. Do they apply equally to last year—say in February 1892?
- A. 244.—Yes; there has been no change so far as the prostitutes are concerned,
- 3860 but the bazaar used to be in regimental charge; since about two years ago it has been under the Cantonment Magistrate.

*Examination of Amir Chand, Chowdry.*

- Q. 245.—How long have you been chowdry of the sudder bazaar?
- A. 245.—For about thirteen years.
- Q. 246.—Where do the prostitutes reside?
- A. 246.—They reside in what was formerly a chakla, and which they call one still, though it is not so. However, they do not exclusively live there, but in other places as well.
- Q. 247.—Whose property is this so-called chakla?
- A. 247.—There are various owners; some own two houses, some four, some more—
- 3870 none are the property of Government. The women all pay rent by private arrangement with the owners.
- Q. 248.—Are there any women exclusively set apart for British soldiers?
- A. 248.—No; they are all for the world in general.
- Q. 249.—Are there any set apart for sepoys?
- A. 249.—No; they do entirely as they please.
- Q. 250.—Are the houses of prostitutes numbered in any distinguishing manner?
- A. 250.—Every taxable tenant has a number, for taxation purposes, throughout the bazaar. There is no distinction between those of prostitutes and others.
- Q. 251.—Are the prostitutes under any control?
- A. 251.—No one has anything to say to them; they come and go as they please.
- 3880

RAWALPINDI—AMIR CHAND, CHOWDRY—MULEAJ AND RAHIM BAKSH, HOUSEHOLDERS  
—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON AND CAPTAIN DENNYS, RECALLED.

Q. 252.—For how long has the state of affairs that you have explained existed?

A. 252.—This state of affairs has obtained since 1888, when the lock hospitals were abolished; since then there has been no change.

*Examination of Mulraj.*

Q. 253. Are you a house-holder in the Lalkurti Bazaar, and do you own any house occupied by prostitutes.

A. 253.—I am a house-holder in the Lalkurti Bazaar, and my houses were occupied by prostitutes up to recently. They are empty now as the women have gone to the hills. Last year the same thing happened. I have also four houses on the side of the cavalry which are occupied. 3890

Q. 254.—Do all the prostitutes in the Lalkurti Bazaar occupy houses and pay rent in the same manner as they do to you?

A. 254.—Yes. They all rent from house-holders, and pay rent like other tenants.

Q. 255.—Does Government or do the Cantonment authorities own any of the houses in which prostitutes live?

A. 255.—There are no Government houses in the bazaar, all are private property.

Q. 256.—Can you rent the houses you own to any one you like?

A. 256.—Yes, there is no restriction. I can let to whom I please.

Q. 257.—Can you eject a prostitute tenant or recover arrears of rent from her? 3900

A. 257.—No. The court will not recognise my suit for recovery of arrears of rent from a prostitute. I have never filed a suit for ejectment. When the Rifles occupied these lines I obtained my rent, for all my eight houses, in advance from the mahaldarni.

*Examination of Rahim Baksh.*

Q. 258.—Are you a house-holder in the sudder bazaar? Do you own any houses in which prostitutes live?

A. 258.—Yes; I own several houses in the bazaar, and prostitutes reside in 7 or 8 of them.

Q. 259.—How long have these houses, which are occupied by prostitutes, been in your possession?

A. 259.—About two months, but my father owned them for twelve or fourteen years. 3910

Q. 260.—Who owns other houses lived in by prostitutes? Are any of them the property of the State or of the Cantonment fund?

A. 260.—They belong to various people (naming seven or eight). None belong to Government or to the Cantonment authorities.

Q. 261.—Who pays the rent of such house, and do they all pay rent?

A. 261.—The 'Kunja tog' (*i.e.*, males and females of the prostitute class); they all pay rent.

Q. 262.—Are the houses in which prostitutes live distinguished by any special mark?

A. 262.—No; they bear the same kind of numbers as other houses do.

*Surgeon-Major Mawson, recalled.*

3920

Q. 263.—When women were detained in hospital, was it ever merely on account of their being in their natural menstrual period?

A. 263. No. They were, in such case, allowed to go back to the bazaar, and I usually recommended such a woman to come and be looked at as soon as she was well, but she very rarely did so.

*Captain C. Dennys, recalled.*

Q. 264.—Are the houses in the bazaar numbered?

A. 264.—Yes; all are numbered, and in 1891 were re-numbered on account of the census.

Q. 265.—How are they numbered?

A. 265.—By metal plates (tin) fastened over the entrance by a nail. 3930

Q. 266.—Is there any distinction between the numbering of the houses of prostitutes and those of other people?

A. 266.—None whatever.

Q. 267.—If a woman leave the cantonment without a permit from the Cantonment Magistrate, is she precluded from re-entering the cantonment?

A. 267.—No. I give no permits; they are free to come and go, except in the case of their having been expelled under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890.

Statement.—I hand in a roll of women who have made application in my court for permission to carry on prostitution in cantonments, and my procedure in each case.

## RAWALPINDI—ROLL OF WOMEN REFERRED TO IN CAPTAIN DENNY'S EVIDENCE.

*List showing the application presented by women for prostitution from the year 1888 up to 1893.*

Serial No.	Name of Applicant.	For what purpose.	Orders of the Magistrate.	Date of Order.	Name of Magistrate.	Year.
1	Musammat Karam Nir	Prostitution	The Court cannot give any orders in the matter; application to be filed.	24th December 1888	Captain R. C. S. Macauland	1888
2	Musammat Begam	Ditto	Ditto	16th October 1889	Ditto	1889
3	Musammat Hyat Nir	Ditto	Ditto	22nd September 1890	Captain C. J. Denny	1890
4	Musammat Nasiban	Ditto	Ditto	28th November 1890	Ditto	1890
5	Musammat Dali	Ditto	Ditto	21st May 1891	Ditto	1891
6	Musammat Roopan	Ditto	Ditto	26th May 1891	Ditto	1891
7	Musammat Aziz	Ditto	Ditto	1st June 1891	Ditto	1891
8	Musammat Rahiman	Ditto	Ditto	14th July 1891	Lieutenant H. A. M. Tighe	1891
9	Musammat Jowan	Ditto	Ditto	21st August 1891	Captain C. J. Denny	1891
10	Musammat Karam Bibi	Ditto	Ditto	12th April 1892	Ditto	1892
11	Musammat Fattan	Ditto	Ditto	6th May 1892	Ditto	1892
12	Musammat Pearl	Ditto	Ditto	20th June 1892	Captain T. H. Bainsfathers	1892
13	Musammat Hyat Nir	Ditto	Ditto	24th June 1892	Ditto	1892
14	Musammat Karam Bibi	Ditto	Ditto	19th August 1892	Captain C. J. Denny	1892
15	Musammat Sahib Zadi	Ditto	Ditto	14th September 1892	Ditto	1892
16	Musammat Miran	Ditto	Ditto	6th January 1893	Ditto	1893
17	Musammat Sahib Jan	Ditto	Ditto	26th January 1893	Ditto	1893
18	Musammat Pindo	Ditto	Ditto	16th February 1893	Ditto	1893
19	Musammat Fatto	Ditto	Ditto	14th March 1893	Ditto	1893
20	Musammat Hashim Bi	Ditto	Ditto	4th April 1893	Ditto	1893

MEMO.—This is a list showing the numbers of applications presented by women who wished to become prostitutes. The fact of their submitting these applications shows that these women were evidently under the impression that the old Lock Hospital Rules were still in force. In each case which came under my notice, I explained to the applicants that prostitution in India could not be recognised by Government, and that since the abolition of the Lock Hospital Rules there was no such thing as registration.

RAWALPINDI: }  
The 26th June 1893.

C. DENNY, Captain, I. S. C.,  
Cantonment Magistrate.



*Examination of Alladi, Mahaldarni.*

3940

Q. 268.—Are you a mahaldarni?

A. 268.—No; I am not now, but I have been. I was with the Rifle Brigade for 12 years until 1888. I received Rs. 6 a month pay; since then I have received no pay, except when I was dhai of the Lock Hospital. Since 1888 I have been for three years in the Cavalry Bazaar.

Q. 269.—Since the abolition of the old Lock Hospital Rules in 1888, has the examination of prostitutes at the Cantonment Hospital by the doctor been compulsory or of a woman's free will?

A. 269.—No. There has been no compulsion; the women go if they wish. If you don't believe me, you can ask them.

Q. 270.—If any woman became diseased and refused to go to hospital for examination what did you do? 3950

A. 270.—She remained in the lines and treated herself, and then she went to be examined as soon as she was well.

Q. 271.—If a woman on examination by a doctor was found to be diseased, was she obliged to remain in hospital?

A. 271.—She was told to go and get her bedding and then to come back to hospital; she had to remain there.

Q. 272.—If a woman left the hospital without having been discharged by the doctor how would she be punished?

A. 272.—If a woman left the hospital without leave, I believe she would be fined. 3960

Q. 273.—Can you recall to memory any instance of a woman having been fined.

A. 273.—Yes. When Colonel Stewart was Cantonment Magistrate women were fined up to Rs. 50 (Colonel Stewart was Cantonment Magistrate about 10 years ago).

Q. 274.—Since Colonel Stewart's time do you remember any other case of fining?

A. 274.—After Colonel Stewart's time I went away, but since I have been in the Lalkurti Bazaar in the last 3 or 4 years there have been no cases of fining.

Q. 275.—Since the year 1888 how have you been paid?

A. 275.—I have been paid two pice out of four annas by the women.

Q. 276.—You say you got two pice in four annas; then four annas was, we presume, the price paid by a soldier to the women. 3970

A. 276.—The privates paid four annas, corporals six annas, sergeants one rupee.

Q. 277.—Who settled these prices?

A. 277.—I do not know (after pressure) it has been the custom since the English came to the country and cantonments were formed.

Q. 278.—How did you obtain certificates of service from the Quarter Master of the 3rd Dragoon Guards?

A. 278.—I asked the Quarter Master for it. I said—"You are going away; please give me a certificate."

Q. 279.—And how did you get a certificate from the 11th Hussars?

A. 279.—The Regiment had only been here two months, but I went to the Quarter Master and said—"You are going away; leave a blessing behind you, and give me a certificate."

Q. 280.—If a man did not pay a woman, was a complaint ever made against him?

A. 280.—In the old days it used to be so—the women reported to the Kotwal, who told the Quarter Master, who brought the matter to the Colonel, who ordered the money to be paid. Under the new rules no complaints are made.

Q. 281.—Why do they not complain now?

A. 281.—Because it is of no use—to whom should they complain? We have no one to complain to. We are not under the Quarter-Master.

Q. 282.—Are the women in debt to you?

A. 282.—No, when they want money they get it from the bunniah.

## RAWAL PINDI—ALLADI, MAHALDARNI, DHAI TÁBI.

Q. 283.—Did you see two ladies a little more than a year ago, who came up to the Cavalry Bazaar?

A. 283.—Yes; they were talking to women, were telling them it was a bad life they were leading, and that they ought to go and sit by a fakir and say prayers and earn an honest livelihood. They asked the women if they had a mahaldarni, and they called me. I showed my certificates, and they wanted to take away one, but I would not give it. I told them that we did not want to be Christians, and that we preferred our own means of getting our living.

4000 Q. 284.—Did you say that the regiment was going away soon, and then you would relinquish your style of life?

A. 284.—No; I never said so. Karnnisha may have said so; she accompanied the ladies for three days. She is a Pathan woman.

Q. 285.—What is your work now?

A. 285.—I live in the Cavalry Bazaar, and the women say “stay and doctor us,” and I am doing so now, but do not much care for the work.

*Examination of Dhai Tábi.*

Q. 286.—What has been your employment in this cantonment?

A. 286.—I was dhai of the Cantonment Hospital, and was discharged ten months ago. I received Rs. 12 a month. I am now a milk-seller to sweetmeat-makers.

4010 Q. 287.—When the prostitutes were brought up for examination before the doctor, and found to be diseased, were they obliged to remain in hospital till cured?

A. 287.—No. If diseased, a woman remained willingly as a rule, as she got food, clothing, and medicine; if she wished not to stay, the doctor asked where she was going; and if she said “to the city,” she was allowed to go.

Q. 288.—Were women who were only suffering from their usual monthly ailments obliged to stop in hospital?

A. 288.—No, nothing of the kind. I have heard of such a thing, but not here.

Q. 289.—Were you present at the examinations of women by the doctor?

A. 289.—No, I never was, but Meha Nisha, the former dhai, was. She used to go inside the room, and I used to remain outside.

4020 Q. 290.—Did women ever make objection to being examined?

A. 290.—Very few; those who did had the option of going out of cantonments (literally to the city).

Q. 291.—When they went to the city, what did they do? Did they starve?

A. 291.—Not at all. They carried on their trade and did a profitable business there, although they were diseased.

Q. 292.—Do you recollect any girl coming up for examination who had not reached the years of puberty?

A. 292.—I know of one, she was sent up by the Cantonment Magistrate and found diseased.

4030 Q. 293.—If a woman who came to hospital for examination was found to be suffering from disease other than venereal, was she treated?

A. 293.—Yes, as an out-patient.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3015-B—“Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,” dated Simla, the 28th June 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3004-B., dated 28th June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports\* from the General Officers Commanding Meerut and Sirhind Districts as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations regarding Meerut and Umballa

\* (1) Sirhind District No. 30-C., dated 27th June 1893, and enclosures.

4040 (2) Meerut District No. 9-C.-D., dated 26th June 1893, and enclosure.

contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office, on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules in India.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

From BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. T. PRETYMAN., Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 30-C—“*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,”—dated Simla, the 27th June 1893).

*Reference Quartermaster-General's telegram No. 2678-B. of 1893.*

As directed in your telegram No. 2678-B., dated 9th June 1893, I have the honour to report that I have carefully perused the circulars and letters specified therein, and, after consultation with the Officers Commanding Corps and Stations concerned, beg to submit the statement called for as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations relating to the Sirhind District which are contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated 10th and 13th June 1893, respectively.

2. I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulations contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram now under reply, were duly observed.

3. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the Officers Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival in Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892.

4. I am unable to say how this oversight arose; it was probably due to the constant changing of Staff Officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject—being marked ‘strictly confidential’—were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

5. Regiments and Corps, who were already in the command, or indeed, in India, when the earlier orders of 1888 and 1890 (Quartermaster-General's circulars and demi-official letters addressed to General Officers Commanding by name) had been circulated for information, were of course aware of the new order of things necessitated by the Resolution of the House of Commons; but regiments since landed in the country required to be informed of all that had gone on previously.

6. In the case of the two Highland Battalions, it is to be regretted that their Commanding Officers were not shown the back orders.

7. It is true that Colonel Trotter, whose battalion arrived in Umballa in December 1891, had some idea of the recent legislation, and no doubt learnt from other Commanding Officers in Umballa that the old arrangements for registered prostitutes, and their compulsory examination, had been forbidden, but Colonel Gildea, who arrived in India a month later, states that he had no information on the subject, and had no reason to believe that any change had taken place since he last served in India in the old 72nd Highlanders.

8. I beg to enclose the replies these officers have made to the various allegations of the American Missionaries.

9. My attention was drawn to the subject by a demi-official letter from the Quartermaster-General, dated 21st March 1892, by which time the Highland Battalions had left Umballa for their respective hill stations.

10. I at once sent this round to the Officers Commanding at Sabathu and Dagshai, as well as to all other hill stations in my command.

Their attention was directed to the proper working of the Cantonment Act, and to the various orders which had emanated from head-quarters on the subject, and I have the word of the Officers Commanding the two Highland Battalions that, from the time of the receipt of the above-mentioned communication, these orders have been strictly observed, not only at their hill stations, but also during the cold weather, when their battalions were again encamped in Umballa.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea informs me that when the prostitutes who had attached themselves to his regiment were informed that they must in future shift entirely for themselves, they petitioned him repeatedly to be allowed to live under regimental protection and under arrangements such as, unfortunately, had been allowed at Umballa.

12. Colonel Trotter also informs me that women came to his battalion on its arrival at Umballa from England, and begged to be allowed to attach themselves to it.

13. No doubt Colonel Gildea, being ignorant of recent legislation and orders, acted in perfect good faith in allowing women to encamp near his bazaar, and in making it a condition that they would allow themselves to be examined periodically; and I am quite sure that, had he been aware of the orders on the subject, they would have been strictly carried out.



UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETTYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

14. I would here remark that the very secrecy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view, and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to Officers Commanding Corps, as well as to Cantonment authorities generally.

1110 15. As regards the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded to me with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated the 10th and 13th June 1893, I have the honour to say that I have dealt with these allegations *seriatim*, and with this object, I have attached statements containing extracts of the evidence that concerns the district under my command, with remarks thereon as follows:—

Statement (A).—Allegations relating to the 2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with replies in original, by the Officer Commanding that Battalion.

Statement (B).—Allegations relating to the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, with reply attached, in better form, from the Officer Commanding the Battalion.

1420 Statement (C).—Allegations relating to the management of the Umballa Cantonment General Hospital, with my remarks.

16. These three statements deal quite fully with the whole of the allegations made.

It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A), that although a certain amount of truth exists in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it tends to detract from its value.

17. I return the printed Minutes of Evidence, as requested.

STATEMENT (A).

2ND BATTALION, ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

*Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London, April 1893.*

1430

348. Did you find one chakla at the Camp of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders?—We did.

349. Did that consist of tents? Yes; that was the first we visited.

*Correct.* These women were told that I would not interfere with them, provided—

(a) they kept outside the limits over which I had any jurisdiction,

(b) that I did not find the men contracting venereal from them,

(c) that decency and order were observed,

(d) that they availed themselves of any medical aid attainable.

1440 350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here?

She told us to what regiment they belonged.

351-2. Did she tell you from whom she hired the tents?

I do not remember from whom. I think it was a native merchant.

I know nothing of this, nor can I say how many tents there were.

353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there?

1450 She said there were 11.

I cannot say; I had hoped there were more.

354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there?

She and the girls corroborated each other, that there was a guard there till midnight, and that the guard was relieved every six hours.

This is false, and it is improbable any such statement was made; the regimental police who patrolled the bazaar to preserve order and prevent squabbles between men and bunniah had orders to prevent disturbances in the women's camp. The police are frequently visited by the Provost Sergeant; and on pay nights are increased in numbers.

360. How far from the military tents were these chaklas?

4160 They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these women, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

The Provost Sergeant thinks about 300 yards from the camp and about 200 yards from the bazaar. I cannot, personally, speak with certainty, but he should know. The public road ran between my camp and the others.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March 1892, and saw some of the prostitutes?

Yes: of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said that if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla.

They started to call him, but we would not let them because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them.

The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel.

634. At Umballa, at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about 15th March (1892) to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend.

They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them. They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

1351. When we visited the tents with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us and asked if we wished to see it.

It was the registration of the girls in charge of the mahaldarni of the chakla. Entries of dates of their examination, &c.

Though unaware when I came to India in 1892 of the provisions of the Cantonment Act I do not consider that there has been anything approaching to "Licensed prostitution" as regards my regiment. Consideration of decency and, if possible, the health and the welfare of the men prompt me always to encourage them to devote their attentions to women who can, if they wish it, obtain medical aid instead of having promiscuous intercourse with diseased villagers and city prostitutes. Even those whose acts tend to the spread of disease and the moral and physical ruin of the soldier can hardly compare such a system, if system it can be called, to that of the repealed C. D. Act, and the *suggestio falsi* which runs through a great part of their evidence throws discredit on the rest.

I cannot say what complaints were made to the mahaldarni; the remainder of the statement is absolutely false, as also that regarding the tent.

Correct, as calling in the police, if it had not led to the removal of the European women, would have interrupted the collection of what they, probably, knew to be false evidence.

Entirely without foundation; and it is improbable the mahaldarni made any such statement as she would have known that any such action on her part might have led to my putting her camp out of bounds.

Natives suffering from any complaint are treated in the bazaar hospital. If of an infectious nature, and they refuse to be treated. I have them ejected from cantonments.

This is false if intended to convey the idea that the regiment or any regimental authority provided transport. I cannot say what "care" was bestowed on them by the soldiers, but it must have been infinitesimal. Their society was so unobtrusive on the march that I was only once or twice made aware of their existence, but I believe they followed as far as Kalka.

My orders on the march and in the station were identical, as regards their exclusion from my camp. I imagine where they must have located themselves was Native territory.

I am unaware of what books the mahaldarni may have had in her possession; she was not in the habit of submitting them to me.

DAGSHAI;  
24th June 1893.  
Y. 24265.

P. D. TROTTER, Colonel,  
Commanding 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.  
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UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

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STATEMENT (B).

1ST BATTALION GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

*Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell before a Commission in London, April 1893.*

4230 We visited 3 "chaklas" at Umballa.  
There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazaar.

355. What did you see at the Camp of the Gordon Highlanders?

There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were enclosed with native matting.

357. How many tents were there?

There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?

4240 We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

360. At what part of cantonments were these chaklas; how far from the military tents?

They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with the women.

4250 361. While you were at the chakla a the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?

Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL S. L. GILDEA, Officer Commanding 1st Gordon Highlanders, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Sirhind District,—(dated Simla, the 24th June 1893).

4260 WITH reference to the statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell regarding the battalion under my command, I have the honour to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Sirhind District.

In reply to paragraph 1 of statement, there was one enclosure containing prostitutes near my camp with tents inside. I do not know anything of any other enclosure or of a "chakla" in the Sudder Bazaar.

No. 355.—There were tents enclosed with matting, for the sake of privacy.

No. 357.—As far as I can remember the number of tents is correct, each woman had a tent to herself.

No. 358.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

No. 360.—The enclosure was about 100 yards from the rear guard of my camp.

4270 No. 361.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

My explanation for having this enclosure near my camp is as follows:—

I arrived in Umballa from Ceylon with my battalion on 24th January 1892, and moved into a standing camp there. I was not informed that the practice of keeping women attached to regiments was done away with, so little was I aware that I was acting against any orders issued on the subject, that I placed my women's enclosure within 100 yards of my rear guard, in open ground, as forming with my regimental bazaar part of my standing camp.



UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

My first intimation that it was against the regulations to keep women for the use of soldiers in India was in a demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, received by me on 30th March 1892. I immediately on receipt of this dismissed the women attached to my battalion, and have not since in any way recognised them. 4280

STATEMENT (C).

*Extracts from the printed Minutes of Evidence given by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London in April 1893.*

Questions 176—178 and 180—183.

At Umballa we saw the women in different 'chaklas' in the same cantonment.

They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment.

There seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazaar chakla.

Questions 435—439 and 701—705.

At Umballa we saw in the correspondence book certain letters from the Surgeon in charge (of the Lock Hospital). They were copies of letters to the Cantonment Magistrate, and they were dated.

I think that the letters referred to were all included between January and February 1892, declaring that certain soldiers had reported themselves to be diseased, and certain women had been indicated in those letters.

The English Surgeon included the names of those women, and requested the Cantonment Magistrate to send them for examination.

Questions 641 and 715—716.

Regular examination by medical officer, which was compulsory.

A compiled table showing periodical examination of women by regiments, *e. g.,*

*Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.*

Every 4th day by mahaldarni.

„ 8th „ Surgeon.

*Gordon Highlanders.*

Every Tuesday (weekly) by medical officer.

Questions 706—711 and 714.

Paper picked up containing description of two women inhabiting certain tents, and this paper, coupled with the copies of letters from the medical officer to the Cantonment Magistrate, appears to refer to the same women as those mentioned by him in his letters.

The descriptions given point to the exact place in each tent where these women live, to assist in identifying them.

Correct so far as the replies in statements (A) and (B) give information.

Incorrectly stated, as the implication is that women were officially allotted to corps, which was not the case. 4290

*See Statements (A) and (B).*

This is correct, and further appears to have been quite correct procedure on the part of the medical officer, acting according to the powers given him by the Cantonment Act of 1889, and subsequent orders.

The mere wording of the letters appears in this case to be a minor point. The difference between a request to have the women warned that they must either submit to treatment or expulsion from cantonment, and a request to have certain women, believed to be diseased, sent for treatment, is slight, and the difference in practical effect may be said to be *nil*. 4300

The statement that a regular compulsory examination took place is absolutely false. 4310

A regular day was appointed by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, and on that day all might be examined who wished to attend.

Tuesday was the day. This examination was in every way voluntary, and even this was stopped on the receipt of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892. 4320

This may be perfectly true. There is nothing to show whether it is true or not, but if true, it appears unimportant from the point of view of the witnesses, though it shows that no registration existed, as otherwise a written description would have been unnecessary, and, so far as the written description goes, there is nothing contrary to orders (but the reverse) in helping to identify any person suspected of disease. 4330

So far as this evidence goes to prove the existence of regimental women, that is dealt with in statement (A) and (B) attached.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

STATEMENT (C)—*continued.*

4340 Questions. { 749—751.  
1346—1350.

The women of the Argyll and Sutherland chakla said that they would be turned out of cantonments unless they submitted to the examination, and fined if they left hospital before being discharged as cured, and imprisoned if the fine were not paid. The Gordon Highlanders women said the same, and said that if they were not examined they would be taken before the Cantonment Magistrate and be compelled to be examined.

4350 If they left hospital before being discharged, they would be imprisoned.

But they stated this had never happened, because they always went to the examination.

Questions 775—776.

4360 At Umballa we saw the registration list, and it was headed.

There were six regimental lists of women who came to be examined regularly.

There were lists of prostitutes under the headings of various regiments.

Six lists. Each containing from five to 14 women, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words—“Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections.”

4370

Questions 1325—1350.

We saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them—of the women coming up for periodical examination.

There were six lists. Each headed with the name of their regiment. There were from five to 14 in each list.

4380 The daily journal recorded the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February 1892. It recorded that 28 women were examined on that date.

We saw a copy of a letter from the Surgeon to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated 21st December 1891, naming six girls supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them for inspection.

4390 Another letter, dated 18th January 1892, requesting that a woman who had been indicted by a soldier as being diseased might be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

No cases treated in hospital except venereal.

See Statements (A) and (B), and information given above as to compulsory examination.

It appears that the book used in the days of registered prostitutes had been kept going for the convenience of the medical officer in showing work done.

This was purely for his own information as a record of diseases treated, and was never looked upon in any way as an official registration of prostitutes.

I learn, on inquiry from the medical officer, that prostitutes presenting themselves for voluntary examination are in the habit of grouping themselves as belonging to certain regiments.

This is easily understood, and is evidently a relic of the old system, any departure from which natives of this class would be utterly unable to understand.

See replies to questions 775—776 and 435—439 and 701—705.

This, of course, is absolutely false. The venereal section of the hospital being very small, as compared with the other sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.

## MEERUT—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL NAIRNE, COMMANDING MEERUT DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL C. E. NAIRNE, C.B., Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

IN acknowledging receipt of your telegram No. 2677-B, 8th instant, calling on me to state positively and of my own knowledge what is, and what is not, true in the allegations contained in the printed minutes of evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons regarding the working, in Meerut, of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and whether the positive instructions issued have been disregarded, and to what extent, since the orders were issued in 1888, I have the honour to report that I only took command of the Meerut District on 30th March 1892, subsequent, that is, to the visit of the two American ladies; and that I immediately proceeded to Delhi, Roorkee, Dehra Dun, and Chakrata, on inspection duty, and did not return to Meerut until August 1892.

It was not until sometime in June that I became aware that there had been any special legislation on the subject. Since then, I have gone into the matter carefully, and am of opinion that practically all the instructions contained in the various orders issued have been carried out.

I can say positively that no prostitutes are permitted to live in the regimental bazars in Meerut, no regimental registers of such are kept, and no separate register of them in the Sadar bazaar, though of course a general register of all inhabitants and their occupation must be maintained at Meerut as in every city in the civilised world. The women have repeatedly been told that there is no compulsory examination except as laid down in the Cantonment Act of 1889 under which any person suspected of any disease may be sent to hospital voluntarily, or if declining to go there for treatment may be removed from cantonments altogether. I am informed that no such case of such removal has taken place, and whatever the women may have said to the ladies or to Mr. Hyslop Bell, I attribute to the known fact that any native in conversation or evidence will invariably say what he or she thinks the questioner wishes to hear. Regarding this matter it must be remembered that no Doctor, either Native or English, can take any pleasure in such a revolting occupation as the medical examination of prostitutes; while on the other hand, whenever really diseased, all women are only too grateful to be detained and cured.

At Meerut there are two recognized places for residence of prostitutes both in the Sadr Bazaar, but it must be remembered that both the British Infantry and Cavalry Bazaars join on to the Sadr, and it is easy for a stranger to miss seeing the boundaries of the regimental bazars, which, indeed, are not well defined except on paper. The Artillery Bazaar is just outside my own quarters, I very frequently ride through it, and I can state positively that no professional prostitutes have lived there since I have been at Meerut. The keeping up by the women themselves and occasionally by the Native Doctors of their separation into corps is, I presume, another instance of the extreme difficulty of breaking through old associations and names so constantly met with in this country, and which will equally account for the survival of the name "Lock" Hospital long after such had ceased to exist. Another instance of this is well illustrated by the use, even to this day, of the name "Company Bagh," for the public cantonment garden, more than 30 years after the abolition of the East India Company. It must also be remembered that the one desire of all natives, whether men or women, is to be considered as specially in the service of "the Sirkar," and as these women have always associated themselves more with one regiment than another, they probably will continue to do so to the end of the chapter, legislation to the contrary notwithstanding.

Regarding the actual facts, at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Doctor Bushnell, I cannot therefore speak of my own knowledge, but perusal of the instructions issued from time to time, and the well known strictness of my predecessor, the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enables me to state positively that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past.

Mr. Hyslop Bell's visit occurred during my tenure of command, and I can speak of my own knowledge positively regarding evidence given by him. The answers to questions 1534, 1543, are incorrect. The cantonment hospital was open to all that came to it, every disease and both sexes. But though this is the literal fact, it is equally true that hardly any but prostitutes do come, owing to the fact that the money required for the cantonment hospital buildings as sanctioned, has never yet been allotted, and the present buildings are only those of the original Lock Hospital; it is unlikely therefore that many other than those of the prostitute class would yet avail themselves of treatment. The answer to 1550, 1552, is incorrect as no regiment had been away in camp and had recently returned to quarters. But regarding the general question of prostitutes accompanying regiments on the line of march or in camp, I am informed that no regimental arrangements are made in any instance since the prohibition came out, but that all prostitutes accompanying a regiment do so on their own private account, and I have no reason to doubt this. Commanding Officers have no power to prevent such movement, neither have I. The mere fact of removing all authority over such women from Commanding Officers prevents them from interfering with their movements, and the well-known axiom that when there is a demand supply is sure to follow is true of sexual intercourse between man and woman as of every thing else in a free country.



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MEERUT—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL NAIRNE, COMMANDING MEERUT DISTRICT.

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The rest of the evidence tendered to Mr. Bell appears to me to accord with regulations, except as to compulsory examination of women, concerning which I have already given my opinion, moreover Mr. Bell's answers to questions 1595, 1596 and 1470 1597, point to the Act having been complied with.

Regarding the instructions issued from time to time, I can say of my own knowledge that all have been complied with since I have been at Meerut, except as regards prostitutes accompanying a regiment on the line of march, regarding which the wording of last paragraph of demi-official letter from Sir James Browne, Quartermaster-General, No. 4907-B, dated 8th November 1890, to Sir John Hudson, appears to me to be so peremptory as to be impossible to carry out without infringing the law of the land regarding the liberty of the subject. I must explain that no copy of this letter existed in my office and I only received it on 17th instant after application to Simla.

No sanction, or approval, or assistance, is given by regiments when in camp or on the march, to prostitutes accompanying them, and they do not reside in the camp bazars, 4480 but they have not been forcibly prevented. For instance, in Chakrata there is one British Regiment, and no doubt, whether the Officer Commanding likes it or not, the women, whose only object in living there is to ply their trade with that regiment, will manage to move somewhere in their vicinity whenever the regiment moves down to the plains, and if my knowledge of the law of the land is correct, the Commanding Officer cannot prevent them.

Reverting to Mr. Hyslop Bell's evidence and that of the two American ladies that the cantonment hospital is only used for venereal cases, I would beg to add to Mr. Bell's answer to question 1697, that the English gentleman referred to was an officer who is now staying with me. He tells me that it was his dogcart wheel that ran over a man's foot; he had only recently gone to Meerut and did not know where to take the man to the nearest hospital, but was directed to the cantonment hospital by a bystander; so it 4490 is obvious that the people do know that the hospital is for all cases and diseases.

I regret the delay in answering your telegram, but as above stated many of the demi-official notes were not in existence in my office; I had to refer to Simla for them and then to send the correspondence to Meerut for the letter from Officer Commanding the station attached.

It will be in the knowledge of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that Colonel Plowden who had been Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut for many years only left on 31st December last.

He is now in England and can be examined as to the extraordinary allegations in the answer to questions 484-485, should those answers be considered credible.

4500 From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. J. F. REID, Officer Commanding at Meerut, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut and Landour,—(No. 153-C, dated Meerut the 23rd June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 20-C-R, of 20th instant, with its enclosures, all of which are herewith returned.

I have the honour to report as follows:—

I.—I took over command at Meerut on the 15th April last.

II.—Minutes of Evidence question 177. I have no knowledge of what took place in camp, but there are no regimental chaklas in Meerut. When the women were ejected from the regimental bazars, on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, they migrated to the Sadar Bazaar, there to live together, 4510 and form a sort of colony, which was known by the name of the regiment wherefrom the women came, although such colony had nothing further to do with such regiment.

III.—There is no order forbidding native soldiers from visiting the two chaklas in Meerut, that is the women who live in two different parts of the Meerut Sadar bazaar. Nor is there any order of any sort on the subject.

IV.—All cantonment hospital books and papers bearing on the subject of the foregoing have been sent to the Secretary of the Cantonment Rules Commission.

V.—The matter of the observance of the rules seems to me to turn on the question of compulsion. In Meerut the women are under no compulsion to attend the cantonment hospital for inspection, and they have often been told so. 4520 Those I have asked said they went there voluntarily and remained there voluntarily. But closer enquiry shows that many have attended in order to avoid the suspicion of disease which would bring them under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890. In so far then the women seem to think themselves compelled to go.

Endorsement by the General Officer Commanding Meerut District,—(No. 25-C-R, dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

FORWARDED to Quartermaster-General in India, in accordance with your telegram No. 2677-B, dated 8th June 1893.

SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3101-B., *Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*; dated Simla, 1st July 1893.—Confidential). 4530

IN continuation of this office No. 3015-B., dated 28th June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further reports regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Sitapur.

- (1) Oudh District No. C. L. 366, dated 28th June 1893, and enclosures.  
(2) Oudh District No. C. L. 367, dated 28th June 1893, and enclosures.

Memo. from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 366-C.L., dated Lucknow, 28th June 1893). 4540

Forwarded in continuation of this office No. 361-C.L., of 13th June 1893, and Officer Commanding, Sitapur's No. 23-C.L.

From LIEUT-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District,—(No. 28-C.L., dated Sitapur, 26th June 1893—Confidential).

WITH reference to my report forwarded with my No. 23-C.L., dated 13th June 1893, giving answers to certain allegations contained in the "Minutes of Evidence" with regard to the station of Sitapur, I have the honour to forward enclosure containing corrections to certain answers therein given, and to request that the answers as they appear in the Report may be cancelled, and those as shown in the enclosure may be substituted.

This has been rendered necessary by personal inspection of the documents at the hospital and others at the Station Staff Office, which was brought to my notice, and which I regret had previously escaped observation. 4550

Q. 528.—A.—The register of prostitutes, with numbers assigned to each, and the women apportioned to each quarter, was closed on the 8th August 1888, and is still at the hospital. The only other description or list of women in Cantonments is in a part of the Hospital Admission and Discharge Book, and contains the names, without numbers, apparently of such women who presented themselves for examination generally weekly, and were entered apparently as they came; the names of those who attended later inspections being added to the bottom of the list. The number of women attending varied from 18 to 13 to 7. This list appears to have commenced from the 12th May 1891. 4560

Q. 641.—A.—It appears from the documents at the hospital that after the passing of Act of 1889 in general, weekly inspections of women continued to be held. But from the entries in the hospital Letter Book of 1890, they appear clearly to have been considered as voluntary ones. In the Annual Report of 1890 the Medical Officer in charge writes as follows: "This is now a voluntary hospital; no tickets are issued; no register of prostitutes is kept, and no compulsory examinations allowed." There are other letters to the same effect.

In the Hospital Diary the women are entered apparently as "attending for medicine and advice." Some of the returns are headed as "Voluntary venereal hospital" in that year; and weekly returns appear to have been made out of the number of women attending voluntarily the weekly inspections in 1890. 4570

Some of the women say the inspections were voluntary, some that they were compulsory. The native officials of the Bazaar say that they were voluntary, but had been compulsory some years before, when tickets were issued. The last reference to the hospital as one for registered prostitutes is dated 9th July 1888. No woman was ever punished for having absented herself from these examinations. They were discontinued after the 12th July 1892.

Q. 754.—A.—See answer to 741.

Q. 1076.—A.—These were generally periodical weekly examinations, but it appears that they were considered not compulsory.

Q. 1395.—A.—Any resident in cantonment would be by the regulations admitted, but it appears that only one case, not venereal, was admitted as an in-patient in the year 1892, but 191 cases, not venereal, were treated in 1892 as out-patients. In 1892 all the in-patients were prostitutes; but it is not known whether the one case mentioned was or was not. The Annual Report for 1891 is not available. 4580

Q. 1413.—A.—See answer 528.

SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

Memo. from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 367-C.L., dated Lucknow, the 28th June 1893).

FORWARDED with reference to your Circular No. 2747-B.

From LIEUT.-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 29-C.L., “*Sanitary*,” dated Sitapur, the 26th June 1893, Confidential).

4590 IN compliance with your No. 2854-B, dated 17th June 1893, forwarding copy of Quartermaster-General’s No. 2747, dated 12th June 1893, to the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, with enclosures, I have the honor to submit the report therein called for with regard to the station of Sitapur.

I.—(A).

There is in each cantonment a “Chukla,” a single building having series of small rooms, &c., occupied by native women and used to receive the visits of British soldiers.

4600 The Chukla was used for the visits of British soldiers only, no natives being allowed to resort to them there.

The women did no other work and lived for no other purpose.

The women never solicit.

4610 They could not leave cantonments without permission.

The Chukla belonged to Government, &c.

4620 The women paid rent or did not.

There is a guard in uniform on the Chukla.

There is a register of the “Chukla women” kept in each Cantonment.

A. 1.—There was a “Chukla” in the Suddur Bazzar, having twenty small rooms, in which the women lived. It is a long low building. The prostitutes living there carried on prostitution on their own responsibility, and it was not recognised nor authorized in cantonment.

A. 2.—There was no order to that effect. It appears it was the case some years ago. The women said they were not allowed to receive them, but could not say who told them.

Natives did sometimes visit them there.

A. 3.—This was the case as far as I can ascertain.

A. 4.—They do not “walk the streets,” as it is never done in India; but they sometimes solicit their own friends.

A. 5.—They were at perfect liberty to leave without permission. The women say that five did leave in the year 1892, and none of them got or asked for permission.

A. 6.—This was the case to May 1892, when it was sold. After the passing of the Act, 1889, that it was the property of Government probably escaped notice, and steps to get rid of it were omitted to be taken.

A. 7.—The women lived in the “Chukla” rent-free.

A. 8.—There was no guard of any sort on the Chukla.

A. 9.—The register of the “Chukla-women,” or prostitutes, kept in the authorised form with numbers assigned to the women and the women allotted to certain quarters, is still to be seen at the Cantonment Hospital and was closed on the 8th August 1888.

A list is found in the Admission and Discharge Book of the hospital, apparently of the names of women who presented themselves for examination each week. There is no other description of register to be found in cantonments.



SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

These names appear to have been entered as the women came: some who came to later inspections had their names added at the bottom of the list. Each page contained about four inspections. These inspections ceased after the 12th July 1892. 4640

There are metal plates on the doors of the "Chukla" with numbers, so that soldiers can indicate any woman.

A. 10.—In the Chukla at present there is one room with a tin plate on which is a number. There are also three other rooms with old tin plates, the numbers on which are nearly obliterated. It appears that in former years there was a number to each room, but they have long been disused and only those above mentioned remain. There is no sign of any having been recently removed.

There is in almost every instance a woman Superintendent of the Chukla called "Mahaldarni" whose wages are paid out of Cantonment funds, &c. ?

4650

Some of these Mahaldarnis possess certificates given by British Officers, &c, all their duties are the same as before the passing of the resolution of the "House of Commons," &c.

A. 11.—There was no Mahaldarni at Sitapur.

The number of women in the Chukla was proportioned to the number of soldiers, averaging from 12 to 15 for each regiment, &c., &c.

A. 12.—There was no number of women allotted to the soldiers at Sitapur. Nor were any steps taken to provide them with any. 4660

The uniform rate of pay was—

Private	-	-	-	4 Annas.
Corporal	-	-	-	8 „
Sergeant	-	-	-	1 Rupee.

A. 13.—There was no fixed rate ordered or established. Nor does there ever seem to have been one. It appears to have been the usual custom before the passing of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and to probably have continued since.

If these sums were not paid complaint was made to the authorities and the amount was stopped from the man's pay.

A. 14.—There was neither order nor custom to this effect. No complaint was ever made. Nor would it have been recognised had it been made. 4670

Extortionate demands are sometimes made on the women.

A. 15.—The women say that no extortionate demands were made on them, and they only paid the proper prices for what they bought.

That the women live in abject poverty.

A. 16.—Most of the women confess that they are poor, other women say that they are not so. There is no evidence to show they were in abject poverty, nor did they appear to be so. 4680

That they get into debt to the Mahaldarni or some other creditor.

A. 17.—Most of the women say that they are not in debt to any one; a few say they are in debt.

That the women cannot leave cantonments because of their debts.

A. 18.—A few women say they cannot. Most of them say they are not kept there by debt.

## SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

They live in cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes, unless they sooner die, until too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women.

4690

The prostitutes are all girls and sometimes very young girls.

4700

When a regiment changes cantonments, the women associated with that regiment accompany it in carts provided for them or are sent by rail.

During their progress they are protected by European guards, &c.

4710

Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed Medical Officer at the hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

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A. 19.—No woman was turned out of cantonments because she was too old for prostitution and replaced by a more attractive one. They stayed or left as they pleased,—this the women say themselves. On giving up the Chukla life they get domestic work or go to their parents; so it is reported.

A. 20.—The majority are full grown women. There were no very young girls. The women say there were never very young girls except in one instance many years ago.

A. 21.—No prostitutes accompanied the troops when they changed cantonments either in carts or any other manner, nor were they sent by railway, nor any arrangements made for them.

A. 22.—No guards of any description were provided for them.

**B**

A. 23.—There is no regular register of women to be found in cantonments since 1888. But it appears from the documents at the Cantonment Hospital and other evidence that weekly examinations were held at the hospital, which most of the women in the Chukla appear to have attended; their names being apparently entered in a part of the Admission and Discharge Book kept at the hospital, as they presented themselves for examination; the names of those who attended later inspections, being added to the bottom of the list. These inspections appear to have been held regularly since the 1889 Act. There are entries in the Letter Book of 1890 clearly showing that these inspections, although generally periodical and regular, were apparently considered voluntary, which the women could attend or not as they pleased. The hospital returns of that year are sometimes headed "Voluntary Venereal Hospital." Weekly returns were made out of the number of women who voluntarily attended the weekly inspections.

The last reference to the hospital as one for registered prostitutes is dated 9th July 1888.

The entries in the hospital "Diary" show these women "as attending for medicine and advice." The numbers attending varied from 18 to 13 and 7.

No woman was ever punished, as far as I can ascertain, for absenting herself, nor was any one reported for having done so, except in one instance.

The women themselves appear to be uncertain about the matter. Some say they were voluntary examinations, others that they were compulsory.

In one instance the majority absented themselves, showing apparently that they knew they had a right to do so, in 1892.

SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

The hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

The inspections were limited to the women consorting with British soldiers.

The examination was made individually by the British Medical Officer and is stated to have been done in the presence of the Native Doctor and the "Dhai."

The examination is made on a special table with speculum, &c.

The women object very much to the inspection; even the Mahaldarni speaks of it with abhorrence.

The women assemble at a fixed time either by walking or riding in carts or cabs.

Upon examination the women were dismissed to pursue their shameful trade or were detained in hospital if diseased.

Detention is ordered not only in case of disease, but even during the natural menstrual period.

During detention in hospital each woman receives an allowance from the Cantonment funds of 2 or 3 annas per diem.

In the event of a registered woman not presenting herself for examination on the prescribed day, the Medical Officer sends the native police to her;

or reports her to the Cantonment Magistrate,

who orders her up for examination.

If she disobeys, she is threatened by the police with arrest and that she may be fined, imprisoned or expelled from cantonments.

Y 24265.

The native officials say that these inspections were voluntary, but were compulsory some years before.

These inspections ceased after 12th July 1892.

There was no authority for not carrying out the orders of Government in the cantonment. 4750

A. 24.—The hospital in 1892 was not established for the treatment of any particular disease, but for all diseases.

A. 25.—There was no order or rule to this effect. The few prostitutes, if any, who consort with natives and soldiers are reported not to have attended these examinations.

A. 26.—This seems to have been usually the case.

4760

A. 27.—There is in the examination room at the hospital only an ordinary office table, which I understand was used for the purpose. A speculum would, it is reported, be used if necessary.

A. 28.—The women say they did not object to the inspection. There was no Mahaldarni.

A. 29.—The women walked to the hospital. 4770

## C

A. 30.—They were taken into hospital if diseased, or they returned to the chakla.

A. 31.—This appears to have been the case.

A. 32.—The women received no allowance from any source.

4780

## D

A. 33.—There was no register for women beyond what has already been explained. The Medical Officer was not authorised to send the police to any woman who absented herself from examination, nor was it done as far as I can ascertain.

A. 34.—This was done in one case only.

A. 35.—This was not done. The Cantonment Magistrate on receiving the above report replied that "the women had a perfect right to absent themselves from examination if they pleased, and no pressure whatever was to be brought upon them in order to compel them to attend." 4790

A. 36.—No woman received any such order from the Cantonment Magistrate, and the police never threatened her.



## SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

4800 If a woman left the hospital before being formally discharged, she was liable to the same penalties.

If she leave the cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate, which is given only after Medical examination,

She is precluded from re-entering the cantonment absolutely, or only on undergoing medical examination at the hospital.

4810 The expulsion or exclusion from cantonments is tantamount to starvation.

All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious and contagious diseases are used almost exclusively for the treatment of venereal diseases contracted by registered prostitutes.

4820

No infectious diseases were treated in them.

In only one or two hospitals were diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted.

Very rarely are patients other than prostitutes admitted.

4830

In some hospitals cases of secondary syphilis are not treated, all such cases being sent out of cantonments.

4840 The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examinations were the registered women reserved for British soldiers.

A few other women used by native soldiers are occasionally sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment.

4850

A. 37.—This was not the case.

A. 38.—No permission to leave cantonments was necessary, nor was any asked from, or given by, the Cantonment Magistrate, nor was any medical examination required.

A. 39.—She was not precluded from re-entering cantonments when she pleased. No medical examination was necessary.

A. 40.—The women say that if turned out of cantonments they would go to some other cantonment, or perhaps get work such as cooking, grinding corn, or would go to their parents or beg. The native officials say this also.

A. 41.—Diseases of all descriptions would be treated in the hospital, either as in-door or out-door cases. But in 1892 the cases admitted as in-patients were practically all venereal or diseases of the female generative organs. One other case was admitted as an in-patient, but 191 cases were treated as out-patients in the year 1892.

A. 42.—No infectious diseases were treated in the year 1892.

A. 43.—No other contagious diseases were treated in the year 1892.

A. 44.—Patients of all descriptions would be admitted.

One case of dysentery was admitted in 1892, but it is not known whether the patient was a prostitute or not. All the other in-patients were prostitutes, but about 200 out-patients were treated who were not prostitutes.

A. 45.—No cases of secondary syphilis appeared among the in-patients in the year 1892, but there were four cases amongst the out-patients.

No case of secondary syphilis has ever been known to have been turned out of cantonments.

A. 46.—The examinations appear to have been considered voluntary.

There was no regular register kept, as explained above. The few women who are stated to consort with soldiers and natives are reported not to have attended the examinations.

A. 47.—There are no native troops at Sitapur, nor was there a Lock Hospital there in 1892.

A. W. NOYES, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*

*2nd West Yorkshire Regiment,*

*Commanding at Sitapur.*

ACTION TAKEN BY GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED ORDERS ISSUED BY THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, REGARDING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF REGISTRATION, &c., OF PROSTITUTES.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3102 B.,—*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*, dated Simla, 1st July 1893—Confidential).

I AM directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports, showing the action taken by General Officers Commanding Districts in this Presidency to communicate to all concerned the orders contained in this office circulars\* marginally noted, regarding the discontinuance of the registration and compulsory examination of prostitutes in Cantonments, their expulsion from regimental bazaars and prohibition from accompanying regiments on the march, &c.

1. Copy of Quartermaster General's No. 2963-74-B., dated 23rd June 1893.
2. Presidency District No. 14-C.A., dated 29th June 1893.
3. Allahabad District No. 140-G.F., dated 24th June 1893.
4. Rawal Pindi District No. 2736-B., dated 24th June 1893.
5. Rawal Pindi District No. 2757, dated 26th June 1893.
6. Bundelkhand District No. 642, dated 24th June 1893.
7. Peshawar District, dated 24th June 1893.
8. Nerbudda District No. 48-C.R., dated 24th June 1893.
9. Rohilkund District No. 3807, dated 24th June 1893.
10. Quetta District No. 4198, dated 26th June 1893.
11. Meerut District No. 10-C.D., dated 26th June 1893.
12. Oudh District No. 860, dated 26th June 1893.
13. Lahore District No. 284-L., dated 27th June 1893.
14. Sirhind District No. 32-C., dated 27th June 1893.
- \* Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888.  
Demi official, dated 13th July 1888.  
Circular No. 12, dated 6th August 1888.  
Demi-official, dated 8th November 1890.  
Demi-official, dated 21st March 1892.  
Circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.  
Circular No. 21, dated 13th July 1892.

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Telegrams from the Quartermaster-General in India, to General Officers Commanding Districts (No. 2963-B. to No. 2973-B., dated 23rd June 1893).

Please wire steps taken to communicate to those concerned the orders conveyed in Quartermaster-General's Circulars 3 and 12 of 1888, and 20 and 21 of 1892, also in demi-official letters of 13th July 1888, 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892.

Information required by Government.

Memo. from the Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding Sirhind District,—(No. 2974-B., dated 23rd June 1893).

4880

Copy forwarded by post for favour of early submission of the required information.

From the General Officer Commanding, Presidency District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 14-C.A., dated Jalapahar, 29th June 1893).

Your 2963-B. Circular 3 of 1888, circulated stations concerned, 6th June 1888. Circular 12, circulated stations concerned, 23rd August 1888. Revised Circular 20 of 1892, circulated stations and regiments in district, 29th May 1893. Former Circular 20, circulated stations, 11th August 1892. Your demi-official 2992-B., dated 13th July 1888, circulated stations concerned; your demi-official 4901-B.,—Camp, 8th November 1890, also circulated stations concerned; your 411-B.—Camp, 21st March 1892, circulated stations concerned, 27th March 1892. All above were circulated confidentially by a staff officer. Circular 21 of 1892, circulated Principal Medical Officers and stations concerned on 23rd July 1892. Also see my 104-C., dated 9th December 1891.

4890

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Allahabad District, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 140-G.-F., dated Allahabad, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2964-B. The several circulars have, according to office records, been communicated.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 2736-B., dated Murree, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2971-B. Circulars 3 and 12 of 1888 were circulated to Officers Commanding all stations in the district, and in addition a special copy of the former to each Lock Hospital, and of the latter to Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital. Circular 20 of 1892 was circulated to all Officers Commanding stations; acknowledgments from Corps at Rawal Pindi are to hand, and in the case of out stations can be obtained from station offices if required. Circular 21 of 1892 was forwarded to Officers Commanding stations for communication to medical officers concerned. There is no record in the District Office of the circulation of demi-official of 13th July 1888, but as Circular 5 of that year was sent to all stations it is reasonable to presume that it was similarly disposed of. Enquiries on this point are being made, and report will follow. On receipt of demi-official of 8th November 1890, categorical questions were sent to all Officers Commanding stations, regiments, and batteries direct from District Staff office, and their replies forwarded to you under my 26-C. of 9th December 1890. Demi-official of 21st March 1892 was circulated to all stations with orders that all British Corps were to be specially warned to carry out instructions both in the letter and in the spirit.

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ACTION TAKEN BY GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS IN THE BENGAL  
PRESIDENCY TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED ORDERS ISSUED BY THE  
QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, REGARDING THE DISCONTINUANCE  
OF REGISTRATION, &c., OF PROSTITUTES.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 2757, dated Murree, the 26th June 1893).

Continuation my 2736 Sanitary. Although no record is forthcoming of the circulation of Quartermaster-General's demi-official 3001-B., of 13th July 1888, it is clear from the correspondence of that period that steps were taken to carry out its provision.

4920 Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Bundelkhand District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 642, dated Agra, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2966-B. The Quartermaster-General's orders and instructions were circulated to Officers Commanding Corps, heads of departments, Cantonment Magistrates, and medical officers concerned. The General Officer Commanding by frequent enquiries and personal inspections has ascertained that the orders and instructions are carried out precisely and thoroughly.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, dated the 24th June 1893.

4930 Your telegram 2972-B. Only records in Peshawar District Office regarding communication of orders referred to are :—No. 3 of 1888 was circulated to Officers Commanding British regiments on 5th December 1891, Nos. 20 and 21 of 1892, to Officers Commanding at Nowshera and Cherat and Cantonment Magistrate, Peshawar, on 23rd July 1892. Demi-official of 21st March 1892, sent to Officers Commanding at Nowshera and Cherat on 26th and 30th March 1892, respectively. With regard to Allabad District, I can distinctly state that all orders received during my tenure of command were circulated to all concerned, and that contents of demi-official of 21st March 1892 were personally communicated by me confidentially and demi-officially to all Commanding Officers, and also, as far as I can recollect, to all Cantonment Magistrates and medical officers concerned.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Nerbudda District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 48-C.R., dated Pachmarhi, the 24th June 1893).

4940 Your 3541-B. The greatest care was taken to communicate the orders given in the Circulars and demi-official letters referred to, and to ascertain that they were obeyed. I was in personal communication with the officers concerned, and personally ascertained that orders were obeyed.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rohilkund District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 3807, dated Ranikhet, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2968-B. All Circulars referred to were circulated to Officers Commanding stations where Cantonment Hospitals existed. Demi-official of 1889 cannot be traced, but it is believed was circulated 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892 circulated confidentially to all concerned.

4950 Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Quetta District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 4193, dated Quetta, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2973-B. Quartermaster-General's Circular 3 of 1888 circulated to Officers Commanding British Corps then in station; 12 of 1888 to Officers Commanding stations, Principal Medical Officer, Cantonment Magistrate, 20 and 21 of 1892 to Principal Medical Officer; demi-official letters to Cantonment Magistrate and Principal Medical Officer. There is no Cantonment Hospital at Quetta, nor are there any regimental bazaars in Cantonments.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 10-C.D., dated Mussoorie, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2969-B. The office records show that all the orders contained in Circulars and letters quoted were communicated to Officers Commanding stations.

4960 Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 8061, dated Lucknow, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2967-B. There is record of all Circulars and letters quoted having been communicated to all concerned, except demi-official, 13th July 1888; of this no record.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 284-T., dated Dalhousie, the 27th June 1893).

Your 2970-B., 23rd instant. Orders conveyed in Circulars and letters quoted were transmitted to Officers Commanding stations, without delay, through District Staff Officers in each case. The only possible exception is demi-official letter of 8th November 1890, which does not appear to have been registered, though its purport was



**ACTION TAKEN BY GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED ORDERS ISSUED BY THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, REGARDING THE CONTINUANCE OF REGISTRATION, &C., OF PROSTITUTES.**

communicated and acknowledged by some stations. A statement follows in few days showing number and date of Despatch and full particulars of District Staff Officers' communication forwarding each letter or circular to stations. 4970

From—Brigadier-General G. T. PRETYMAN, General Officer Commanding, Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India. No. 32-C., *Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*, dated Simla, the 27th June 1893.

*Reference.*—Quartermaster-General's No. 2974-B., dated 23rd June 1893.

In accordance with the orders contained in your telegram, No. 2963-B. to No. 2973-B., dated 23rd June 1893, I have the honour to report as follows for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—

I took over command of the Sirhind District in March 1891. I am unaware what steps were taken by my predecessors in the Command to communicate the orders contained in Quartermaster-General's Circulars, Nos. 3 and 12 of 1888, and demi-official letters, dated 13th July 1888 and 8th November 1890, as no record has been left to show the manner in which these orders were communicated to those concerned, though the papers themselves are filed confidentially in the office. 4980

As regards Quartermaster-General's demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, and Circulars Nos. 20 and 21 of 1892, I have the honour to report, that, on the receipt of the demi-official letter referred to, I at once circulated it together with the demi-official letters from Major-General Collen, which were attached, to the Officers Commanding at all stations in the District; and with these letters I sent, at the same time, a Circular demi-official letter in which I drew attention to the existing regulations, and explained fully the proper method of working of the Cantonment Act of 1889. 4990

A copy of Quartermaster-General's Circulars, Nos. 20 and 21 respectively was supplied to Officers Commanding all stations.

As a rule, 8 copies of Circulars affecting Cantonment Hospitals are received by me, and are distributed as follows:—

One copy to the Cantonment Magistrate, Umballa, who communicates the orders to the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital.

1 copy to the Principal Medical Officer of the District.

1 copy to the Officer Commanding at Kasauli.

1 " " " Subathu. 5000

1 " " " Dagshai.

1 " " " Solon.

1 " " " Jutogh.

1 " filed in the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General's Office.

Occasionally as many as 12 copies of Circulars have been received, but this has only been during the present year, and with reference to the administration of Cantonment Hospitals, such as were the orders contained in Quartermaster-General's No. 742-66, dated 23rd February 1893 and subsequent orders. B.

In these cases the distribution has included additional copies for the Principal Medical Officer of the District, and for the Cantonment Magistrates of Umballa and Kasauli, the latter being also Cantonment Magistrate for all hill stations in the District except Jutogh. 5010

The number of copies of Circulars supplied from the Quartermaster-General's Office varies; and lately, when a revised Circular, No. 20 of 1892, was issued, it was found necessary to apply for additional copies.

From March 1892, and during 1893, the greatest care has been exercised in communicating to all concerned the orders received from time to time, relative to the working of the Cantonment Act of 1889; and the distribution of these orders is very clearly shown in the Confidential Register kept by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the District.

The above shows the general routine, but I have to observe that unfortunately, through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, the orders and Circulars of 1888-90 were not shown to the Officers Commanding the 2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, on their first arrival in India. 5020

REPORT BY THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT, REGARDING THE ACTION TAKEN TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED THE ORDERS ISSUED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE SUBJECT OF THE NON-REGISTRATION OF PROSTITUTES, &C.

From Major-General E. STEDMAN, c.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 3129-B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 4th July 1893.

In continuation of this office, No. 3102-B., dated the 1st instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying letter\* and enclosures, from the General Officer Commanding, Lahore District, regarding the action taken to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of the non-registration of prostitutes, discontinuance of compulsory examinations, &c.

5030

From Major-General Viscount FRANKFORT, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 1327—128-B., "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 1st July 1893).

In continuation of my telegram, No. 284-T., dated 27th June 1893, I have the honour to enclose a statement in tabular form showing from reference to the records of the District Staff Office what steps were taken to communicate the orders quoted in your telegram, No. 2970-B., to those concerned, together with copies of the forwarding memoranda when such were sent.

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2. With reference to Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 8th November 1890, the original letter does not appear to have been registered or filed in the District Staff Office, the correspondence having been treated throughout as strictly demi-official only.

Its purport seems, however, to have been communicated and, as far as can be recollected, was so communicated to all concerned and reports called for (*see Annexure V*). Satisfactory replies were, there is every reason to believe, duly received, and a report made accordingly which may be on record at Army Head Quarters.

5050

3. It is much to be regretted now that a more careful record of the demi-official correspondence in this case was not kept, but I am informed it was considered at the time that the intentions of Army Head Quarters as regards the demi-official nature of the correspondence would be more strictly observed by no official record being retained in the Staff Office.

*Statement showing how documents mentioned in Quartermaster-General in India's No. 2970-B., dated 23rd June 1893, were acted on by the General Officer Commanding Lahore District.*

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Document.	How disposed of.	Evidence of action.	REMARKS.
1. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 1888.	Sent out to Officers Commanding Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmasala, and Deputy Surgeon General, Lahore District.	This office No. 1684, dated 4th June, 1888 (also see attached, marked No. I.)	Jullundur then in Sirhind District, but has circular on record.
2. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 12 of 1888.	Sent out to Officers Commanding Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmasala, and Deputy Surgeon General, Lahore District.	This office No. 68-C., dated 22nd August 1888 (marked No. II. on attached).	Jullundur then in Sirhind District, but has circular on record.
3. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 1892.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmasala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 98-S., dated 12th May 1893 (revised copy), and this office, No. 22-D., dated 25th July 1892 (original copy).	Forwarded one copy to each station named.
4. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 21 of 1892.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmasala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 6552-R., dated 23rd July 1892.	
5. Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3000-B., dated 13th July 1888.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dharmasala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 58-C., dated 18th July 1888 (marked No. III. attached).	Jullundur then in Sirhind District.
6. Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 8th November 1890.	Purport communicated to stations demi-officially, and confidentially, and reports called for.	Letter dated 10th November 1890 (un-numbered) (marked No. IV. attached).	Original not registered or filed.
7. Quartermaster-General's demi-official dated 21st March 1892.	Forwarded with annexures under covering letter to Meer Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmasala, Dalhousie.	This office No. 627-B.-C., dated 28th March 1892 (marked V. on attached).	

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REPORT BY THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT REGARDING  
THE ACTION TAKEN TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED THE ORDERS  
ISSUED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE SUBJECT ON THE NON-  
REGISTRATION OF PROSTITUTES, &C.

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I.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District, to Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmasala, and Deputy Surgeon General,—(No. 48-C. "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, the 5th June 1888).

FORWARDING Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 5, dated 28th May 1888, *re* residence of women who register their names under Rule VI, Lock Hospital Rules in Sadr Bazaars.

Forwarded in continuation of this Office No. 1684, dated 4th June 1888.

II.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District, to the Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Ferozepore, Mooltan, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmasala, and Deputy Surgeon General,—(No. 68-C, "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, 22nd August 1888).

5090

Forwarding Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 12, dated 6th August 1888, Revision of Lock Hospital Rules, Register of public prostitutes, &c.

For information and compliance.

III.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, Lahore District, to the Officer Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmasala,—(No. 58-C, "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, 18th July 1888).

Forwarding Quarter Master General's No. 3000-B, dated 13th July 1888, *re* bazaar women's residence.

For information and record.

IV.

Demi-official from CAPTAIN W. J. HAMILTON, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General Lahore District, to Officer Commanding Jullundur,\*—(dated Meean Meer, the 10th November 1890).

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ENQUIRIES having been made by the Quarter Master General and reports called for, will you please report to me as under, at a very early date, the correspondence being regarded strictly confidential and demi-official only :—

Are the Regulations contained in Quarter Master General's Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888, and in Quarter Master General's Circular No. 12, of 6th August 1888, strictly carried out in your Command, that is to say :—

- (1) Is the residence of registered prostitutes in bazaars of British Corps in Cantonments strictly prohibited and the rule enforced?
- (2) Are public prostitutes strictly prohibited from accompanying regiments or corps on the march, or to standing camps?
- (3) Are the regulations prohibiting the registration of prostitutes, issue of tickets, or compulsory examination of women strictly observed?
- (4) Is the Cantonment Lock Hospital a purely voluntary institution?

5110

V.

From COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, to Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dharmasala, and Dalhousie, No. 627-B.C.,—(dated Meean Meer, 28th March 1892).

† Demi-official from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, dated 11th March 1892, to Quarter Master General.

The enclosed correspondence† received from the Quarter Master-General in India, is forwarded for your perusal, for favour of return,

5120

and acknowledgment.

I am directed to warn you to carry out both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution (quoted in one of the accompanying letters) of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and the provisions of the Cantonment Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

The correspondence is forwarded in continuation of Sir James Browne's demi-official letter No. 4909-B, dated 8th November 1890, regarding the question of prostitutes in Cantonments.

\* Officer Commanding, Ferozepore, received an identical letter at same time.





SUMMARY of Reports by General Officers Commanding regarding the allegations made by Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.

*Charges.*

1. That within the above-mentioned cantonments systematic provision is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities—

(a) For the residence therein of Native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

*Benares.*—(P. ii, line 105; p. v, line 242; p. iii, line 118.) The Cantonment General Hospital was not used for maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution. Nothing warrants the assumption that women are reserved for British soldiers.

*Sitapur.*—(P. vi, line 296.) Formerly women were set apart, but the order ceased on passing of the Cantonment Act of 1889. It is possible that the soldiers through ignorance or the desire to keep the women to themselves may have kept up the idea. (P. vii, line 316.) Prostitution is not recognised in the cantonment, but (p. x, line 500, p. vii, line 318) the chakla was Government property on the 5th March 1892 and the women were in occupation.

*Bareilly.*—(P. xi, line 567; p. xiii, line 662; p. xvi, line 756.) There is no chakla officially recognised or in any way paid for by Government, but (p. xii, line 596, p. xiv, line 710) no doubt the bawdy-house keeper tried to reserve her prostitutes for British soldiers, but she has had no assistance in so doing. There is no chakla or house in which women are reserved for European soldiers.

*Meean Meer.*—(P. xviii, line 892.) It is admitted that prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars; that there were three chaklas, and that the women were registered contrary to orders from Army Headquarters (p. lix, line 3088) in two of these for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

*Amritsar.*—(P. xviii, line 858.) A small brothel exists in the Sadr Bazar. It is not stated whether it is officially recognised or whether women are "reserved."

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xxiii, line 1169; p. xxiii, line 1150; p. xxiv, line 1230; p. xxxvii, lines 1902 and 1922.) No chaklas exist in regimental bazars, nor are the women reserved in any way. (P. lvi, line 2921.) The women are free to reside anywhere and to receive any persons.

*Peshawar.*—(P. xlii, line 2177.) Prostitutes mostly resort to one quarter of the Sadr Bazar; (p. xlv, line 2253), chiefly in two streets according to ancient custom; (p. xlii, line 2165), there is no rule by which any are reserved for British soldiers; they may receive whom they like.

*Benares.*—(P. iii, line 110.) No compulsory examination at prescribed periods since October 1891.

*Sitapur.*—(P. viii, line 383; p. ix, line 421.) No compulsory or periodical examinations since passing of Act of 1889.

*Bareilly.*—(P. xii, line 590; p. xiv, line 697; p. xvii, line 797.) No compulsory examination held. A date for voluntary inspection was fixed.

*Meean Meer.*—(P. xx, line 980; p. lx, line 3141.) Admitted.

*Amritsar.*—(P. xviii, lines 865 and 873.) Examination was voluntary, not compulsory.

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xl, line 2073; p. xxiii, line 1173; p. xxxiii, line 1702; p. xxxvi, line 1871; p. lxxvii, line 3948; p. lxix, line 3601; p. lxx, line 3610; p. lxxii, line 3740.) There has been no compulsion of any kind except in the case of persons suffering or supposed to be suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder. (P. lvii, line 2987.) The pro-

vision made is for the voluntary examination of women. (P. xxxvii, line 1880; p. xxxvii, line 1926.) The examination is purely voluntary.

*Peshawar*.—(P. xlii, line 2168; p. xliii, line 2202 p. xlv, line 2291.) There is no compulsory examination of women.

(c) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any of such women under the orders of the examining officers.

*Benares*.—(P. iii, line 112.) No compulsory detention of any women was carried out by the orders of a medical officer.

*Sitapur*.—Not referred to.

*Bareilly*.—(P. xvi, line 752; p. xvii, line 810.) Women found diseased are detained in hospital or expelled from cantonments.

*Meean Meer*.—(P. xx, line 986.) Admitted.

*Amritsar*.—(P. lix, line 3068.) Women not detained during the regular monthly period.

*Rawal Pindi*.—(P. xxxiv, line 1764; p. xl, line 2074; p. lviii, line 3002; p. lxxvii, line 3954; p. lxx, line 3618; p. lxxii, line 3751.) No woman was compulsorily detained.

*Peshawar*.—(P. xlii, line 2169; p. xliii, line 2210.) There is no compulsory detention in hospital.

(d) With penal consequences, in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment.

*Benares*.—(P. iii, line 114.) No arrest, fine, or imprisonment inflicted, but any patients suffering from any contagious disease had to remain in hospital or leave the cantonment.

*Sitapur*.—Not replied to.

*Bareilly*.—(P. xiv, lines 684 and 706; p. xvii, line 809.) There being no compulsory examination, the statement is untrue.

*Meean Meer*.—(P. lix, line 3097.) No arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from cantonment were the punishment.

*Amritsar*.—(P. lix, line 3066.) No steps were taken for the punishment of women refusing to attend inspection.

*Rawal Pindi*.—(P. xxxvii, line 1897; p. lviii, line 3013; p. lxxvii, line 3965.) None have been expelled or imprisoned. In one case a fine was inflicted for breach of rules.

*Peshawar*.—(P. xlii, line 2172; p. xliii, line 2213.) There is no punishment for non-attendance at hospital, except that any person certified to be suffering from any contagious disease may be expelled from cantonments, if he or she refuses to submit to treatment.

*Benares*.—(P. iii, line 118.) It is denied that the hospital was so used or that there were any registered prostitutes. (P. iv, line 163.) Infectious diseases are treated in the cholera and small-pox wards and diseases other than contagious have an equal claim to admission.

*Sitapur*.—(P. ix, line 434; p. ix, line 444.) Cases other than venereal are shown in the periodical returns as having been admitted. There are other medicines than those used for venereal in possession.

2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and Regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonment.

(ii) That these hospitals are used exclusively for the treatment of venereal cases, no other medicines being kept there or other cases treated.

*Bareilly*.—(P. xvi, line 754.) The Cantonment Hospital is not so used. (P. xvii, line 815.) Many cases of secondary syphilis have been treated in the Cantonment Hospital. (P. xi, line 564; p. xiv, line 690.) The statement that there are no cholera or small-pox wards in the Cantonment Hospital is absolutely false.



*Meean Meer.*—(P. lxi, line 3162.) Practically admitted.

*Amritsar.*—(P. lix, line 3063; p. xviii, line 881.) The Cantonment Hospital was and is used for the treatment of all classes of natives, male and female.

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xxxiii, line 1676.) Cases other than venereal were treated, but only prostitutes attended as in-patients. (P. xxxiii, line 1689, p. lxviii, line 3539.) Other medicines were kept.

*Peshawar.*—(P. xlv, line 2275.) The hospital was not set apart for venereal diseases.

3. That in each cantonment a register of chakla women is kept, in some places the women's rooms bearing their register number—

- (ii) that the chakla is in some places guarded;
- (iii) that the chakla is, in almost every instance, in charge of a mahaldarni, whose wages in some cases are paid from cantonment funds.

*Benares.*—(P. iv, line 174; p. iii, lines 148 and 131.) There is no register kept. (P. iii, line 129.) The chakla is not guarded. (P. iii, line 132.) No plates or distinctive marks to distinguish the women are affixed to their rooms. The dhai of the Cantonment General Hospital is paid Rs. 10 per mensem from cantonment funds for charge of the female ward, but her duties are distinct from those of a mahaldarni.

*Sitapur.*—(P. x, line 485; p. vii, line 331.) There is no such register kept. The prostitutes are under no special police supervision.

*Bareilly.*—(P. xiv, line 725; p. xiv, line 736.) There is no register or list kept: (p. xiv, line 722; p. xvi, line 770) there is no guard over any house; (p. xiv, line 723; p. xvi, line 775) there is no mahaldarni, and consequently no pay; (p. xiv, line 733; p. xvi, line 772) the number had no reference to any registration of women; the large number was the number of the "block" in the bazar.

*Meean Meer.*—(P. xx, line 958.) A register was kept. The mahaldarni had no connection with the Cantonment Hospital, nor was she paid by Government. (P. lx, line 3110.) No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel.

*Amritsar.*—(P. xviii, line 863.) A mahaldarni was maintained and paid by the women.

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xxxiii, line 1671; p. xxxvi, line 1860; p. xxx, line 1545; p. xxix, line 1503; p. xxvii, line 1362; p. lxix, line 3577.) There was no register of prostitutes of any sort kept since 1889. (P. lxxiv, line 3852.) Mahaldarnis were kept by the women, but in no way recognised or paid by Government; they are entirely free agents. (P. lvi, line 2936; p. lxxiv, line 3847.) In no case is there any guard within or near the prostitutes' quarters. (P. lxxv, lines 3931 and 3919; p. lxxiv, line 3877; p. lvii, line 2941.) Numbers are affixed to the houses occupied by prostitutes for purposes of the general house tax and have no relation to the tenant, nor is the numbering to enable a soldier to designate a particular woman.

*Peshawar.*—(P. xlv, line 2317.) No register has been kept, or tickets issued, since April 1891; (p. xlv, line 2262) the large numbers on the houses were put up under the old rules, they correspond to no register of women; (p. xliii, line 2180) there are no guards in uniform, but military police visit the bazar to keep order; (p. xlv, line 2278) no mahaldarni exists or is recognised.

4. That there is a low tariff paid by the men, which in case of non-payment is stopped from the men's pay.

*Benares.*—(P. iv, line 195; p. iii, line 144.) No knowledge of the existence of such tariff.

*Sitapur.*—(P. vii, line 349.) No record of any such fixed rates.

*Bareilly.*—(P. xiii, line 676.) There was a tariff, but what it was is not known. (P. xvi, line 784.) The amount is never stopped out of men's pay.

*Meean Meer.*—(P. ix, line 3123.) Such payment is in no way regulated by the State, it is a matter of custom. No cases of recovering by stoppage of a man's pay is known.

*Amritsar.*—Not referred to.

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xxix, line 1514; p. xxv, line 1258; p. xxxvii, line 1930; p. xxvii, line 1375; p. xxviii, line 1454; p. lxxvii, line 3973.) The rates may be fixed by custom, but there is no official cognisance of these. (P. lvii, line 2972.) Nothing is known as to a tariff except by those personally concerned.

*Peshawar.*—(P. xliii, line 2189.) No rate of pay is or could be fixed. Never heard of a man's pay being stopped on such an account.

*Benares.*—Not referred to.

*Sitapur.*—(P. viii, line 377.) On the march to Dagshai in March 1891 the women were strictly forbidden to accompany the troops.

*Bareilly.*—(P. xiii, line 680; p. xvi, line 790.) They do not march with the soldiers, nor are they recognised.

*Meean Meer.*—(P. xviii, line 896; p. lx, line 3137.) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march.

*Amritsar.*—Not referred to.

*Rawal Pindi.*—(P. xxv, line 1283; p. xxvii, line 1409; p. xxvii, line 1389; p. xxviii, line 1457.) Women no doubt follow the regiment on the march, none are allowed to accompany the troops; (p. lvii, line 2983) no case of provision of transport, of protection on the march, or of recognition in any way by regimental authorities is known.

*Peshawar.*—(P. xlv, line 2280.) Women may follow the troops to the hills, but there is no proof that they accompanied them.

5. That when a regiment changes its station, the women associated with that regiment accompany it.

6. In each cantonment there are assigned quarters for prostitutes styled "chaklas," in appearance similar to military buildings. In some cases the "chaklas" are owned by Government. In some cases the women live rent-free, in others they pay rent.

The facts of the case appear to be as follows:—

*Benares.*

iii, line 122.  
iv, line 170.  
v, line 239.

*Bareilly.*

xi, line 567.  
xiv, line 710.  
xvi, line 756.  
xvi, line 766.  
xvi, line 774.

*Meean Meer.*

xix, line 949.  
xix, line 942.  
xx, line 960.  
lx, line 3102.

*Peshawar.*

xliii, line 2177.  
xlv, lines 2256, 2278.

*Sitapur.*

vii, line 314.  
x, line 500.

*Amritsar.*

xviii, line 850.  
xix, line 918.

*Rawal Pindi.*

xxiii, line 1168.  
xxvii, line 1389.  
xxviii, line 1440.  
xxix, line 1504.  
xxx, line 1547.  
xxxii, line 1622.  
xxxvi, line 1866.  
xxxvii, line 1901.  
xxxvii, lines 1902, 1914, 1923.  
xxxviii, line 1962.  
xxxix, line 2037.  
xl, line 2041.  
lvi, line 2897.

In accordance with custom and inclination, prostitutes congregate in one quarter of the bazar, living in one or more chaklas, which in most cases are of the ordinary type of native houses. With the exception of the chakla at Sitapur, which has since been sold (page lvi, line 2926), and certain disused grasscutter's lines at Rawal Pindi in the Royal Artillery Bazar in which the women were allowed to settle rent-free (see also pages lxii to lxvi), none of the chaklas at the stations named belonged to Government in March 1892. They usually belong to natives, who charge rent for them. In some cases they are owned by a mahaldar or mahaldarni, who keeps the women and takes a portion of their earnings in return.

MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING  
LAHORE DISTRICT.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3188-B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 6th July 1893.)

WITH reference to this office Nos. 2959-B., and 2988-B., dated 23rd and 26th June 1893, respectively, with which were submitted reports\* from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, relative to the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at Meean Meer, and in which it was stated that the orders

\* No. 38-D, dated 15th June 1893.  
No. 48-D, dated 2nd June 1893.

issued by the Commander-in-Chief regarding the prohibition of the registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars, and their accompanying corps on the march, had not been obeyed at Meean Meer, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying correspondence† which has taken place on the subject.

† (1) Copy of Quartermaster-General's No. 2075-D, dated 24th June 1893.

(2) Lahore District No. 287-I, dated 3rd July 1893.

(3) Lahore District No. 1336-B, dated 3rd July 1893, and enclosures.

(4) Lahore District No. 289-T, dated 6th July 1893.

2. It will be observed that the Officer Commanding the British Infantry denies that prostitutes were at the time under reference allowed to reside in the regimental bazar or to accompany the battalion in the line of march.

The Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, while denying all registration and all compulsory examination, states that five women were residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar at the time under reference, but that they have now left and that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the line of march. The Cantonment Magistrate at that station submits an explanation of the reasons which led him to re-introduce the registration of prostitutes, from which it will be seen that he acted under a misconception in doing so.

3. I am also to forward copy of Quartermaster-General's No. 283-B., dated 26th January 1890, which he states that he misconstrued. It will be seen from the letter in question that the Cantonment Magistrate had no grounds whatever for the interpretation which he placed on it.

4. I am to state that the Commander-in-Chief will call upon the General Officer Commanding Lahore District for an explanation of the cause of the very contradictory statements which have been submitted regarding the working of the rules at Meean Meer, and he will be asked to report in what way the Officer Commanding at that station proposes to account for these contradictions.

From Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding Lahore District,—(No. 2975-B, dated the 24th June 1893).

WITH reference to the extract from your letter No. 48-D., dated 22nd June 1893, transcribed on the margin, I am desired by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to ask that you will be so good as to furnish me with the names of the Military authorities in question.

Meean Meer.

\* \* \* "Paragraph 6.

Paragraph I. (A) of statement. With the sanction of the Military Authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army Headquarters, and, as I understood, without the knowledge of the General Officer Commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazars of British Infantry and Royal Artillery, for the exclusive use of British soldiers."

2. Your letter No. 38-D of the 15th instant, having been submitted to Government, is not available for reference.

Telegram from General Officer Commanding Lahore District, to Quartermaster-General in India,—No. 287-I., dated Dalhousie, the 3rd July 1893).

287-I. Reference your 2975-B, dated 24th ultimo, and my reports 33-D, of 15th ultimo, and 48-D of 22nd ultimo. The Officer Commanding King's Own Scottish Borderers states, absolutely, that no prostitutes have been recognised in any way whatever in the regimental bazar of the battalion, or allowed to live there, nor, as far as he can ascertain, have they accompanied the battalion on the line of march, and they most certainly have not been recognised. The Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, states positively that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the march. The above reports have been forwarded me by Officer Commanding Meean Meer, without remarks, though they are diametrically opposed to his previous reports to me, which, therefore, I must believe were founded on wrong information, and I desire therefore that my reports may be modified accordingly. Further inquiries are being made. Letter follows.



MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING  
LAHORE DISTRICT.

From Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quarter-Master-General in India,—(No. 1336-B,—“*Sanitary*,”—dated Dalhousie, the 3rd July 1893).

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WITH reference to paragraphs 5 and 6 of my 38-D, dated 15th June, I have the honour to enclose herewith the explanatory reports called for, and referred to therein, regarding the statements made by General Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, that prostitutes had resided in the British Infantry and Royal Artillery Bazaars, with the sanction of the Military authorities, and had accompanied batteries and corps on the march. Also the explanation from the Cantonment Magistrate regarding the re-introduction of registration, &c., after its discontinuance.

A.—No. 101-A, dated 26th June 1893, from Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer.

B.—Letter dated 3rd July 1893, from Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, 2nd Battalion, King's Own Scottish Borderers.

C.—Letter dated 23rd June 1893, from Officer Commanding Wing, King's Own Scottish Borderers.

D.—No. 1—Confidential, dated 28th January 1893, from Medical Officer in charge Station Hospital.

E.—Letter dated 24th June 1893, from Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer.

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2. With regard to the two former statements, they are directly traversed by Officer Commanding in two matters—

1st—It is denied that the batteries were ever accompanied by women on the march.

2nd—It is denied that prostitutes, recognised as such, resided in the British Infantry bazar, nor was it known if prostitutes accompanied the battalion on the march.

3. I forward these statements on, as received by me from the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer, who makes no comment thereon, although they contradict his statements  
80 already reported.

I have called for a further report by telegram as to what the actual facts of the case are, and how the contradictions are explained.

4. I may add that whether prostitutes have or have not resided in the British Infantry and Royal Artillery Bazar, or accompanied regiments and batteries on the march, that the fact has not been known, directly or indirectly, to the General Officer Commanding or Staff of the District, as far as I can ascertain.

5. The action of the Cantonment Magistrate in re-introducing registration, &c., is still, in spite of the explanation forwarded, inexplicable. He appears to have entirely misconceived the orders on the subject, and to have interpreted them in a manner different  
90 from every other station in the Command.

From Captain *A. Guff*, Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, to the Station Staff Officer, Meean Meer,—(No. 101-A, dated 26th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 29-C, of 19th June 1893, forwarding Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General's No. 45-1, of 17th June 1893, I have the honour to report as follows :—

(1) No registration of prostitutes or issue of tickets to prostitutes in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present batteries came to the station (February 1891).

(2) No recognised prostitutes, *viz.*, no women whose profession is prostitution, are at present residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar; five women who resided  
100 there until the present month have now left.

(3) No prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the march.

I know of no instances of any woman being compulsorily examined by the orders of the Royal Artillery authorities.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *J. Lieth Ross*, Commanding 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District,—(dated 3rd July 1893).

IN answer to your confidential letter No. 49-D, returned herewith, I have the honour to inform you, for the information of the General Officer Commanding, that—

1st—Since the arrival of the battalion at Meean Meer prostitutes have *not* been permitted to reside in the British Infantry Bazar, nor have been in any way recognised.

MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING  
LAHORE DISTRICT.

It is true that from time to time sundry women have been found in the regimental bazar, as is likely to occur wherever a large number of native followers reside, but these prostitutes have had no permission to reside in the bazar, they have not been in any way registered, nor has anything whatever in the way of a medical examination taken place. 110

Last year on receipt of confidential No. 20, from the Quartermaster-General in India, dated 11th July 1892, I caused a searching examination to be made, and finding there were some women in the bazar (although not recognised), I immediately ordered them to be removed; subsequently, in December last the Acting Quartermaster came to me and reported officially that he had discovered some women in the bazar. I immediately ordered him to have them turned out, which was done at once. 120

(2) Certainly not. My orders on the subject have been perfectly clear and consistent, and I beg to refer you to paragraph 1 for the steps taken on the discovery of women in the bazar.

(3) None except as in paragraph 1.

(4) I consider no one responsible for the women referred to in paragraph 1, who found their way in the bazar entirely "*subrosa*."

I may say in conclusion that, owing to the absence on leave of the Quartermaster at the end of the year, and his subsequent retirement from the service, the duties of the Quartermaster have been performed by several different officers, who, through ignorance of the bazar routine, may have failed to discover that anything was going on contrary to my orders.

From Major *G. J. W. Hewat*, Commanding Wing, 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers, to the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer,—(dated Dalhousie, the 30th June 1893). 130

IN reply to your memorandum No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, and attached correspondence, I have the honor to report that after careful enquiry, I find that no prostitutes are, or have been recognised in any way whatever in the regimental bazar of this battalion, since the issue of the order forbidding it.

As regards the three particulars in which complaint is made of now, compliance with the order in question—

(1) No registration of prostitutes has taken place nor have any tickets been issued.

(2) No prostitutes have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar.

(3) Prostitutes have not, so far as I can find out, accompanied this battalion on the line of march, and they most certainly have not been recognised. 140

I have issued orders that any one found harbouring prostitutes in the regimental bazaar will be at once turned out.

From Surgeon-Captain *W. H. B. Robinson*, M.S., Officiating Medical Officer, Cantonment General Hospital, to the Station Staff Officer,—(No. 1-C, dated 28th January 1893).

IN reply to confidential circular No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, I have the honor to report that I am only temporarily holding medical charge of the hospital, and that no medical examinations of women have taken place since I have been in charge; and that in all respects the orders of Government are being literally carried out.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *A. Macpherson*, Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer, to the Officer Commanding Meean Meer,—(dated Dalhousie, the 24th June 1893). 150

WITH reference to Station Staff Office, No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, *Confidential*, I have the honour, with reference to paragraphs 2 and 3 of its enclosure, to state that the construction placed on the Quartermaster-General's letter, was that sanction having been obtained for the establishment of a first class Lock Hospital it would of course be worked on former lines. There was no intention whatever of overlooking or disobeying any orders that had been passed: they were simply not thought of.

I beg to point out that when sanction was received to increasing the establishment of the Lock Hospital, thereby making it a first class one, no caution or warning whatever was given to be careful that the rules as to registration, &c., must be implicitly adhered to. 160

It fell to the Cantonment Magistrate, as Secretary to the Cantonment Committee, to make arrangements for the registration of prostitutes willing to attend and be inspected at the Lock Hospital as heretofore.





DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India,—No. 160 (Military), dated 25th July 1893.—(Received 15 August 1893).

My Lord,

IN continuation of our Military despatch No. 148, dated the 11th July 1893, we have the honour to forward, for Your Lordship's information, copies of correspondence from the Quartermaster-General in India as noted in the accompanying schedule, submitting further reports from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Lansdowne.*  
*G. S. White.*  
*P. P. Hutchins.*  
*D. Barbour.*  
*A. E. Miller.*  
*H. Brackenbury.*  
*C. C. Pritchard.*

LIST of enclosures of Despatch No. 160 (Military), dated the 25th July 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and date of paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	No. 3316-B. dated the 12th July 1893, and enclosure.	From the Quartermaster-General in India.	Report from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.
2	No. 3381-B. dated the 15th July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto - - - -	Report from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District regarding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer.

(Sd) M. J. KING-HARMAN,  
*Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,*  
*Military Department.*

*Enclosure to Despatch No. 160, dated 25th July 1893.*

## Enclosure No. 1.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, c.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3316-B, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 12th July 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3188-B, dated the 6th instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further report\* from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.

\* No. 140-A, dated 6th July 1893.

From the Officer Commanding Wing 2nd Battalion, King's Own Scottish Borderers, Meean Meer, to the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer,—dated 3rd July 1893.

I WRITE to add to my report lately sent in as to recognition of prostitutes, as, since making it, I find that on some occasions they have been in the regimental bazar, but without any permission or recognition whatever.

They were turned out when found there,—on one occasion, last November, by Acting Quartermaster, and lately when three women were found to have got in.

Memo. from Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 140-A, "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 6th July 1893).

TRUE copy forwarded, for information, in continuation of my Telegram No. 289-T of date.

## Enclosure No. 2.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, c.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3381-B, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 15th July 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3316 B, dated the 12th instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further report† from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer.

† Lahore District, No. 1395-B, dated 9th July 1893, and enclosure.

From Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 1395-B, "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 9th July 1893).

IN reply to your No. 2975-B of the 24th June 1893, enquiring who were the officers responsible for the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazars at Meean Meer, I have the honour to report that, from the correspondence recently forwarded, ‡ it is now clear that no prostitutes were allowed to reside in the British Infantry bazar at Meean Meer by any authority.

There seems no doubt that occasionally women of bad character resided there, though, whenever discovered, they were turned out by the regimental authorities.

2. As regards the Royal Artillery bazar, it appears that, in 1889, permission was given by the Officer then Commanding Royal Artillery§ for prostitutes to return to the bazar, from which they had been ejected. The sanction was permissive only, and the same countenance and protection only are extended to them as to the other inhabitants of the bazar. They were not registered, nor was any issue of tickets or other recognition made by the Officers Commanding Royal Artillery.

§ This Officer is dead.

3. As I have been called upon to report the names of responsible officers, I enclose a list of officers who have been in command of the Royal Artillery, and so *ex-officio* in charge of the Artillery bazar since April 1890. It is more than probable, however, that many of these officers had no knowledge that women who were prostitutes resided in the Royal Artillery bazar, since the women were not registered or recorded as such; nor did they reside in any houses or buildings different from the ordinary bazar houses.

4. The Officer Commanding Meean Meer withdraws entirely his statement that women accompanied batteries on the march to Meean Meer, or the King's Own Scottish Borderers, unless indeed they did so strictly privately and without the knowledge of the regimental authorities.

He explains that he took the statements of the Cantonment Magistrate only, and did not inquire further, the Cantonment Magistrate reporting only from what he believed to be the custom from his personal knowledge, and not with special reference to the facts as regards the corps in Meean Meer.

5. Considering the importance of the enquiry, it does not seem that the report, as submitted from Meean Meer, was as sufficiently careful and explicit as was to be desired; but in this respect, I would beg to mention that the time available for a thorough and careful enquiry was extremely short, and to this alone the deficiencies in the report are, I think, to be ascribed.

(A.)

*Names of Officers who commanded the Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, from 1st April 1890, and dates of their holding the appointment.*

Retired	-	{ Colonel Pitt, Commanding Royal Artillery, Lahore District, during 1889 to 1st April 1890. Major Leach, 1st April 1890 to 28th April 1890.
Died	-	{ Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrie, 27th March 1890 (died before he took over). Major Frith, 29th April 1890 to 16th July 1890.
Temporary	-	Captain Beatson, 17th July 1890 to 29th July 1890.
Retired	-	Major Murray Graham, 30th July 1890 to 11th August 1890.
England	-	{ Lieutenant-Colonel Molesworth, 12th August 1890 to 25th January 1891. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, 26th January 1891 to 6th February 1891.
Temporary	-	{ Captain Lawless, 7th February 1891 to 11th March 1891. " Nelson, 12th March 1891 to 30th March 1891.
Retired	-	Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge, 1st April 1891 to 19th May 1892.
Temporary	-	{ Captain Nelson, 20th May 1892 to 23rd June 1892. Major Hawkins, 24th June 1892 to 15th October 1892. " Baker, 16th October 1892 to 31st October 1892.
		Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, 1st November 1892 to 1st April 1893
		Do. Do. Douglas, 1st April 1893 to date.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pemberton was in command of Royal Artillery at station from January 1889 to time of his death in September 1889. The officers who succeeded him were the Majors or Captains who happened to be senior at the station, and were naturally appointed by the Lahore District Commanding Royal Artillery, Colonel Pitt. Under the new organisation of 1st April 1890, the District Royal Artillery Command was abolished, and Major Leach was the first officer who held the station command under orders from Army Head-Quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrie having died before he took over command, no responsible lieutenant-colonel occurs till Lieutenant-Colonel Molesworth (now, Royal Horse Artillery, Newbridge).

Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, now Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, appears to have left the command in about ten days.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge, who held the command during the period which is to be specially reported on, has left the service, and his address is unknown.

Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot is Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.





